

THE
CONTINUATION
AND
CONCLUSION
OF THE
CIVILL WARRES
OF
FRANCE:

Written

In Italian by HENRICO CATERINO
DAVILA.

Translated out of the Originall.



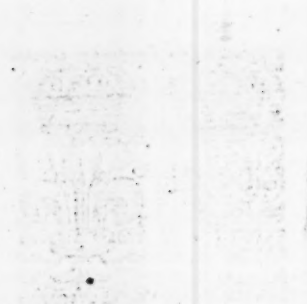
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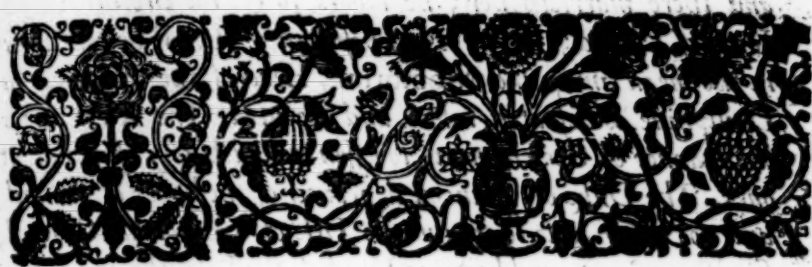
THE
CONTINUATION
AND
CONCLUSION
OF THE
CIVIL WAR
OF
FRANCE

Written
in French by Henriette de France
D. V. M. X.

Translated by J. C. ...



Printed by ...
London ...



THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
CIVILL WARRES
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The Sixth B O O K.

THE ARGUMENT.

THis sixth Book contains the Arts used by the Queen Regent, to hold matters in suspense till the coming of the King, Henry the Third, out of Poland. He departs secretly from that Kingdom, and passing through Italy, comes to Turin: The Queen sends thither to inform him of the affairs of France; and thither also comes the Mareschal d' Anville. The King denies to resolve upon any thing till he have conferred with his Mother; he restores those places to the Duke of Savoy, which for security, had till then been kept from him. He passes at Pont Beauvoysin; is met by the Duke of Alançon and the King of Navar; by him they are set at liberty: He meets the Queen his Mother, and they enter the City of Lyons. The Kings designs and ends, to which he intends to direct the course of his Government, are particularly set down; he desires peace, and to procure it, resolves to make war coldly: He treats of Marriage, and resolves to take to Wife Louyse of Lorain, daughter to the Count de Vaudemont; he is crowned at Rheims;

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and

and there marrieth her; he labors to get his Brother elected King of Poland; but he is put beside it: The War continues in the mean time, and Mombrun, Head of the Hugonots in Daulphinè, is defeated, taken, and executed. The King alters the manner of Government, to lessen the authority of the great ones. The Duke of Alançon deprived of the hopes of Poland, and not being able to obtain the Title of Lieutenant General, flies from Court, and becomes Head of the Politicks and Hugonots: All the other Lords of that party, put themselves under him, and the Prince of Condè sends him great Supplies out of Germany; which passing through Champaigne, are routed and dispersed by the Duke of Guise. The Queen Mother goes to confer with the Duke of Alançon, and concludes a Truce: in the mean time, the King of Navar leaves the Court, flies into Guienne, and declares himself Hugonot: The Prince of Condè advanceth with the German Army, and at Monlins joyns with the Duke of Alançon: The Queen returns, and concludes a peace, but with such exorbitant conditions, that all the Catholicks are offended at it. The Duke of Guise and his Brothers lay hold of the occasion, declare themselves Heads of the Catholick party, and make a League to oppose the establishment of the Hugonots; the grounds and progress of that League are related: The King of Navar thereupon pretending, that the Catholicks began first, by the means of the Prince of Condè takes up arms. The King assembles the States General in the City of Blois, to settle things in order; but after several attempts and contrivances, they break up without concluding anything. The King desires peace; but seeing the Hugonots inclined to War, raises two Armies against them: The Duke of Alançon with one of them takes la Charité, Isore, and other places; the Duke of Mayenne with the other takes Thone-Charanté & Marans. From War they come to a Treaty of Agreement, Peace is concluded, and the Queen Mother goes to confer with the King of Navar to make it the stronger. The King intent upon the design of his hidden thoughts, employs his time wholly in Religious exercises, assumes all Offices to himself, and disposes of them to his Favorites; among whom, the Dukes of Joyeuse and Espernon are especially exalted by him. He institutes a new Order of Knighthood called du S. Esprit. The Queen Mother goes from the King of Navar, and visits a great part of the Kingdom. The Duke of Alançon, to obtain
Queen

Queen Elizabeth in marriage, goes over into England, is much honoured ; but, notwithstanding publick demonstrations, nothing is determined. The Hugonots renew the Warr ; the Prince of Condé takes la Fere in Picardy, and the King of Navar possesseth himself of Cahors, and other places : The King dispattheth several Armies against them, by which la Fere is recovered, but little done in other places : The Duke of Alancçon being returned into France, interposes and settles the Peace again. He goes into Flanders to command the States that had cast off their obedience to the Crown of Spain, does little good there, returns into France, and dyes.



He death of Charles the Ninth happening just at that time when the remedies used by him, to purge the humors of his Kingdom were in the height of their operation ; He left not only all parts of France in great disorder and confusion ; but also the state of the Crown in exceeding danger and uncertainty, by the subversion, or at least weakning of all

1574

the foundations of the Government : For, besides the absence of the lawfull Successor, so far distant in a strange Country, who if he had been present, might by assisting at the helm in a time of so great peril, have steered and moderated the doubtful, troublesome course of the Commonwealth, all the instruments of rule and power were also either very much weakned, or utterly perverted ; and even those means which usually maintain and preserve others, were universally bent to the distraction and ruine of that Kingdom.

The Duke of Alancçon and the King of Navar, neereft of the Blood-Royal, and by that prerogative chief of the Council of State, were held as guilty of a most hainous crime, and straitly guarded as prisoners. The Prince of Conde, though very young, yet of an ancient reputation by the fame of his Ancestors, not onely absent and fled from Court, but protected by the favour of the Protestant Princes, and ready by forraign Forces to bring in new inundations. The Hugonots up in arms in every Province, and manifestly intent by

The History of the Civill Warres

all means possible to surprize and possess the chiefeſt Cities and Fortreſſes. Many of the greateſt Lords, ſome ſecretly, ſome openly were alienated; and divers of thoſe who had moſt experience in affairs, moſt authority with the people, and moſt reputation in war, were already (if I may uſe that word) *Cantonized* in their ſeveral Provinces and Governments; the Treasuſury empty, or rather deſtroyed; the Gentry wearied and impoveriſhed; the Militia waſted and conſumed; the people ruined and undone; and yet not onely the diſſentions in matters of Religion, but alſo the emulations and enmities of the great ones were ſtill more then ever kindled and ſtirred up. In this miſerable condition no other prop upheld the State from a final ſubverſion contrived and plotted by ſo many, ſave onely the wiſdom and magnanimity of the Queen Mother, who by long uſe accuſtomed to reſiſt the heaviſt ſtrokes of Fortune, having preſently after the Kings death taken poſſeſſion of the Regency, endeavoured conſtantly by the beſt means ſhe could, to ſtop the dangerous precipice of the preſent affairs.

But the diſeaſes of that Kingdom were not ſo light, nor the humours that diſtempered it ſo weak, as could by gentle medicines be cured in a ſhort time, eſpecially in the Kings abſence; wherefore the Queen, by the experience of ſo many yeers, well acquainted with the nature and quality of the ſickneſs, not preſuming more upon her own ſtrength then in reaſon ſhe ought to hope; thought in that preſent conjuncture, ſhe ſhould do enough, if ſhe could keep the ſtate of the Kingdom from growing worſe, and preſerve it from falling into greater diſtractions, ſuſpending the preſent diſorders till the Kings coming; who afterwards with a well grounded reſolution might apply ſuch remedies as he thought moſt proper: and in this ſhe imitated the ordinary cuſtom which Phyſitians obſerve in the cure of the moſt deſperate maladies; who having in hand a body full of groſs, corrupt humours, either in the heat of the Dog-dayes, or the extreme cold of Winter, (both times unfit to clenſe and purge them away) endeavour by gentle lenitive medicines to allay the violence of the diſeaſe, till the conveniency of the ſeaſon gives them opportunity to make a perfect cure. She was the rather perſwaded to take that courſe, becauſe ſhe knew not what the King would reſolve on; who though he had ſeverely perſecuted the Hugonots

gonots, during the reign of his Brother, yet mens opinions and resolutions changing, according to the alteration of affairs, she could not be certain whether he would incline to peace or war; and therefore shee thought best to reserve things in such manner, that hee might have power to follow that which hee most approved. Wherefore being resolved to dissemble, and to value the substance more then the appearance of things, shee determined first of all to make preparations for Warr, that shee might not be taken unprovided; and then in other matters, with delayes and prolonged hopes to lull and entertain the expectations and inclinations of the Great ones, endeavouring chiefly to keep forraign Armies from invading any part of the Kingdom.

With this resolution she with all speed sent *Gaspar Count of Schombergh*, to raise 6000 Swisses, and some Troops of German Cavalry; to the Duke of Montpensier (who by reason of the Kings desperate sickness was come to Court) she gave charge, that returning presently to the Camp which was left in Poitou, he should recruit both the Horse and Foot as much as he could: and the same commission she gave to the Prince Daulphin, who with the other Army was in the confines of Daulphine, and Languedoc: and nevertheless at the same time having still a regard to those ends she had secretly proposed to herself, though she took not away the guards which were placed upon the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navar, yet she began to use them with wonderful shews of honour and affection; for alledging that it stood not with their reputation to be set at liberty without some previous testimony of their innocencie, and without the decree and consent of the lawful King, lest the nearness of blood and relation might seem to have had greater power with her then truth and reason; in all other things shee shewed such an entire confidence in them, that she did nothing of importance without their advice; and promised besides to be a particular instrument in effecting their hopes and pretensions: by which means the Duke of Alençon, being of an unconstant nature, and allured by his Mothers flatteries, suffered himself to be easily guided by her subtilty: and the King of Navar, finding no opportunity to advance his fortune, feigned to give credit to all she said. Thus these two Princes either drawn (though not sincerely) to her party, or quieted, and as it were lulled asleep,

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The History of the Civill Warres

the Regency being confirmed in her without opposition, shee jointly with her Son and Son-in-law, writ to the Magistrates, Governours of Provinces, and other Officers of the Crown; not because their assent was necessary to make her Orders authentick, nor because she had any great confidence in them; but to shew shee was both in mind and counsel united with those Princes, and to take away all hopes of their protection from those, who desiring new changes, had set their eyes upon them with wondrous expectation. These Letters, besides the notice of the Kings death, and his election of the Queen-Mother to be Regent, contained also the confirmation of those Edicts granted (by *Charles* lately deceased) to those of the Reformed Religion; as liberty of conscience, the free permission of their Ecclesiastical rites; and finally, an effectual exhortation to them all, to live under the obedience of those Edicts, and of the ordinary Magistrates, in quietness and tranquillity; on the other side, exhorting those Magistrates to conserve all persons in their own just rights, and to prohibite any kind of molestation to all sorts of people whatsoever; which things were by Monsieur *de Villeroy* Secretary of State, her most assured Confident, laid open with many artificial flourishes, and with interpretations, and commissions favourable to the Hugonots: to withdraw the fuel from that fire; and among so many discords, in part to qualifie and mitigate in the mindes of such as were most credulous, those so turbulent dissentions kindled in matters of Religion.

To these satisfactory words, joyning deeds no less proper and efficacious, shee dispatched the Abbot *Giovanni Baptista Guadagni*, to Monsieur *de la Noüe*, to treat of a cessation of arms in Poictou and Xaintonge, where the Duke of Montpensier still increasing his Army, did purposely slacken his proceedings; it being the intent of the Queen Regent, rather to suspend the causes, then prosecute or hasten the effects. With the same directions she dispatched Monsieur *de St Sulpice* to the Marechal *d'Anville*, to the end that by giving him hopes of his Brothers liberty, and of his confirmation in the Government of Languedoc, he might endeavour to settle the commotions also in those parts, and bring things to a truce, which she was resolved to accept of, though upon disadvantageous conditions. The Abbot *Guadagni's* negotiation produced its effect; for the Rochellers, and other people thereabouts,

bouts, who by woful experience had sufficiently known the valor and severe resolutions of the new King, when, as his Brothers Lieutenant, he made War against the Hugonots; being in very great fear of him, inclined easily to the Truce, as it were to a forerunner and introduction of Peace; for which cause it was concluded, that there should be a Cessation of Arms for the two next ensuing moneths, *July* and *August*, and for as much longer as the King should think fit, to whom they remitted themselves in that business; and that 12000 crowns should be paid unto them by the Regent, to maintain their Garisons without annoying or molesting the Country.

1457

In the absence of the new King *Henry* the Third, a Truce is made for two Moneths.

But the Treaty of *St. Sulpice* wrought not the same effect; for though the Mareschal *d'Anville* was more disposed to maintain himself by arts and dissimulations, then by force, and therefore inclined to the Truce; yet of his own party *Mombrun* in Daulphine, who made War rather like an Outlaw against every body, then like a Soldier against a certain enemy, would not hearken to any agreement, which would necessitate him to lay down his arms, and cease to over-run and spoil the Country: And on the other part, the Catholicks of Languedoc, and especially the Parliament of Tholouse, were so enflamed against the Mareschal *d'Anville*, that they hardly yielded to the Cessation, though commanded by the Queen Regent; yet it would at last have been effected, if *d'Anville* at the same time aiming by any means to secure and possess himself of those places that depended on him, arrogating the Kings power to himself, had not by deeds contrary to his words, summoned the States of that Province, and by means of his own adherents, published Decrees and Ordinances, which had more of an absolute Prince, then of a Governor. Whereupon the Parliament of Tholouse infinitely incensed at those proceedings which did manifestly impair their authority, not onely refused the Truce themselves; but forbad all those of the Catholick party either to accept, or put it in execution.

The Parliament of Tholouse ordains, that the Truce shall not be accepted nor executed.

But neither the injuries of her enemies, nor the disobedience of her friends could alter the Queens determination; who making small account of outward appearances, minded onely the compassing of her own ends: Wherefore continuing the businesses which were set on foot, she treated still with him, and with his Agents, to gain the benefit of time by the same arts,

1574

The Rochellers break the Truce.

arts, wherewith he endeavored to settle the foundations of his own estate: Which things, while they were in agitation, the Rochellers, fickle and unconstant in their resolutions, either because they were excited by those of Languedoc, or because the 12000 crowns which were paid them, were not sufficient to maintain their Soldiers, who wanting the spoils of War, disbanded and forsook them daily, upon a sudden broke the truce, which a while before was so willingly accepted and concluded, and in all places round about committed most grievous cruel outrages: Yet neither for all this was the Queen any thing dismayed; but dissembling all injuries with marvellous patience, to accomplish her own designs, dispatched new Agents to the Rochellers, and to *d' Anville*, that they might renew the Treaty; it sufficing her, though the business could not be effected, that till she had notice of the Kings arrival, the time might be spun out, without new troubles and distractions; and therefore every where mingling Treaties of accommodation with actions of War, both sides proceeded with equal slowness, not concluding any agreement, and employing the Armies onely in business of small importance.

And now affairs were brought almost to the point which the Queen before desired; for Monsieur *de Montpensier* with an Army kept the forces of the Hugonots at a Bay in Xaintonge; the Prince *Daulphin*, with another, opposed their attempts in Daulphine; and *d' Anville*, who, doubtful in his minde, thought more to establish himself, then to make any new conquests, being held in hand with arts and promises, drew out the time, without making any more express Declaration. But the Prince of Conde, residing in Strasbourgh, one of the Hans Towns of Germany, was already resolved (following the steps of his Father) to make himself Head of his party; and therefore treated with the Protestant Princes about the raising of new forces, and by Messages solicited the Hugonots of France, to unite and gather themselves together, and to assist him with some reasonable sum of money, whereby while the King was absent, he might without delay enter with a powerful Army into Burgongne.

For this cause the Deputies of the Hugonot Provinces (they then called them the *Reformed Churches*) being met together at Millaut, with the Agents of the Marechal *d' Anville*, (who, though he feigned the contrary, and entertained the Queen Re-

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gent with words and promises, was yet secretly united to them) they consulted as well about the means of procuring money, as about the conditions upon which they should admit the Prince unto that command; Which the Queen no sooner knew, but she presently dispatched fitting persons (whereof she judiciously chose many, and with her liberality maintained a great number) who under colour of treating an agreement, should by sowing doubts and discords, hinder and delay the resolutions of that meeting; nor did the Deputies agree very well among themselves; for though they all knew well enough, that without the name of a Prince of the Blood, that should, both within and without the Kingdom, want authority and reputation, and by consequence the strength of all their forces; yet were their opinions diverse concerning they Prince: for many had yet set their eyes upon the Duke of Alençon; many desired the King of Navar; and some were unsatisfied with the youth of the Prince of Conde, doubting that his want of yeers and experience would be accompanied with weakness and contempt. To this was joyned the ambiguousness of *d'Anville*, who though his chiefest aim was his own security, and the conservation of his Government of Languedoc, yet could he not altogether withdraw his thoughts from pretending to the first place, which though he could not obtain for himself, yet he desired at least that he that had it, should acknowledg it principally from him: nor could it much please *la Noüe*, whose power with the Rochellers was very great to see a superior chosen, whose eminence and reputation would much eclipse & diminish the authority of his Command. But neither the Queens policy, nor their own particular divisions could restrain the general ardor and inclination with which most of them voluntarily concurred, to put themselves under that Prince, whose Ancestors they were accustomed to obey, & whose very name alone made deep impressions in the mindes of the people, by reason of the so famous, & so much deplored memory of his Father. Wherefore the Articles of agreement were set down in the name of the Provinces (*d'Anville* & *la Noüe* assenting to them of necessity, though secretly) whereby after their wonted pretences and protestations, the power & command of that party was conferred upon the Prince of Conde, committing to his protection both the liberty of their consciences, and the ordering of that War which was thought so necessary

The Prince of
Conde is made
Head of the
Hugonots.

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1574

for their common safety. To these capitulations joyning a convenient summe of money, they appointed three Deputies to assist the Prince, both in the conduct and sudden expedition of the Germans, and to relate to him the state of their affairs and their common resolutions.

At this very time the Hugonots using all possible means to help themselves, printed an infinite number of little Pamphlets under divers titles, but all with biting stings, and fabulous narrations against the Actions and Government of the Queen Regent, to whom many of them being brought, and the Council purposing to decree severe punishments against the Authors and Printers of those defamatory pamphlets, and seditious libels; she opposed that opinion, alledging, that to Prohibite them, was a certain means to make them authentick; and that there was no greater proof nor tryal of the good, then when they were hated, and abused by malicious people; and persevering in her resolution not to regard outward appearances, she dissembled all those injuries with admirable patience; but when she saw the preparations for the coming of the Germans, being most resolute to oppose them with force, if policy were not sufficient, she went from Paris accompanied with the D. of Alançon and the King of Navar, who not yet set at liberty, followed her, but without constraint; and being come into Burgongue, she herself mustered the Swisses and Germans, confirming the affections of the Commanders with liberal gifts, and many favours; and then marching with them towards the Provinces that were up in arms, which were the same where the Kings coming was expected, and through which the Army of the Protestants intended to enter the Kingdom, she resolved to stay in Lions as a convenient place to move which way soever need required.

In the mean time, the King having had notice of the death of *Charles*, brought to him by Monsieur de Chemerant, within thirteen dayes, though the Nobility of the Kingdom of Poland, infinitely satisfied with his valour and comportment, did use all possible means to stay him there; yet he not willing to forgoe his hereditary right to France, for the elective Kingdom of Poland, there being so great a difference between them; and solicited by those urgent affairs which called him away, to remedy such violent dangers, departed secretly by night with a small retinue, and passing through Austria

fria with all possible speed, went forward toward his own Kingdom by the way of Italy. He was continually hastened by Letters and Messages from the Queen Regent, who with much ado smothering the sparks of that fire, which was ready to break into a flame, infinitely desired her Sons presence, That she might without further delay apply such remedies as were proper for the malignity of the disease: wherefore the King suspending no longer time then just what necessity required in the entertainments of the Princes of Italy, and particularly in the delights of Venice, where hee was receiv'd with wonderful pomp and honour, about the end of August arrived at Thurin, where it was expected he would begin to prepare, and lay the ground-work of his designs.

The Marechal *d'Anville*, upon security of the Duke of Savoy's word, came thither to him, as also *Philippe Hurant* Viscount of Chiverny his old Chancellour, *Gaspar* Count of Schombergh, *Bernard de Fizes*, and *Nicholas de Neuville* Sieur de Villeroy, both Secretaries of State, who all were sent from the Queen Regent, to give him an account of the affairs of his Kingdom. But the King having heard their relation, with the secret designs of his Mother, and on the other side the pretences and excuses of the Marechal, though not onely *Roger* Sieur de Bellegarde, and *Guy* de Pibrac his favoured Counsellours; but also the Duke of Savoy, and the Lady *Margaret* laboured all they could to bring him to some determination that might be favourable to *d'Anville*; yet nourishing high thoughts in the depth of his mind, and making his excuse that he would resolve nothing without the assistance and approbation of his Mother, to whose vigilance and prudence he was so much obliged, he dismissed *d'Anville* with ambiguous answers, and hastened his journey so much the more, lest hee should be put upon a necessity of referring that to the determinations of others, which he purposed to reserve to the execution of his own premeditated designs; for the better compassing whereof, seeing he had so many businesses to settle in his own Kingdom, that for many decads of yeers it would be in vain to think of any enterprise on that side of the Mountains; and desiring absolutely to gain the Duke of Savoy and the Lady *Margaret*, that he might make use of them afterward in the effecting of his purposes, he resolved to restore unto them *Pignerol*, *Savillan*, and *la Vallée de Perouse*, which for security

Hen. the 3. returning out of Poland, stays at Thurin, and restores certain places to the Duke of Savoy, kept by the Kings of France for security.

1574

of the intentions of those Princes, had been held by the Kings his predeceffors; thinking it superfluous to keep places with a vast expence, out of his owne Kingdome, which were of no other use but in consideration of those hopes, which as affairs then stood, were very far off, and unlikely. Yet many condemned that his precipitate restitution of them, and *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of Nevers Governor of those places, and a man of equall wisdom, and loyalty, after having used all possible endeavours that they might not be restored, layd open his opinion finally in writing, which he desired might be kept for his discharge, among the Records, and Charters of the Crown; whereat the King was offended, though he wisely dissembled it, thinking them vain and ambitious, who would seem to know more of his own secrets then he himself.

The fifth day of September, he came into the confines of his owne Kingdome at Pont-Beau-voyfin, where the Duke of Angoulême, and the King of Navar expected him, who having till then (though with much gentleness) been kept as prisoners, were with demonstrations of much honour and affection fully set at liberty by him at the first meeting; and to give the greater testimony of his good will toward them, he placed himself in the midst between them both, to receive his subjects which were come thither to the confines to shew their dutiful respects unto him. The next day he met the Queen his Mother, who was purposely come to a little castle neere Lyons, and being entered together into the City, they began without further delay, to treat of businesses, concerning the peace, or warr which they were to make with their armed subjects.

The King knew very well not only the wavering troublesome estate of his Kingdome, but also the miserable condition to which he himself at that time was reduced; for the whole Kingdom being divided into two different factions, the one of the *Catholikes*, the other of the *Hugonots*, both which had their chief heads appointed and established long before hand and through the long reiterated distractions, not only the Cities, and Provinces, but also all particular persons divided betweene them, he found that he was left (as we use to say) dry between two rivers, and that his power being shared and dismembred between those two great parties, he retaining nothing but the name of a King, was utterly deprived both

both of his forces, and due obedience; and moreover, that to avoid misery and contempt, he was necessitated to become factious, and partial; and mixing in the dissensions of his subjects, to make himself the authour of his own misfortunes, and a necessary instrument to imbroyle and destroy his own Kingdom. For though the *Hugonots* and *Politicks* were called by the name of *Rebels*, as those who first had shaken off the yoke of their obedience to the King, and openly opposed him; and though the *Catholicks* fought under a colour of so specious and so necessary a cause as the defence and preservation of their Religion; yet for all that the malice of mankind had mingled with it the venome of private interests, and under that honourable pretence, the ambition of the Great ones had to the prejudice of their Kings, built up their own power, and established a kind of unsufferable authority.

The Guises, whilest in the reign of the late Kings they bore the principal sway in the Government, had very fair opportunities to raise and confirm their own Greatness, by putting the commands of strong places, and the governments of Provinces into the hands of their own creatures, and neerest confidants; by placing their dependants in the Courts of justice, in the Kings Council, in the chief honours of the Court, and the management of the *Finances*; and by drawing an infinite number of men to their own devotion, who were straitly engaged to them for many favours, gifts, riches, and dignities obtained by their means; which things, whilest the minds of men were passionately inclined to that party, and taken with the specious mask of Religion, to many seemed tolerable, and to many very reasonable and just: But now they were taken notice of to be united in one body of a Faction, they appeared as a great engine erected to oppose, and upon any fit occasion to resist even the authority and pleasure of the King himself. But on the other side, the Hugonots had no less conveniency of establishing themselves, and strengthening their own power; for having by the ostentation of liberty, and by promising Offices and Authority, drawn unto themselves all the malecontents and turbulent spirits, who once entangled, could no more disengage themselves; and the Edicts of so many several pacifications, having still confirmed those Offices and Governments to those upon whom they had been conferred by the Princes and heads of the Faction; in process of time, the
Provinces

1574

Provinces were incumbered with them, places of strength possessed by them, many chief Offices of the Crown replenished with their adherents, and a great part of the Nobility, with many popular men, were united and interested with them through the whole Kingdom. Wherefore the late Kings, who by reason of the shortness of their reigns, had given greater opportunity to the building up of those two powerful Factions, remaining utterly deprived of all the means and instruments of Government, were forced by necessity to become Champions of the passion, and promoters of the greatness of other men; so that being unable of themselves to execute any solid resolute designe, in stead of governing, they were governed; and in stead of bridling that violence, they themselves were carried away by the impetuous stream of those factions: which indignities being seriously considered by the present King, full of high thoughts, and of a lively generous spirit, had made such an impression in him, that though he used his uttermost indeavours to dissemble and conceal it, he could not but with deep sighs often break forth into the words of Lewis the XI (one of his predecessors), * *That it was now high time to put Kings out of their Page-ships*: meaning, that they having so long been subject to the lash and discipline of the Heads of those Factions, it was then seasonable to shake off their empire and dominion. With these considerations having even in the time of his brothers reign begun to observe and deplore that weakness of the Kings, and insolence of the Subjects, and having made a greater reflection upon them in the thoughts of his late voyage, after the Crown was fallen into his hands, he resolved with himself to use all possible force to shake from his neck the wretched dishonourable yoke of those Factions, and to make himself a free absolute King, as so many of his glorious Ancestors had been.

* *Qu'il estoit
temps de mettre
les Roys hors
Page.*

But as this thought was certainly very necessary for one that desired to reign, and very just in the lawful possessor of a Crown; so was it also infinitely hard and difficult to be put in execution. He wanted the sinews of the Treasury, already wasted and consumed; he wanted the obedience of his Subjects, who were so obstinately interested in their several Factions, that the majesty and veneration of a King was already become fabulous and contemptible: he wanted faithful trusty Ministers; for every one by some strait tye or other was engaged

engaged to one of the parties; and the business of it self by reason of their so excessive power, was a work of mighty art, extraordinary care, infinite diligence; and for the perfecting thereof propitious Fortune was no less requisite then great length of time. But notwithstanding all these so weighty obstacles, the Kings mind being so inwardly wounded, that he could not take himself off from the perpetual meditation of that designe, and thinking no enterprize (how painful or difficult soever) impossible to his youth and valour, firmly determined to apply all his most powerful endeavours to compass that end, which hee was not onely perswaded to by publick respects and his former considerations, but was also moved and incited thereunto by his own private passions and particular inclinations; for having conceived an inveterate hatred against the King of Navar and the Prince of Conde, from the time that he was imployed against them, in that war wherein he had been nourished and brought up from his very childhood; he ardently desired to see the ruine of them, and of all the rest of their faction; from whom, by reason of former injuries, he beleevved he could never have any real nor faithfull service: and on the other side, calling to mind the offence received from the Duke of Guise in the person of his Sister the Lady Margaret then Queen of Navar (of whom it was reported that he had obtained more then ordinary favours) he had converted all the love which he formerly bare him into so great a spleen, that (although he dissembled it) he burned with a most fervent desire of revenge; and for her sake could not endure any interest, dependance, or allyance of blood with the house of Guise; so that publick causes concurring with private enmities, he so much the more easily resolved to destroy both those so potent Factions.

But in contriving proper means to attain that end, the first doubt he met withal was this, Whether the establishment of Peace or continuance of War were more profitable for the advancement of this designe; and though partly to discover their inclinations, partly to draw from them some considerations agreeing with his own intents, he heard the opinions of his Councillours in that point; some exhorting him to embrace Peace, and others encouraging the prosecution of the War; yet he concluded with himself, that War continually nourishing and increasing the force and power of the Factions,

Hen. the 3. ill affected to the King of Navar and Prince of Conde, Heads of the Hugonots; as also to the Duke of Guise, head of the Catholicks

was

was disadvantageous for his present purpose ; and that Peace which would lull asleep turbulent spirits, and with the benefit of time quiet the Passions and Animosities of both parties, was much more helpfull and proper to the effecting of his desires. For whilest the war continued, new abettors and adherents were daily added to the Factions, new places fortified, which were in the power of the Heads of those parties, new Garrisons brought in, and youth was bred up in the profession of arms, and in the obstinacy of civil dissentions : whereas by Peace, the feuds and enmities between particular men would be extinguished, the course of the Factions stopped, the fortifications already made (as the custom is) would be demolished, the number of those, who (wanting other means of living) maintained themselves by war, would be dissipated, the remembrance of past hatreds buried, and the old engaged Leaders (so accustomed to discord) dropping away, young men free from passion, and bred in peacefull thoughts, would spring up in their places. To these reasons was also added this other important Respect, that it being necessary for the execution of so great a design, to furnish the Treasury with some store of moneys for the foundation of his own power, and the sufficient maintenance of his Greatness, and Forces proper for a King ; this could not be put in practice but by the benefit of peace, since War did continually destroy and consume the publick stock, wasting that in a few moneths, which with much labour was a whole year a gathering from the people. Besides this, that old consideration wrought also, which had ever produced the conclusion of Peace ; for the Prince of Conde being ready to come out of Germany with a great forraign Army to the evident danger of France, it seemed much more to the purpose to divert that tempest by an agreement, then by resisting it with force in that weak beginning of his reign to put the state of his Kingdom in so manifest a hazard. These reasons, which perchance by the desire of Rest, and of the delights of the Court (to which he was very much inclined) were made to appear more valid and powerfull, persuaded him to imbrace an accommodation ; yet because the occasions of the War were so just and reasonable, and because the Hugonots on their part provoked him daily with new injuries, in so much as *Mombrun* coming from the mountains of Dalphine, had plundered his own carriages as they passed from

from Savoy to Lyons; and on the other side, because the Catholick Princes unanimously exhorted him not to forsake that path of constancy and valor which in former times he had so gloriously trodden, for the suppression and extirpation of heresie; he feared his designs would easily be discovered, if it were observed, that he a young warlike Prince should refuse to show himself against the Rebellious, and not care to punish the insolence and contumacy of his own Subjects: For having no cause to think that his former actions could argue him guilty of either baseness of minde, or weakness of understanding, they would rather believe he had directed his aim at some further and more important ends, which he thought it would be impossible for him to compass, when once they were laid open by more then probable conjectures. Wherefore resolving to make use of the continued ordinary means of dissimulation, which by nature and custom he was very well versed in, he determined in himself to continue the War, but with such cold faint proceedings as should not alter the state of affairs; and in the mean time by convenient opportunities dexterously and dissemblingly to bring in peace, upon the ground whereof he would after go on to nearer, and to more effectual means; for feigning sometimes to be taken up with exercises of devotion, sometimes with pleasing delightful entertainments, he thought by a shew of negligence and carelessness in time to delude the wisdom of the most politick observers, as if nourishing onely soft effeminate thoughts, he had wholly given himself over to ease and devotion.

With those arts he thought he might easily lull the vigilancy of the Faction, and afterward have both time and opportunity, as occasion served, to build up his designs. He purposed to cherish, and exalt in Court quick-witted and crafty-natured men, to whom he might securely commit the administration of the government; in time he intended to draw into the hands of his creatures, and confidants, not so much the name and title as the substance and essence, both of the greatest Civil and Military offices; he hoped with those opportunities which time uses to afford, by degrees to take away the greatness and reputation of powerful factious men; either by depriving them of their place, diminishing their adherents, lessening their credit, or finally by cutting them off; by which means prudently managed he promised himself, (though with some

1574

length of time) that he should ruine and pull down by little and little, those powers which had been built up, and now appeared so eminent, and terrible ; which things wisely disposed, and discreetly contrived, might perhaps in the end have succeeded happily, if the King in process of time had not suffered himself to be transported by his own nature and inclinations.

Now being upon these considerations, resolved to continue the name, but to slacken the effects of war, he recalled the Prince *Daulphin* from the command of the Army, who with an ardor equal to his courage, and a sincerity equal to his nature, had done his business so handsomly, that having taken and sacked *Paulin*, a place of very great consequence, and overrun all the Province of *Vivarez*, he had filled the Hugonots with infinite terror ; which progress being contrary to the Kings intention, having sent for him from the Army, under colour of being present at his Consecration, he committed the charge thereof unto *Roger Sieur de Bellegarde*, newly created Marechal, who was not onely an interested friend to *d'Anville*, with whom chiefly he was to make war in that Province, but one esteemed by the King so faithful to him, that he was confident he might dispose of him at his own pleasure ; and because the Duke of *Montpensier* on the other side, having razed *Lusignan*, taken *Fontenay*, and other adjacent Towns, pressed the Hugonots so home, that they were already, as it were, shut up in *Rochel*, he commanded away some of his forces, pretending, that they were more necessary in *Campagne*, to hinder the entrance of that Foreign Army, which under the Prince of *Conde*, was not far distant from the borders of the Kingdom ; and because *Henry*, Duke of *Guise*, the principal Head of the Catholick party, Governor of *Campagne*, had the command of the forces of that Province, he made *Armand Sieur de Bir6n* his Lieutenant, who no less famous for wisdom, then valor, had already shewed himself very favorable to the Hugonots.

Matters of War being settled, and ballanced in this manner, the King began to think of marriage ; for, the hopes of the family depending upon him, and the Duke of *Alanc6n*, both without children, it was necessary to provide for the succession of the Kingdom. Before he went into *Poland*, he was not a little taken with *Louyse*, the daughter of *Nicolas* Count of *Vaudemont*, and Niece to the Duke of *Lorain*, being besides the beauty

beauty of her person, infinitely pleased with the modesty of her disposition, and discreet behaviour; but the fear of augmenting the greatness of the house of Lorain, and of bringing the Cardinal into the management of affairs, whose genius was wont to rule the wills, and sway the affections of his predecessors, did much dissuade him from that thought, and recalling to minde the late occurrences, under the reignes of *Francis* the second, and *Charles* the ninth, and the great pretensions, and authority of the Cardinal, he could not bend his mind, to suffer by that meanes, a new increase of that Power, the abatement whereof he had with so much labour, and so long patience propounded to himself. For which considerations turning his thoughts another way, he purposed to demand *Elizabeth* sister to *John* King of Sweden, a Princess for wit, and beauty, not inferiour to any; and Secretary *Pinart* was presently sent to treat about the match. But in the meantime while the King stayed at Avignon, the Cardinal of Lorain (whose power and wisdom he so much feared) chanceing to dye of a burning feaver, he suddenly changed his determination, recalling *Pinart* from his treaty, and being swayed by affection, which in all but especially in great minds, prevails above all other respects, he took to wife *Louyse* de Vaudemont, who in the beginning of the next year was brought to Rheimes by the Duke, and Dutchess of Loraine.

The King demands the Sister of the King of Sweden to wife.

The death of the Cardinal of Lorain.

The Kings third consideration, was, how to settle his brother the Duke of Alançon, who being of a seditious Spirit, and fickle, turbulent nature, was not likely to be more quiet in the reign of the present King, whom he already hated, and envied, than he had been in the late reign of *Charles*, who had not given him such causes of hatred, and emulation. Two propositions came into his mind for that purpose; one was to procure *Elizabeth* Queen of England in marriage for him, but that had been often treated of and always waved, by her resolution not to marry: the other to resigne the Crown of Poland to him, but that could not be done, but by the consent, and election of that people, the which (they believing themselves injured and deprived by the King, in his so secret departure from them) was very hard to be obtained. But not being to be discouraged by difficulty, from making trial what might be done, he chose two Ambassadors to treat about the

business,

1574

business, Guy Sieur de *Pibrac* a man of great learning, and experience, one of his intimate Counsellors, and Roger Sieur de Bellegarde substituting in the command of the Army, *Alberto Gonai* Count of Retz, who because he was an Italian, brought up, and rayfed by King *Charles*, and the Queen Mother, was infinitely trusted by him, and made partaker of many of his most hidden secret intentions.

1575
The King is
consecrated
at Reimes by
Lewis Cardinal of Lorain,
brother to the
Duke of Guise,
and next day
marrieth
Louyse de Vaudemont Niece
to the Duke
of Lorain.

With these designs, but with a shew of feasts, and triumphs began the year 1575. For the King being departed from Avignon, to be consecrated with the accustomed Ceremonies, was come to Rheimes, where the holy oyle is kept in a vial (commonly called the *S^e Ampoule*) destined by ancient veneration, for the anoynting of the Kings of France. The ceremonies were performed with Solemne State, by *Lewis* Cardinal of Lorain the Duke of Guises brother; and the next day after the King married the Princess *Louyse*; all the sadness of former troubles, dissolving it selfe into delightful thoughts, dances, tournaments, and all manner of pompe, and jollity: then having visited the Church of *S. Maclon*, where the Kings with a fast of nine dayes, and other penances, use to receive that famous gift of healing the Kings Evill with nothing but a touch, the King in the end of March came into the City of Paris.

In the beginning of April, the Deputies of the Prince of Conde, the Mareschal d'*Anville*, and of the associated Provinces, were come thither by his permission, to treat of peace; to whom were joyned the Ambassadors of the Queen of England, and of the Cantons of Swisserland, to exhort and persuade the King, to grant those conditions to the *Hugonots*, which they thought necessary for their security; but their demands were so exorbitant, though the King were of himself inclined to imbrace peace, yet could he not bend his mind to hearken to them, and the *Catholike* party with bitter murmurings spoke openly against the insolence, and impertinence of their propositions: wherefore after a long ambiguous negotiation, the Deputies tooke leave, returning to relate the Kings pleasure, to those that sent them; and left *Arenes* one of their number at the Court, to keep the business in agitation, and not utterly to cut off the treaty of peace, which was so much desired on both sides.

About this time (though it were contrary to the Kings intent)

tent) the warr was not at all less active, then it was before; for mens mindes being inflamed of themselves, by the fire of each faction, much blood was dayly spilt in several encounters, and it happened, that *Mombrun* grown proud by the success of many victories, thinking to have his wonted fortune, in a sudden disorderly charge, which he gave the forces of *Monsieur de Gordes* the Kings Lieutenant in Dauphine, was not only repulsed, but also so straightened, between a River, and a hill, by the multitude of the *Catholikes*, that all his men being defeated and scattered, he was first wounded, and after taken prisoner, so that being brought to Grenoble, he was by publike decree of the Parliament condemned to death, and the sentence executed without delay; he not onely bearing the punishment of those infinite troubles, which he had brought upon that Province, but also of his boldness in daring to plunder the Kings owne Carriages, and servants. From this battel wherein *Mombrun* was defeated, escaped *Francis de Bonne* Sieur de *Lefdi-quiers*, a man of great wisdom, and no less boldness and vivacity, who in process of time, being made head of the *Hugonot* faction in Daulphine, advanced himself by his prudence, and courage so farr above his own private condition, that in the end he came with incredible reputation, to be made High-Constable of the Kingdom.

Mombrun who had taken the Kings carriages is taken himself and executed.

Francis Bonne made head of the *Hugonots*, and after High-Constable of the Kingdom.

Nor was the state of affaires any quieter in the other Provinces; for the Marefchall d' *Anville* having called a meeting at Nismes, and another afterward at Montpillier, had declared himself head of the *Politicks*, and joyning in confederacy with the *Hugonots*, had openly attempted those places, which held of the Kings party; In the Province of Perigort *Henry de la Tour* Viscount of Turenne, had caused many places to revolt unto the *Hugonots*, in Normandy the Rebels had taken the Mount *S. Michell*, though within a few dayes after, it was recovered by the care, and valour of *Matignon*; and in all those Provinces, there happened daily little, but frequent encounters, which though they altered not the condition of businesses in the maine, yet did they nourish discord in mens minds, and augment the power of the faction; which reasons confirming the King so much the more in his resolutions of procuring a peace, he sent *Monsieur de la Hunande* a man of much popular eloquence, to treat with *la Nove* and the *Rochellers*, to try if by any means they might be removed from

1575

from those high conditions they demanded; and still continued the negotiation of Agreement with the Agents of the Prince of Conde and Monsieur d'Anville: He also very politickly gave a beginning to those arts which were already contrived, and shewed openly that his minde was averse from the troubles of business, and the toiles of war; and on the other side, much addicted to a devout solitary life, entertaining himself with softer pleasures, and more gentle quiet conversations: but in the mean time he ceased not to consult privately, and as much as he could to draw forward his design; which that it might be kept the more secret, he continued his custom of not propounding his most weighty affairs in the open Council of State, but to treat of them onely in the Cabinet-Council, which was begun in his Brothers time, and by him reduced to a very small number, which were the Queen his Mother, Renato di Birago an Italian, High Chancellor, Alberto Gondi Count of Retz, Philip Hurault Viscount of Chiverny, Pomponne Sieur de Bellicure, Sebastian de l'Aubespine Bishop of Limoges, René Sieur de Villeguier, and the two Secretaries, Pinart and Villeroy. To these not communicating the whole secret, but onely those things which were presently to be done, he resolved as he saw occasion; and daily drew persons of wit and valour to the Court, but such as, taken from moderate fortunes, ought to acknowledge their advancement onely from his hand. And to bring the disposing of the publick monies, and the giving of all grants into his own power, that so men might be obliged to him alone, and the dependance be taken away from the Heads and Princes of the Factions; seeming to finde fault with the ill-ordering of those two most principal things in his Brothers time, he decreed that the Treasurers, not giving other account to the Chamber appointed for that purpose, nor to the Superintendent of the Finances, might make up their accounts and reckonings with nothing but acquittances signed with his hand; by which means disposing of monies according to his own pleasure, he caused it secretly to be conveyed where he thought most convenient, without making any body acquainted with it but himself. In the business of grants and favours, he commanded that no one should intercede or beg for another, but that every one should present their own Petitions, which being once signed with his hand, the Secretaries of State were presently to dispatch them without delay, reply,

Henry the 3.
frames a new
model of Government.

The manner
observed at
Court in the
granting of
Petitions.

reply or contradiction ; for during the reigns of the late Kings, the Princes and great men of the Kingdom, and the Favorites of the Court were wont to present Petitions for private men, favoring their requests by their Authority, and the Petitions were sent to the Secretaries of State and the High Chancellor; who, if they found any thing in them contrary to Law, or the Institutions of the Kingdom, rejected and refused them without further consultation : But if they were such things as might be granted without inconveniency, they registred them in a Roll orderly head by head, which Roll was always read once in so many days before the King and his Council, and every request being maturely weighed, those that were granted, were signed by the Kings hand, and those that were denied, were crossed out of the Roll, and that being copied fair, was called the Counter Roll ; which was no sooner done, but the High Chancellor sealed it, and then the Secretaries dispatched them presently. But *Henry* desirous to deprive the great ones of that means of gaining adherents and dependents, resolved to alter that course, and therefore ordained that private persons should bring their Petitions immediately to himself, which he reading at convenient times, signed those which he was pleased to grant, and would have the Secretaries of State without further debate or exceptions instantly to prepare the warrants ; which new custom, though it seemed strange to the great persons of the Kingdom, and gave occasion of distaste to many, yet brought it the grant of all Gifts, Pardons, and Offices into the Kings absolute disposing, taking away by little and little the followers that flocked after the Heads of the Factions, and reducing all Petitioners to acknowledge their Obligations particularly to himself.

On this manner did *Henry* go politickly advancing his designs ; but as all things which must be effected with length of time, receive divers alterations, according to the variety of worldly accidents, there hapned a thing, which for a season crossed and interrupted the Kings purposes. The D. of *Alanson* had till then been kept in hand by the hopes of attaining the Kingdom of Poland : For though *Monsieur de Bellegarde* discontented at many things, and seeing himself lessened in the Kings favor, was retired into the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, whereof he was Governor, and had refused to treat concerning that Election ; yet *Monsieur de Pibrac*, a man of perfect abilities,

1575

The Duke of
Alençon ex-
cluded from
the Crown of
Poland, and
Stephano Bat-
tori a Hunga-
rian elected
to succeed
Henry the
Third.

lities, went thither, and for a time hoped to bring it to an happy conclusion. But when he once saw that expectation vanished, (for the Nobility and Commons of Poland being much displeased with the Family of France, had elected *Stephano Batori*, an Hungarian of great fame, and remarkable valor) not being able to live under his Brother, and expect the changes of his fortune from his will and pleasure, he fell upon a new design of building up his own greatness by himself; for finding he was repulled in his pretending to the Office of Lieutenant General, and that, to sow discord between him and his friends, it was sometimes given out that the Duke of Lorraine, sometimes that the King of Navar should have it, he thought that making himself Head of the Hugonots and Catholick Male-contentes, as were the House of Momorancy, and the *Mareschal de Bellegarde*, either he should obtain a very absolute power among them, or else constrain the King to grant him that by force, which he despaired to obtain by his good will. Having given some little hint of these his vast thoughts to *Madam de Sanve* (of whom he was passionately enamored, but not answered with a reciprocal affection) and she having in part signified her suspicions unto the Queen Mother, his discontents encreased very much by the bitter words and unkinde looks which he received daily: Wherefore being by disdain and anger brought unto a violent resolution, he determined rashly to absent himself from Court, and to make himself the Head of those who had often wooed and perswaded him to it. This resolution (he being a man of mean capacity, and more ready to undertake, then able to manage so great an enterprize) was put in execution so unseasonably, and with so little appearance of reason, as made many doubt that it was a plot agreed upon by the King his Brother, and the Queen his Mother, that he should fain himself discontented, and alienated from them, to deceive the Hugonots, and, under colour of friendship and assistance, to open a way to the suppression and destruction of those that were up in arms. But it is most certain (and I have heard it affirmed by a person who having had principal Offices in the Government, was partaker of the most hidden secrets which were then in agitation) that this action of the Duke of Alençon was so far from being contrived by the King and Queen Mother, that on the contrary, it was so terrible and so unpleasing to them, that being as
it

it were astonished with the blow, they neglected no possible means, nor thought scorn of any indignity how great soever it were, so they might but withdraw him from the party of those factious men, and restore him to his former neeriness and obedience.

Now the Duke of Alançon having to some of his most familiar confidants secretly communicated his intention of leaving the Court on the fifteenth day of September this present year, went into the Faux-burg of St Marcean, under pretence of visiting a certain Lady which he loved and enjoyed, and entering the house where she dwelt about the shutting in of the day, while his Gentlemen expected him on the street side, hee went forth at a private back gate which led into the fields, and being come where he was expected by those that were privie to his purpose, he presently got on horse-back, and with a small Train, but very great speed, riding all night, arrived at the City of Dreux, a place that was under his command, and there published a Declaration next day, wherein he shewed that the causes of his departure were the unworthy dealings that had been used towards Him and other great Lords of the Kingdom, who were kept in prison without any fault or demerit, and the imminent ruine which he foresaw did hang over the common safety by reason of the Kings evill Counsellors; exhorting all France to joyn with him to make a Generall Assembly of the States, and, by means thereof, remedy the unjust burthens of many, moderate the heavie taxes laid upon the people, regulate the abuses of justice, establish the liberty of conscience so often by publick solemn decrees promised to those of the Reformed Religion, and restore peace and happiness to all sorts of men in the Kingdom: for which things (but without offence to the Kings Majesty) he protested to spend the last drop of his blood, as he was necessarily obliged to doe by his affection to his Country, and love to all good men. By which Declaration divulged particularly in those Provinces and places most abounding with the Hugonots, it was plainly to be seen, that he aspired to the command of that party, which by the authority of so great a Prince, and the number of his followers, which were many, was like to be very much augmented in strength and reputation.

But the King hearing of his Brother's departure, that very night dispatched Lodovico Gonzaga Duke of Nevers with some

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certain

The Duke of Alançon his flight and Declaration.

1575

The Marshalls
of Mowbrancy
and Cossé set
at liberty.

certain Horse, to try if by any means possible they could take him ; which not succeeding by reason of the great speed the Duke of Alançon made, and the advantage of so many hours ; he being unresolved in his own thoughts, called his Cabinet-Councell together (on the 16 of September at night) and began to treat of those remedies which were to be used against so sudden and so unexpected an accident : in which consultation the Queens opinion concurring with the Kings inclination, and with the advice of the major part of the Board, the conclusion was, That not regarding any conditions how hard soever, they should try by all possible endeavours to withdraw the Duke of Alançon from his new begun design, and separate him from the commerce of those turbulent people ; to which end, though the King (being a cruel enemy to the Heads of the Factions) bare an ill will to the Marshalls of *Cossé* and *Mowbrancy*, who were still kept prisoners in the Bastile ; yet to appease and satisfie his Brother, by whose occasion they were fallen into that rebellion, and to take away the fuell from that fire, they were both set at liberto in that very conjuncture of time ; the Queen intending to make them instruments of reconciliation with her Son, to whom she resolved to goe in person, not believing that any could be so powerfull and prevalent to perswade him as the authority and flatteries of a Mother, accompanied with those Arts which shee was wont in all occasions to use with marvellous dexterity.

The Duke of Alançon was come into Poictou, where hee was presently met by Monsieur *de la Noüe*, Gilbert Sieur de Vantadour, a Lord of principal note in Limosin, and the Viscount of Turenne, both allyed to the Marshall *d'Anville*, and all the Hugonot-Towns sent to honour and acknowledge him by messages full of duty and respect.

The Prince of
Condé comes
with a great
Army out of
Germany.

Nor did the Prince of Conde (who, being joyned with Prince *Casimir* upon the confines of Germany, had drawn together a mighty Army) shew himself less ready or desirous to obey him then the rest ; for knowing his ambitious nature, and how much credit and reputation he gained by the name of the Kings Brother, he thought it was to no purpose to contend with him for the first place, being confident, that though hee carried the name of the supreme power, yet the reall authority of command would nevertheless still remain in him,

as

as well by reason of the ancient assurance he had of the Hugonot Faction, as because that forraign Army was paid and raised by his own industry; so that in his imployment he acknowledged no other Superiour, but onely His authority under whose conduct and direction he first took up arms: Wherefore, preventing the motions, and in a manner the very desires of the Duke of Alañon, he declared him Captain-General of his party, and seemed to content himself with the title of his Lieutenant in the command of the forraign Army; which drawing neer to enter into France with 14000 Swisse and German Foot, three thousand French Firelocks, and seven or eight thousand Horse, and fearing too long a delay by reason of the greatness of his Army, and the tedious difficulty of the way, he resolved to send *Guilliaume de Momorancy* Lord of Thore before with 2000 German Horse, two hundred Gentlemen, and two thousand Foot of severall Nations, thorow Champagne (which is the neereft way) to joyn with the Duke of Alañon, who he thought stood in need of present assistance. *Thoré* entring the Kingdom neer Langres in Burgongne, and thence by the shortest way crossing over Champagne, hastened by the swiftness of his march to avoid the opposition of the Catholicks, and passing the river Marne, to get as soon as he could into security: but being overtaken by the Duke of Guise, who with his Brother *Charles* Duke of Mayenne, *Armand* Sieur de Byron, the Count of Retz, and a fresh powerful Army followed to intercept his passage; either the temerity of his Souldiers (as he said afterwards) or his own desire to fight, perswaded him to stay neer Dormans, and alter the thoughts of hastening his voyage into a design of encountering the Enemy. Their Forces wanted much of equality, though both their courages were ardent and resolute; for the Duke of Guise had above a thousand Lanciers, two thousand other Horse, and ten thousand good French Foot, and the Souldiers of *Thoré* weary and tyred with the length of their march, were not neer so great a number: yet he that under favour of the woods might have gotten to the river which was hard by, and have passed it at a foord called *du Verger*, facing couragiously about, fell to skirmish with the first Catholick Troops led by Monsieur *Fervagues* Marshall of the Field, the Rhyne-grave, and Monsieur de Byron; but when he found the skirmish succeed prosperously, ordering his men

The Prince of Condé declares the Duke of Alañon General of the Hugonots.

1575

onely in two Divisions, whereof one was led by the Count *la Val*, and the other commanded by himself, he began fiercely to give the on-set, and though the place in respect of the open field, was very advantagious to the greater number, the issue was uncertain for many hours, till the Duke of Mayenne with the Van of the Cavalry, and the Duke of Guise with those Gentlemen that accompanied him in the Battel, charged in to the body of the German Horse, who having nothing but Pistols against the violence and fury of the Lances, being routed and trodden under foot, lost their lives desperately in the place. In this encounter all the Germans were utterly defeated, and by order from the Commanders cut in pieces without mercy, except onely one Cornet of the Reiters, who being placed in the Rear, and seeing the slaughter of the rest, yielded himself to their discretion, and was spared rather by the weariness then pity of the Conquerors. Colonel *Stinc* the chief Commander of the Germans was slain, with many Gentlemen of quality, *Clerwant* a famous Leader of the Hugonots taken, and *Thore* passing the River with a few Horse saved himself by flight. Nor was this Victory gotten by the Catholicks without blood; for besides the loss of an hundred and fifty of their best Souldiers, the Duke of Guise, whilst valiantly following the execution he pursued the fugitives, who fought as they ran away, was himself shot in the left cheek, the skar whereof served afterwards for a memorable mark to win him the love of all those who being affectionate to the Catholick Religion, honoured the signs of that blood which had been spilt, and of that danger which had been undergon fighting in person for the service of the Church of God.

The Duke of
Guise is shot
in the face.

Monseigneur de Ferwaques carried the news of this Victory to the Court, who departing before the Duke of Guise was wounded, made a lame imperfect narration of the business, yet much to his own advantage; but *Pellicart* the Duke of Guise's Secretary arriving a few hours after, who brought word of his Lords being hurt, and many other particulars of that Action. *Ferwaques* was not onely slighted by the King, but laughed at by the whole Court, thinking that he with a false story of the Encounter would have attributed the honour of the day unto himself, which was due to the worth of those who had purchased it with their blood: whereupon he conceived himself to be very hardly used, considering the valour that he really had shewed

shewed against the Enemy, with whom he had fought gallantly first of all: and therefore he was excited by his naturall inconstancy to make one in the managing of a new designe, which not many dayes after caused a great disturbance in the Court.

In the mean time the Queen-mother, attended by the Marechalls of *Cosse*, and *Momorancy*, arrived at Campigny in Poictou, to meet with the Duke of Alançon, who was so puffed up with the present ambition of commanding so many, and with the near assistance of the foreign army already come to the confines of Burgongne, that she not being able to agree with him concerning articles of peace, at last procured a cessation of arms, about the end of November, which was to continue for six monthes, in which time she not only hoped that the German Army would waist away; but also that the Duke himself being of a fickle unconstant humour, might be drawn to a more reasonable, and more secure peace; the conditions of the truce were; That the King should pay 160000 ducats, to the Prince of Conde and the Germans, provided they passed not the Rhyne; nor entred into the confines of France, that the Cities of Angoulesme, Saumur, Nyort, Bourges, la Charite and Meziere, should be assigned unto the Hugonots, and Politicks for their security, which should presently be restored as soon as the truce was expired, if the peace were not concluded in the mean time; that the King should give the Duke of Alançon wherewithall to maintaine an hundred gentlemen, an hundred *Gens d'Armes*, an hundred firelockes, and Fifty Swisses for the guard of his own person; that the Deputies of the associated Provinces, and of the Politick and Hugonot Princes, should come to Paris in the midst of the moneth of January next ensuing, to treat about conditions of peace, and in the mean time all acts of Hostility should be forbore through the whole Kingdom. Which Truce being published about the twentieth of December, the conditions thereof were not so punctually observed; for Monsieur de *Ruffec* Governour of Angoulesme, and Monsieur de *Montigny* Governour of Bourges, refused to resigne those places to the Duke of Alançon, pretending in excuse that they thought they could not be secure in any other places, by reason of the hatred they had drawn upon themselves in the service of the King, and of their Religion; but the Queen (with whose

A Cessation of Arms for six monthes.

consent

1575 consent it was doubted those Governors had made resistance) in lieu of those two Cities, gave them S. Jehan d' Angely, and Cognac, places of much lesse importance; and on the other side the Prince of Conde, and the Germans fearing the same thing which the Kings party hoped, would not consent to forebear entering into the Kingdom; Knowing that if their army should lie still in idleness, it would certainly consume, and destroy it self.

1576 Hereupon the Queen-mother leaving the Duke of Montpensier, and the Marechal of Momorancy with her son, that they might entertain him with thoughts of peace, returned speedily to Paris, to be present at the treaty with the Deputies which was begun in the moneth of January 1576 with assured hopes of bringing it to a happy conclusion; for the King by his own inclination already affecting peace, and the Cabinet Council to deprive the Rebels of the person of the Duke of Alançon, and free themselves from the imminent danger of a forraign army, were content that very large conditions should be granted; which afterward either by an assembly of the States, or by some other meanes they were resolved not to observe; which negotiations while they were prolonged by the many pretensions of the Male-contents, beheld a new accident interposed it self, before the accommodation was concluded; for the King of Navar being already 22 years of age of himself full of sprightly thoughts, and spurred on by so frequent examples, and by the emulation of other Princes his equals; not enduring to be ill looked on, and almost despised at the Court, whilst the Duke of Alançon, a vain indiscreet man, and the Prince of Conde his inferiour both in years, and honour, arrogated to themselves the chief command of that party, which he was wont to rule; and his spirit not suffering him longer to bear the humors of the Queen his wife, which whilst he stayed at Court he was forced to dissemble; either drawn by some supernatural hidden cause, or set forward by his own inclination to a beginning of eminent success, took a resolution to leave the Court; and retiring himself to his Government of Guienne, to try if he could draw that power to himself, which he saw was going to be settled upon the other discontented Princes.

The difficulty was to put this thought in execution; for he was not only carefully watched by his guards, who under shew
of

of doing him honours were his diligent keepers, but even the nearest attendants upon his own person, depended wholly upon the King and Queen-mother, who mixing hopes with feares, led him gently in hand with continued ambiguous promises, to hold him in an opinion that they would trust him with the charge of Lieutenant Generall, which they had refused to venture upon the unsettledness of the Duke of Alancon; but he being secretly advertised by *Daielle* a Provençal Gentlewoman, one of the Queens maids, whom he privately enjoyed, and by *Madame de Carnavelet*, with whom he had a very neer familiarity, that those were but arts to keep his hopes fastened to the Court, he took a resolution to try his fortune, knowing that he should be assisted and followed by *d' Aubigny*, and *Armagnac*, the one Gentleman, the other groom of his bed-chamber, the only men that remained with him of his old family. But this not being sufficient for the well effecting of his design, (embracing the opportunity which occasion offered) he communicated his intents to *Guilianme Sieur de Farvaques*, with whom by a certain Sympathy of extraordinary spirit, he had contracted a familiar friendship; who highly offended at the present affairs, the unquietness of his mind being accompanied with great Subtilty, and no less courage, approved the resolution, and warily contrived both the time, and manner of their escape for which purpose being gone out of the City upon the twenty third of Feb. with a few Gentlemen and servants, under colour of hunting the stagge, which the King of Navar was wont much to delight in, and having deceived his guards by many several wayes, they passed the river with all possible speed below Poissy, and thence changing their voyage, in stead of continuing toward the west, they turned presently toward the south, and avoyding the great high wayes, arrived at Alancon without the least stop or delay; where staying no longer then was necessary to refresh themselves, they suddenly passed the river Loyre by the bridge of Saumur, and preventing fame by their so speedy journey, came before they were looked for into Guienne, where the King of Navar taking the opportunity of his so unexpected arrivall, (because they knew not yet whether he was come as a friend, or as an enemy to the King) with an incredible diligence, which gave them who were unprepared no time to arm or certify themselves, still making use of his Authority as Governour

The King of Navar displeased for many causes, flies from the Court and proceeds against the Catholics.

1576

nour for the King ; and with that authority mingling force, he began to make himself Master of the chiefeſt places, calling in and reducing all thoſe who for the memory of his Father, and his own late command, were willing to follow and depend upon him.

Although this ſudden turn did at firſt diſturb the mindes of the King and Queen-Mother, who while they laboured to remedy diſorders, ſaw daily new unexpected troubles to ariſe ; yet as ſoon as their thoughts were quietly ſetled, they began to finde both advantage and ſatisfaction by it, hoping that the multiplicity of Heads would bring forth diſcord and emulation ; whereby the power of the Male-contents would be weakened, and being divided into many parts, every one of which would be ſeverally governed by particular intereſts, would in the end be unable to maintain it ſelf : with theſe hopes they ſhewed ſo open a joy at the departure of the King of Navar, either for that conſideration, or becauſe they would not ſeem dejected at ſo great an oppoſition of Fortune, that many believed the King of Navar was perſwaded to that reſolution by *Monſieur de Ferwaques*, rather by the advice and conſent of the Queen, then out of any faithful care of his advancement ; which was the more credibly believed by many, who knew not the truth of the buſineſs, when they ſaw that *Ferwaques* within a little while after forſaking that party, returned again unto the Kings obedience. But I have ſince heard *Monſieur de Ferwaques* himſelf affirm, that the occaſion of his ſo ſudden change, was becauſe he ſaw the King of Navar (next whom (as one that had run the ſame fortune) he hoped for the firſt place) was ſain to let himſelf be governed by thoſe of moſt ancient authority in that Faction, and many were preferred before him, that were not only leſs affectionate to his affairs, but of leſs ability and meaner condition.

The King of Navar publiſheth that he was forced to turn Catholick.

But it is certain that this revolt of the King of Navar produced an effect not much unlike that which the King and Queen hoped ; for though at firſt it was probable, that it would give a great addition of power unto the Hugonot faction, to which he had joyned himſelf with open Declarations, alledging that his converſion to the Catholick Religion four yeers before, had been conſtrained and forced by the imminent terrour of a cruel death ; yet it was the occaſion that the Duke of Alançon, being as it were eclipsed by the luſtre of the Prince
of

of Conde, and King of Navar, who by reason of the ancient confidence had of them, were in greater esteem and reputation, did the more easily condescend to a conclusion of Peace, knowing that the true essentiall authority would be in them, and in him only the title and appearance; for the King of Navar having with much ease assumed the command of Guienne, and the protection of the Rochellers; and on the other side, the Prince of Conde commanding the forraign Army, the Duke of Alançon had no power but what they pleased to conferr upon him, who making shew to honour him very much for his title of the Kings Brother, in all other things reserved to themselves as well the priviledge of resolving, as the authority of executing, he having nothing left him but the weak dependence of some few Male-contents.

About this time the German army marched toward Burgongue, against which (the Duke of Guise not being yet cured of the wound he had received on his face) Charles Duke of Mayenne advanced with the Kings Forces, which being much inferiour to the strength of the Enemy, he still encamped in safe Quarters neer the Suburbs of those Cities where he passed; endeavouring to cut off passages, and spoil the wayes, (which of themselves were much broken by the extremity of ill weather in the winter time) by that means to hinder their progress, as well in marching, as of being able to take any place that was of importance for the War: whereby the Prince of Conde alwayes receiving damage, as well in his Quarters, as in sending out to forrage, and very much annoyed by the haile and snow which fell in great abundance, was forced to move slowly, and in a very close Body, endeavouring by the pillage of the weakest places to satisfie the greediness, and supply the wants of his Souldiers; wherein as his discreet Conduct plainly appeared, being able in so tender an age to govern an Army made up of several warlike Nations, and keep it within the unusual limits of obedience to military discipline: so likewise the prudence and industry of the Duke of Mayenne was very remarkable, who not of much riper yeers, neither sparing any pains, nor avoyding any sufferance in so sharp a season, either in his own person, or his souldiers, did with admirable diligence keep still close to the forraign Army, and oppose their march with so much carefulness, that except some few open places which were quitted, no

1576

Charles Duke
of Mayenne
commands
his mutinous
souldiers to be
cut in pieces.

City nor walled Town felt the calamities and miseries of the German incursions; and it happened, that he having one night when it was late given order to march away from a place where his Army was quartered, to prevent the Enemies advancing; some Companies of Foot, not onely terrified by the obscurity of the night, which was exceeding dark, but also by a thick storm of hail, snow and rain together, refused to go along with the rest of the Army, that marched in order under their colours with infinite patience; which being told the Duke of Mayenne, he caused them all to make a halt, and commanded the Cavalry to cut those mutinous Souldiers in pieces; which being performed without delay, as he confirmed that discipline in his Army which Civil Warres (as they are wont) had for a long time corrupted and destroyed; so did he give a testimony of that severe gravity which ever after was proper to that Prince in all his other actions in the war.

The Duke of
Alancon mu-
stered 35000
fighting men.

But neither could the valour of the Generall, nor the discipline of the Army, with so great a disadvantage of strength, absolutely hinder the progress of the Germans; wherefore notwithstanding all rubs and delays, they at last joyned with the Duke of Alançon about the beginning of March in the confines of Bourbonois, who having mustered his Army which he found amounted to the number of 35000 fighting men, went to Moulins, where with the Prince of Conde, Monsieur *de la Noüe*, the Deputies of the King of Navar, and the Marechal *d'Anville*, he began to advise what was fittest to be done; the Commissioners appointed for the treaty of Peace being returned from Court, and the Marechal of *Momoraney*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and Monsieur *de Bellievre* being there for the King, both parties consented, though for diverse respects, and with several intentions to the conclusion of peace; which though it were opposed by the Marechal *d'Anville*, who having already procured his brothers liberty, and established himself absolutely in the Government of Languedoc, was not willing by an Accommodation to return to that obedience from which (as a thing of danger) he had by force & cunning withdrawn himself: yet the King of Navar and the Prince of Conde, who were not pleased to see the Duke of Alançon enjoy that place which they were wont formerly to possess, and took it ill that he should reap the fruits of their past and present labours, desired the Agreement might be concluded, by which means he returning to the

the Court, and into his Brothers favour, the chief power of that party would remain in them, believing that as by his continuance on their side, he did much prejudice their authority, and also greatly hinder the execution of important designs; so if on the other side he could obtain from his Brother the command of the Catholick Army, he by his want of experience would give them many occasions to advance and establish themselves; wherefore their inclinations, and the nature of the Duke of Alançon prevailing, it was in the end resolved, that they should propose the Articles of their demands unto the King, which if they were accepted, they would conclude a Peace; but if rejected, they would resolutely continue the Warr.

1576

The King of Navar and Prince of Condé offended at the Duke of Alançons power, think to free themselves of him by a peace.

Their demands proposed were very high and exorbitant, but the Kings inclination to Peace, and the desire of the Council to obtain the same, were great enough to digest them all, both to free themselves of the eminent danger of a forraign Army, and take away those vast expences which (the Treasury being empty) fell all upon the poor miserable Subjects; as also to ease themselves of that burthen which had so generally tyred mens mindes and bodies; wherefore the Queen already ghesing at the Kings designs, having by many conjectures founded the depth of his intentions, came herself in person (as her custom was) into the Duke of Alançons Camp about the beginning of May, and there settled the conditions of Peace, which by a decree of 73 Articles were ratified by the King, and solemnly published upon the fourteenth of May, he himself being present in the Parliament.

This was the fifth Peace concluded with the Hugonots; by which, after the accustomed clauses belonging to the approbation, and oblivion of all that was past, full liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their Religion, without exception of times or places was granted to the Hugonots, with a power of erecting Schools or Colledges, of calling Synods, of celebrating Matrimony, and administering the Sacraments with the same freedom as was allowed to the Catholicks. All men of the Reformed Religion were permitted to execute any places or Offices, and enjoy any dignities of what quality soever, without that distinction and precedency of the Catholicks, which had formerly been observed; promises were made to settle a Court of Justice in every Parliament, half whereof

Peace is made with the Hugonots the fifth time.

The History of the Civill Warres

Condition of
peace not ob-
served.

The Prince of
Orange for-
merly decla-
red Rebel is
restored to his
Estate.

should be of the one, and half of the other Religion, to judge the causes of the Hugonots; eight Towns were granted to the Princes for their security, till the articles were fully, and perfectly performed, viz. *Beucaire* and *Aiguemorte* in Languedoc; *Perigieux*, and *la Mas de Virdun* in Guienne; *Nyon*, and *Serres* in Dauphine; *Isoire* in Auvergne, and *Seine la Grand Tour* in Provence. The sentences against *la Mole*, the Count de *Coranas*, the Admiral de *Coligny*, *Briquemant*, *Cavagnes*, *Montgomery*, and *Mombrun* were revoked, and declared null: and further it was declared, that no fault was to be imputed to the Viscount of *Chartres*, and *Beauvais*, for having contracted, or negotiated any agreements with the Queen of England; for the Duke of *Alençon* *Apennage* (so they call the maintenance which is allowed to Kings Sons and Brothers) they assigned *Berry*, *Touraine*, and the Dutchy of *Anjou*, three of the greatest and most fertile Countries in all France: and 100000 Crowns of annual pension: To the Prince of *Conde* they allotted the Government of *Picardy*, and for his security the City of *Peronne*, a very strong place seated neer the Sea. To Prince *Casimir* the Principality of *Chateau-Thierry*, a pension of 14000 Crowns, the maintenance of one hundred Lances, and the entire payment of all arrears due to the *Germane Armie*, which amounted to 1200000 Duckets. To the Prince of *Orange*, the restitution of all those States he was wont to possess in the Kingdom of France, which for Rebellion had been taken from him by the sentence of Parliament, and added to the Kings revenue; finally an Assembly of the States Generall was promised within six moneths; who were to represent unto the King the grievances of his Subjects, and consult of their remedies: which condition proposed by the Princes to set a better gloss upon their cause, and to winn the applause of the people, was willingly received by the King, as a convenient meanes to dissolve, and disannull the Articles agreed upon, which (with many others less considerable, but not lesse unreasonable, and exorbitant) as soon as they were known to those of the Catholick party, exasperated most of their mindes in such manner, that they not onely murmured freely against the King himself, as one of a mean spirit, drowned in the effeminate delights of the Court; and the Queen-mother, as if to recover her Son the Duke of *Alençon* from the way of perdition

tion, she had neglected the Majesty of Religion, and precipitated the general safety of the Kingdom: but many were already disposed to rise, and would have taken arms to disturb the unjustness of that Peace, which was Generally esteemed shameful and not fit to be kept, if within a while they had not manifestly understood, that the King, and Queen purposely to recover, and draw home the Duke of Alançon, had consented to conditions in words, which they were resolved not to observe in deeds; for the forreign army being first of all sent away, by having disbursed part of the arrears to Prince *Casimir*, and given him security for the rest, partly by pawning Jewells, partly by engaging the word of the Duke of Lorraine; and having exactly performed all things promised to the Duke of Alançon, none of the other articles were observed, either to the Hugonots in generall, or to the King of Navar, and Prince of Conde in particular: but the King permitting, and tacitly consenting to it, the assemblies of the Hugonots were everywhere violently disturbed; the government of Picardy was not given to the Prince of Conde, nor the City of Perronne assigned to him; the Courts of Justice which were to be formed in the Parliaments, were deferred with several excuses; and of so many Counsellors which ought to have been elected, the King having named only *Arenes*, one of the Deputies which had treated the Peace, to be President of the Parliament of Paris, they refused to accept of him, the King not being at all displeased at it: which things clearly discovering the Kings mind, though they quieted those Catholicks, who judged of the State of affairs without interest, or Passion, and disposed the most part of peaceful natured men, to expect the issue of the assembly of the States, which the King had appointed to be in the City of Blois, on the fifteenth day of November; yet the Guises, who were not slack in laying hold of any opportunity, to augment their own greatness, and to secure the state of that Religion, which was so straightly linked to their interests, began upon the conjuncture of so great an occasion, secretly to make a League of the Catholicks, in all the Provinces of the Kingdom, under colour of opposing the progress, and establishment of Heresy, which by the Articles of peace was so fully authorized, and established; but in effect to reduce the forces of the Catholick party, into one firm entire united body which they might dispose

The Assembly of the State is appointed at Blois the fifteenth of November.

of

1576 of as occasion served, for their own security, and for a foundation of that party whereof they hold the principality.

Henry Duke of Guise, Charles Duke of Mayenne, and no less then they, Lewis Cardinal of Guise their third brother, were left not only heires to their Fathers greatnes, and reputation, and possessors of the rule and government of the Catholick party, but had also by their proper valour and industry, acquired wonderful renown and love among the people, partly by their liberal popular nature, partly by their care, and zeale shewed in preferring before all other respects, the Protection, and maintenance of that Religion, whereof they were the sole Champions and defenders. These brothers (to whom were joyned the Duke, and *Chavalier d'Aumale*, the Duke d'Elbœuf, the Duke de Mercœur, with his brothers, (though allyed unto the King, yet all of the same house of Loraine) when contrary to their expectation they saw the peace concluded, and ratified with Articles so unjust, and prejudicial to the Catholick Religion, and to the credit, and power of their partie; stirred up with anger and disdain (which often use to lay open mens resentments) began to enter into a great suspicion of the Kings Counsellors and designs, thinking that a Prince of a noble, warlike nature, would never have suffered the temerity of his subjects, to draw him to such shameful conditions, but that he concealed some deeper thoughts, & more weighty undiscovered resolutions: wherefore though the King by means of the Queen-mother, and many others which they both confided in, gave them to understand that his intention was to break, or at least to moderate those conditions, by the assembly of the States at Blois, and that he had consented to those dishonorable articles, only to deprive the Hugonots of so powerful a prop, as the person of the Duke of Alençon; but that he would settle all by convenient, proportionable remedies; yet those Princes were not altogether satisfied, but every day by various conjectures, penetrating more deeply into those mysteries, as also being highly displeased at the Kings Decree, whereby taking away the power, in appearance from all, but in effect for them alone, of procuring gifts, and interceding for favours, for the followers and Dependants of the Catholick partie; and falling into a great distrust of his affection towards them, they resolved, either by that opportunity to establish the foundation of their own

own power, or else by so great an obstacle to hinder those designs which the King had begun & contrived in his mind; to bring their followers and adherents into one well united Body, drawing together and confirming that engine of power, which though vast and mighty, was yet spread and dispersed as bloud in the veins, through all the parts of the Kingdom. And because the present occasion gave them a wonderfull opportunity to allure mens minds with honourable specious pretences, to affright the fearful into a consent to their desires, and to stir up the anger of those that were unsatisfied, and utterly displeased at the conclusion of the Peace, they began to work upon the Parisians and Picards; *Those*, as in all times jealous of the preservation of the Catholick Religion; *These*, as terrified with the fear of being commanded by the Prince of Conde, to whom the Government of their Province had been promised.

The way of meeting together, and holding intelligence with one another, was opened to them by the Kings own institution, who either moved by his inclination to piety, by the admonitions and writings of Father Bernard Caster a Jesuite, and many other religious men of that and other orders; or else to cover and palliate those hidden intentions which hee had resolved on for the course of his future Government; had brought in the use of many *Fraternities*, who under divers habits and different names met together upon days of devotion, to spend their time in processions, prayers, disciplines, and other spirituall exercises, under the pious pretence of appeasing Gods wrath, of imploring a remedy for their present divisions and calamities, and of procuring unity, peace, and concord amongst all the people of the Kingdom; by which means the Catholicks did not only meet freely together in all places, but also found matter and opportunity to discourse of present affairs, and to bewaile the miserable condition to which the Crown was reduced by division, and by the increase of heresie; from which lamentations coming to talk of busineses of the Government, and the affairs of State, it was not hard both for those Brethren themselves, and perchance for others more crafty, and better acquainted with the designs of the principall contrivers, to sowe the seeds, and ingrasse the beginnings of that league, which had a neer connection with that devout pretence for which the Catholicks assembled themselves in so many severall places.

By the Duke of Guise his cunning, politick discourses are brought into those assemblies which were instituted for devotion.

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This practice was first begun in Picardy by *Jaques Sietur d'Humiers*, Governour of Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye, who being a remarkable man for riches and followers in those parts, and for some private causes an enemy to the House of *Momorancy*, and by consequence to the Prince of Conde, whose authority he hated, and whose greatness he apprehended, for fear of being put out of his Government; began by means of those Assemblies, which were no less frequent there then in other places, to exhort the inhabitants of Peronne not to suffer their Town to be made the nest and receptacle of Heresie, nor to let that fire be kindled in their bosomes, which was like in time to inflame their whole Country, and consume all the other parts of France: he perswaded them, that the first day of the Princes admission would be the last of their liberty; for being made subject to the tyranny of hereticks, seditious men, and forreigners, there would no longer be any possibility for them to enjoy their estates, houses, wives, nor their own children, all which would become a prey to the covetousness and cruelty of those that governed: he added, that they could expect nothing but mischief which way soever things were carried; for if the Hugonots prevailed, they would certainly be exposed to the slavery of the English, with whom it was known the Prince had made an agreement to give them places and Fortresses in Picardy: and though the Catholicks should prevail, they were to look for no better then long sieges, miseries and calamities of War and Famine, since he was so earnest to get the possession of that Government for no other reason, but by the help of its strength to resist the last assaults of his evill fortune: By which plausible reasons that people being moved, and the inhabitants of Mondidier, Roye, and Dorlan their neighbours being perswaded to the same, they consented to make a league among themselves to hinder the Prince from taking possession of that place, and of the Government of Picardy, and to maintain and preserve the Catholick Religion in their Province. Nor was this practice less advanced in the City of Paris, where the zeal of the common people in matters of Religion, and the open enmity which they had at all times professed against the Hugonots, afforded them very fit matter to foment those designs: wherefore there being many of the Parliament men and Sheriffs of the City (*Eschevins*, as they call them) and not

not a few of religious Orders, who in those meetings and Fraternities laboured cunningly the promoting of that League, a great number of men of all degrees and qualities were by a strict Oath already tyed and united in the bond of that Association.

The example of the Picards and Parisians was followed by the Nobility of Poictou and Tourain, as neereſt to thoſe places poſſeſſed by the Hugonots, and more expoſed to the imminent danger of their authority ; and being led by *Louis de la Tremouille* Duke of Touars (a Lord of great dependents, and of ancient nobility and reputation, but a man full of turbulent unruly thoughts) were already united and aſſociated, drawing after them not only the greater part of the Clergie, but alſo a great many of the Communalty. Nor did the other Provinces want either Heads to introduce, or fit matter to receive the ſame Confederacy, which being propoſed by men of great ſubtilty, and no leſs authority, under a plauſible name and ſpecious appearance, eaſily gained credit even among the wiſeſt, and ſpread wonderfully through all Cities and Provinces.

The form of that League and Covenant which was to be ſigned by all thoſe that conſented to it, was this :

In the name of the moſt holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, our only true God, to whom be glory and honour.

The form of
the League
or Covenant.

The Covenant of the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion ought to be, and is made for the eſtabliſhment of the Law of God in its firſt eſtate, and to reſtore and ſettle his holy ſervice according to the form and manner of the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Church, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary unto it.

Secondly, For the preſervation of King Henry, the Third of that name, and his Succeſſours the moſt Chriſtian Kings, in the State, Honour, Authority, Duty, Service, and Obedience due unto them from their Subjects, as it is contained in thoſe Articles that ſhall be preſented to him in the Aſſembly of the States, which he ſwears and promiſes to obſerve at the time of his Conſecration and Coronation, with proteſtation not to do any thing againſt that which ſhall be ordained and ſetled by the States.

Thirdly, To reſtore unto the Provinces of this Kingdom, and to thoſe other States which are under it, thoſe ancient rights, pre-eminences, liberties, and priviledges which were in the time of

1576

Clovis the first most Christian King, or yet better and more profitable (if any such can be found) under the said protection.

In case there be any impediment, opposition, or rebellion against that which is aforesaid, be it from whom it will, or proceed it from whence soever it may; those that enter into this Covenant shall be bound and obliged to imploy their lives and fortunes, to punish, chastise, and prosecute those that shall attempt to disturb or hinder it, and shall never cease their indeavours till the aforesaid things be really done and perfected.

In case any of the Confederates, their friends, vassals or dependents, be oppressed, molested or questioned for this cause, be it by whom it will, they shall be bound to imploy their persons, goods, and estates to take revenge upon those that shall have so molested them, either by the way of justice or force, without any exception of persons whatsoever.

If it shall come to pass, that any man after having united himself by Oath unto this Confederacy, should desire to depart from it, or separate himself upon any excuse, or pretence (which God forbid); such violaters of their own Consciences, shall be punished both in Bodies, and Goods, by all means that can be thought of, as enemies to God, Rebels, and disturbers of the publick Peace, neither shall such revenge be ever imputed unto the aforesaid Associates, nor they liable to be questioned for it, either in publique or in private.

The said Associates shall likewise sweare to yeeld ready obedience, and faithfull service unto that Head which shall be appointed; to follow, and obey him, and to lend all Help, Counsell, and Assistance, as well for the entire conservation, and maintenance of this League, as for the ruine of all that shall oppose it, without partiality or exception of persons; and those that shall fail or depart from it shall be punished by the authority of the Head, and according to his Orders, to which every confederate shall be obliged to submit himself.

All the Catholicks of several Cities, Towns and Villages shall be secretly advertised and warned by the particular Governours of places, to enter into this League, and to concur in the providing of men, arms, and other necessaries, every one according to his condition and ability.

All the Confederates shall be prohibited to stir up any discord, or enter into any dispute among themselves, without leave of the Head, to whose arbitrement all dissensions shall be referred, as also the

the determining all differences, as well in matters of goods as good name, and all of them shall be obliged to swear in this manner and form following;

1576

I swear by God the Creator, (laying my hand upon the holy Gospel) and under pain of Excommunication, and Eternal damnation, that I enter into this holy Catholick League, according to the form of that writing, which hath now been read unto me; and that I do faithfully, and sincerely enter into it, with a will either to command or to obey, and serve, as I shall be appointed; and I promise upon my life, and honour, to continue in it, unto the last drop of my blood, and not to depart from it or transgress it for any command, pretence, excuse or occasion, which by any means whatsoever can be represented to me.

The copies of this League framed with so much art by the Guises (that making a shew to obey, and maintain the King, took from him all his obedience, and authority, to conferr it upon the head of their Union) were very carefully, and with much cunning dispersed, by the hands of discreet wary men, and such as were deeply engaged to them; so that by little and little it began to spread in every place, the cause or original not at all appearing; whereby making very great, but hidden proceedings, because custom had already disposed mens minds to a desire of novelties; they easily, and in a short time, drew all those into one body, whom either for zeal of Religion, dependance of interest, desire of change, or hatred of the Hugonot Princes, they thought fit to bind together in that League, and confederacy. But it being necessary, to provide monyes for the nourishment, and maintenance of that united body, and to finde out some protection of great power and authority, to shelter, and defend it from the Kings forces; the Lords of Guise turning their eyes out of the Kingdom, thought that both for their Religion, and themselves, it was as lawful for them to make use of the help, and favour of forreign Princes, as it had been for the Hugonots to require the assistance of the Queen of England, and the Princes of Germany: and therefore they began secretly to treat at Rome for Protection; and in Spain for men and money: nor did they find in any place any averfness to their desires: for the Pope being displeased at, and affraid of the Peace concluded with the Hugonots, willingly gave ear to those things, which might conveniently oppose their establish-

1576

ment: and the Catholick King grown jealous, that the designs of the Duke of Alançon would at last break out upon Flanders, and that the King to quench the fire of his own house, would be content to kindle it in his neighbours, willingly concurred to foment those in France who laboured to renew the war, hoping that the discords in that Kingdom, might one day give him an opportunity of some grand design, and in the mean time preserve the peace and quietness of all his own.

Nicholas Cardinal de Pelle-vé, bred up in the house of Guise, treated the interests of this Union at Rome, which by *Gregory the thirteenth*, a man of great Candor, and goodness, but of a facile nature, was harkened unto with much readiness; it pretending nothing but Faith, Religion, Charity, Zeal to the publick good, correction, and reformation of abuses; though in effect it contained private passions, mingled with particular interests: which not being unknown to the Court of Rome, many discoursing of so new and high a design, ascribed the cause of it, to a desire the Guises had to govern the Kings will; who excluding their help and Counsel, shewed that he would rule as it pleased himself; others drawing the business another way, attributed it to their care of conserving their own greatness, which they had with so much sweat, and labour been so long a building up. Nor did there want those who passing yet further, (perchance through the malice they bore to that party) taxed the heads thereof, to aim at vaster ends; which whether true, or false, were after published to be the deposing of the King himself, as a dissolute, incapable, mean spirited man, and in time to settle the Crown in the house of Guise, which some did openly maintain to be derived in a right line from *Charlemagne*. But whether these designs were indeed plotted from the beginning, or whether they took birth from the emergent occasions which happened after, it is not so evident; for as they were divulged and amplified by the Hugonots, so were they closely concealed, and firmly denied by the Guises. But they themselves could not deny two great and powerfull occasions; one a discontent because they could not sway, and Govern the present King, as they had done *Charles*, and *Francis* his last Predecessors; the other a desire to rule the Catholick party, founded long before by their Ancestours, and increased and confirmed

Causes that
moved the
Guises to
frame the
Catholick
League.

confirmed by themselves; and to these was added as a third, the necessity of opposing the King's designs, which they now saw tended openly to their ruin, thereby to free his neck from the yolk of Factions. These interests which could not be wholly concealed from the Pope (for that Court, most wise in judging of all things, did easily penetrate into them) made him so much the more reserved and wary what to resolve, by how much the apparent respect of preserving the Catholick Religion spurred him on to consent unto it.

But whilst the approbation of this League is treated on at Rome, the Pope inclining but ambiguously unto it, the business was very easily determined on the other side in the Court of Spain; the propositions being such, that the Catholick King ought rather to have desired that the League should put it self under his protection, then make himself be long entreated to comply with those requests, which for that purpose were effectually made unto him: for indeed it was a gate which did not only open unto him a passage to the security of his own States, but also to very great hopes of acquiring more, and at least (if no better) to keep the King of France his Forces divided and imployed, with which the Crown of Spain had so long and so obstinate contentions.

The King of Spain becomes Protector of the Catholick League.

These practices, especially those which were managed in France, were not unknown to the King, for they were represented unto him by the Queen-Mother, and other his intimate Confidants; nay, the Count de Retz had particularly advertised him, that Monsieur de Vins negotiated that confederacy in Provence; and the Prince of Conde by the means of the Sieur de Montant, had made him acquainted with the union of those in Poitou; besides, that at the same time one Nicholas David, an Advocate of the Parliament of Paris, was stayed and taken in his journey, which he confessed he was imployed in by the Guises to negotiate that business at Rome: The Hugonots dispersed certain writings, which under title of a Commission given to him, contained the designs of the Catholick League, and their end and intention to possess themselves of the Crown; but for the most part full of exorbitant, fabulous, incredible things; so that they were generally believed to have been maliciously forged and spread abroad to discredit the Lords of Guise, and to render them odious and suspected; who did not only absolutely deny the tenure of
those

1576

those Commissions, and account *David* a fool, and no better then a mad man if he had any such writings about him; but they also caused them to be answered by some of their party, proving many things in them to be absurd, and without any appearance of truth. But those divulged papers generally believed to be false, wrought not so great a suspicion in the King, as the Letters of Monsieur *de St Goart*, his Lieger Ambassador in the Court of Spain, who gave him notice how he had discovered that some French Catholick Confederates did earnestly treat of secret busineses in that Court. But whether so many discords and confusions springing up daily, they could not all be provided against at the same time, and therefore they neglected those which at first seemed less material, to remedy others which were more urgent and weighty; or wheher the King taken up with his secret designes of opening a way to future matters, did slight the present danger, being confident he should cut off all those plots & conspiracies at one time: which soever of these causes it were, it is most certain, that though the King knew all these practices, he was so far from opposing or hindring them, that he seemed not displeased to have one Faction struggle with the other, thinking that by those jarrs which would arise between them, he should remain absolute Arbitrator, and enjoy the fruits of that weakness which they would bring upon themselves by falling upon one another. Besides, he thought this so high and so general resentment of the Catholicks, gave him a very lucky occasion to break the conditions of peace granted to the Hugonots, and to make appear to the world, that he did it not of his owne resolution because he had so intended from the beginning; but because of the general discontent of his Subjects, of whose good, and of whose desires he was obliged as a Father to be much more careful, then of complying with the will of those that were rebellious and disobedient; for which cause he did not onely tolerate the continuation of those practices about the League; but by ambiguous actions, obscure words, and dark answers, that admitted several interpretations, he almost made it be believed, that all was managed by his order and permission.

But if the King resolved to make use of that opportunity to break the Articles of Agreement; the King of Navar and the Prince of Conde were no less disposed to do the same; who

who having thrust the Duke of Alanson out of their faction, sought to lay hold of any occasion that might kindle the war again, by which they hoped to establish their own greatness; wherefore the King of Navar and the Prince of Conde having often complained to the King and Queen; the King of Navar, that his interests were utterly forgotten in the conditions of the peace; and the Prince of Conde, that neither the Government of Picardy, nor the City of Peronne were assigned unto him; and the King having still interposed delays and impediments, had at last remitted all to be determined by the States: now upon this new occasion of the League, they redoubled their complaints the more earnestly, urging that they could not continue in that uncertainty of their present condition, whilst their adversaries united their forces in a League to suppress and destroy them: with which importunities the King being troubled, and having (rather to hold him in hand, then with an intent to perform it) offered the Prince instead of Peronne and Picardy, to give him S. Jehan d' Angely and Cognac, in those parts where the strength of the Hugonots lay; he not staying for the assignment, suddenly made himself Master of them, and following the success of that beginning, sent for Monsieur de Mirabeau under colour of treating with him concerning other businesses, and forced him to deliver up Brovage into his hands, a Fort of great importance, as well for that it lies upon the Coast of the Ocean-sea, as because it abounds with such store of salt-pits, which yeeld a great and constant revenue; he made the Sieur de Montaut Governour, and put into it a strong Garrison of his dependents, furnishing it with ammunition, and fortifying it with exceeding diligence: nor content with that, but vigorously prosecuting that enterprise by the means of his dependents, in a few weeks he reduced into his own power, Royan, Pons, Talemont, and Marans, with many other considerable places in Xaintonge.

But the King of Navar, who with more deliberate considerations had raised his thoughts to higher designs, making use of the ready boldness of the Prince of Conde in those matters where force and violence were needful, with infinite moderation (to which as well by choice, as nature he was much inclined) under title of being Governour of the Province, reduced the principall Cities to himself, shewing both in words and actions,

1576

actions, a great deal of gentleness to the Catholicks, a great deal of reverence to the Kings person, singular desire to help the advancement of every one, and very much trouble for the losses and outrages which by occasion of the war he was necessitated to bring upon that Country ; by which arts having gained all the people of Perigort, and the Towns of Loudun, Agen, Ganache, and many lesser places, he possessed all that Country except Bourdeaux, where the Parliament residing, the Citizens had ever refused to admit him ; yet ceased hee not after many repulses, sometimes to allure them with kind messages, sometimes to assure them with large promises, shewing himself to be utterly averse from the animosity of the factions, and the cruelties used by others in Civill Warres, since he of his own accord had settled the use of the Catholick Religion again in those places that were of his own Patrimony, from whence his Mother had taken it away, and with much modesty, respect, and favourable Declarations treated with the Church-men concerning the interests of Religion ; which artifice, or nature, or rather (as it often happens) artifice derived from nature, won the hearts of all the people, and took off that hatred, which (as enemies to the Common-wealth) they were wont to bear to others who had held the chief command of that faction ; which hee desiring to joyn and unite into one body, as he saw the Heads of the Catholicks endeavoured to do on their side, having obtained leave of the Citizens to enter Rochel (the command whereof he knew to be very necessary for him) he was so skilful in managing the affections of the people, that having tamed and assured the minds of the Citizens, which were full of suspicions, and unapt to give credit to any body, by their Counsell, and with the consent of all the Cities which followed their party, the Deputies whereof he had assembled in that place, he in the end made himself be declared Head and Protector of that party, and the Prince of Conde his Lieutenant General, shewing himself every where so full of sincerity and moderation, that he thereby gained not only their inclination and good will, but also a very free and absolute authority over them ; which among so many jealousies, and so many pretenders, perchance he could not have obtained by other arts : for neither the Prince of Conde, nor the Marshall d'Anville, nor perhaps Monsieur de la Noüe, nor Monsieur de Roban would so easily have

The King of Navar declared General of the Hugonots, and the Prince of Conde his Lieutenant General.

have yeelded to him, if they had not been forced (besides the splendor of his Royall name) to give place to his popularity, and his arts of Governing. Now having obtained the power of that Faction chiefly by the favour of the Rochellers, and knowing that Monsieur de *Fervaques* as a subtil man, and not trusty, was suspected of all, but especially the Citizens of Rochell, who desired for their security, that Messieurs de *Rohan*, de *Moüy*, de *la Noue*, *Langoiran*, and other old abettors of that party, might have the first place in their Councils, and in their Civill and Military Offices; or else, perswaded by *d' Aubigny*, who affirmed he had discovered that *Fervaques* at the very last point had revealed his intended departure to the King, and that they were not stayed, because the King having a wonderful ill opinion of him, gave no credit to his words; he cunningly gave him occasion to go his way (as hath been already related) and making up his Council of men that were famous for integrity and honest intentions, did not only take away the jealousy of the Rochellers, and of all the neighbouring Provinces, who feared he would change his Power into a tyrannical Government, but won the hearts of many Catholicks; who, so they might enjoy the liberty of living in the Religion of their forefathers, were also disposed to serve and follow him. He interposed his authority that the Rochellers might give way to the exercise of the Catholick Religion in their City, and before he departed procured leave for Masse to be said in a little Church, many being present at it; which things accompanied with his modest temperate speeches, as they gained him a great deal of affection from those of his own party; so did they lessen and extinguish that hatred which the Guises by imputations of revolt and apostacie, endeavoured to fasten upon him among all degrees of people in the Kingdome.

At the intercession of the K. of Navar, the Rochellers permit the Catholicks to say Masse in their City.

But the King in so great a combustion of all things, and in so miserable a condition of his Crown, which was openly assailed by the Politicks and Hugonots, and secretly conspired against by the Catholicks of the League, having conceived great hopes of finding a way to compass his designs by means of the General Assembly of the States, was intent upon calling them together in the City of Blois, where he, with his Mother, and the Duke of Alançon his Brother arrived the tenth day of November; and having by his Letters given no-

1576

The Assembly
of the States
at Bloys.

tice to the Deputies of the severall Provinces to meet together without delay, the business was followed with so much diligence, that the sixth day of December gave a solemn beginning to the Assembly. The Kings intention was (prosecuting his own designs) by means of the States, to settle a firm general Peace, which being established by the common consent of the whole Nation, no man should have cause to find fault withall; but, lasting in a firm continuance, might quite abolish the interests of the severall parties, cause the present animosities to be forgotten, and give him time and opportunity to execute his own resolutions of abusing and weakening the strength and credit of both the Factions. He hoped that a moderate Agreement would readily be laid hold on by all the three Estates: For the Clergie were always faine to contribute very largely, as to a War wherein they were more interested then any others; the Nobility wearied with the toyls of War, and exhausted with the vast expences of it; and the Commons, who besides the continual and intolerable taxes and contributions, being (in the Fields by the insolencies of soldiers, in the Cities by the interruption of trade) subject to all the miseries of War, seemed greedily and impatiently to desire Peace,

King Hen. the
Third his
speech at the
beginning of
the Assembly
of the States
at Bloys.

With these ends and hopes, the severall Orders of the States being met together in his presence, hee began with a grave effectual Speech to deplore the miserable calamitous estate into which the Kingdom of France, formerly so powerfull and flourishing, was then reduced; since every degree and part of so great a Monarchy being fallen from their former greatness and prosperity, into a labyrinth of discord and confusion, was manifestly brought to terms of lamentable ruine and desolation: That the obedience and veneration of the Royall Majesty, which had in all times been so proper and peculiar to the French, was now utterly lost: That the bond of that charity which the love of one common Country useth ordinarily to knit faster among men of right understanding, was broken to pieces by the violence of inveterate intestine hatreds: That by the licence of Civil Warres, which had lasted so many yeers, the due respect to justice was taken away, the fear of Magistrates trodden under foot, and the sincerity of mens manners exceedingly corrupted: That he knew, whatsoever calamities the people suffer are alwayes attributed to the

the Prince's evill Government; yet he was satisfied with the cleerness of his own conscience, and doubted not but equall judges would free him from all blame, considering the tender age of the King his Brother, and of himself, when the beginnings of that mischief brake forth: That all the world knew how much care and Pains the Queen his Mother had undergone to remedy those misfortunes, which from what causes they were derived, was sufficiently apparent: That the conservation of the Kingdom, and the inheritance of her Sons yet children (conspired against with so much cunning, and openly assailed with so much violence) was to be ascribed to her prudence, constancy, and magnanimity; but if her vertuous indeavours had not been able to extinguish those mischiefs, too fierce and powerful in their beginnings, perchance it was the permission of divine Providence, to punish the sins of both Prince and People together: That it was likewise manifest to every one, what he himself had done for the suppression and extirpation of the present evils; that under the reigne of the King his Brother, he with those victorious achievements which were not unknown unto the world, had tried the rigour of the sword; but he had found by experience, that the letting of blood onely weakened the body, but neither lessened the violence nor malignity of the disease: That by civill intestine Warres Religion it self (which receives its nourishment from Peace) was much impaired and abased, so that in stead of gaining those souls that were gone astray, by violent means they did indanger the loss of those that were most zealous in the truth; for which cause he had both before he went into Poland, laboured to bring in peace by a cessation of those calamities; and since God had called him to the Crown, endeavoured by all means possible to procure the repose and quiet of his Kingdom: That to that end he had called the Assembly of the States, that by the advice of his good and faithful Subjects some way might be found to stop the course of those present miseries; wishing, rather then they should continue, that the thred of his life might be cut off before he had seen the half of his dayes: That it was therefore time to think among themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which putting an end to the reciprocal enmities, discords, warrs, and animosities, they might with gentleness and moderation perfectly restore the candour of Religion,

1576

bring mens minds again to their due veneration and obedience, reduce the integrity of Justice to its primitive condition, banish the pernicious liberty of vice, recover the ancient simple honesty of manners; and finally, give breath to those dangers of the Clergy, to those toyles of the Nobility, and to those losses and distractions of the Common people, which by occasion of the Warre he was (to his great grief) not onely forced to continue, but also to increase and multiply without end: That he thought for the procuring of those blessings, there was no more secure nor effectuell means, then a good, moderate, and lasting Agreement: and yet that he was ready to give ear to any reasons that could be objected to the contrary, and to any other means that could be propounded, that so he might make choice of those which should be thought the best, most easie, and most profitable: That therefore he did earnestly exhort every one of them, that laying apart all passions and interests, they should study sincerely to finde out such propositions as they thought most fit, to ease the troubles of the State, and quiet the distractions of the Kingdom; for as he was very willing to consult of all things in common, so was he absolutely resolved, that whatsoever they concluded and established, should be most exactly and punctually observed.

The High Chancellour *Birago* spake then to the like effect, and with a longer Oration shewed the same things, concluding at last, that since the admirable wisdom of the Queen-Mother, and the valour and generosity of the King had till then preserved France in the midst of so many troubles and dangers, the States ought now to offer their generall opinion and advice, every one striving to propound such profitable, seasonable remedies, as might relieve the Kingdom from present, and keep it safe from future miseries. All the three Orders severally gave the King many thanks for his affectionate care, and praised his just intention, every one promising for their own parts to assist with faithful loyalty and sincerity of heart.

But though in these first appearances the Kings intention and that of the States seemed both to be the same, yet inwardly they were very different; for the Deputies of the Provinces were for the most part such as had subscribed to the Catholick League, and were swayed by the counsel and superintenden-

tendency of the Duke of Guise, who being absent himself had sent his brother the Duke of Mayenne, *Pierre Espinac* Arch-bishop of Lyons, the Baron *de Senecey*, and many other of his dependants thither; and therefore the Deputies whom it concerned to propose and conclude matters in the Assembly, were for the most part resolved, not onely to moderate the last Articles of Peace, which the King would willingly have agreed to; but also to break them utterly, and again with more force then ever to begin the Warr against the Hugonots, who having violated the conditions, had already taken arms for their own advantage. But the Kings minde was absolutely averse from that, which being known to the Deputies, who had discovered it by many signes, especially by his Speech unto them, and foreseeing that by his power he would delude and frustrate all their designs, as long as he was able to resolve alone of whatsoever was propounded; they sought cunningly to take away that Prerogative, and settle it in a certain number, who should have power to conclude and determine all businesses without contradiction or appeal. Wherefore the Deputies of the Nobility and Clergy partly consenting, and the Deputies of the Commons not altogether opposing, they thought it unfit to dispute openly whether the States were superiour to the King, or no (a very ancient question, though disproved by the manner of holding the States, and alwayes deluded and made vain by the Kings authority) but to petition the King, that for the dispatch of all businesses with speed, and with the general satisfaction, he would be pleased to elect a number of Judges, not suspected by the States, who together with twelve of the Deputies, might hear such motions as from time to time should be proposed by every Order, and conclude and resolve upon them, with this condition, that whatsoever was joyntly determined by the Judges and Deputies together, should have the form and vigour of a Law, without being subject to be altered or revoked.

It's an ancient question, whether the Assembly of the States or the King be Superiour.

The King was not ignorant of the importance of that demand; and though he was inwardly much displeased that they went about to deprive him of the power which was naturally his, and from a free King bring him to the slavery of his Subjects; yet by how much greater the force of that storm was, with so much the more dexterity endeavouring to overcome it, he answered graciously, that as often as the States should offer any propositions

1576

ons or demands, he would without delay hearken to the twelve Deputies (which he gave them power to nominate,) and that as soon as he had maturely weighed their reasons, they should have a speedy and resolute answer to determine whatsoever was necessary for their general contentment; and that for the better satisfaction of them all, he was willing to deliver unto the States the names of such as were admitted to his Councils, to the end that they might know the qualities of those persons by whose advice he meant to govern, which he would consent to do by the example of any of his predecessors; but to confirm and ratifie whatsoever others should determine without himself, it was not possible for him ever to yield to in any manner, it being contrary to all precedents observed by the King his Predecessours. The States being excluded from that hope, and despairing of being able to compass their desires, since the cunning of the demand was taken notice of, turned another way, and began to propose, That matters of Religion might first of all be decided; for it being once established to admit no other but the Catholick (which neither the King himself would dare to oppose, nor any of the Deputies, though there were many of them who secretly were of another minde) all hope of Peace would be laid aside, and the Warr with the Hugonots presently be resolved on. Wherefore the Arch-bishop of Lyons proposing for the Clergy, the Baron de Senecey for the Nobility, with the consent of *Pierre Verforis* one of the principal Deputies for the Commons, a man depending upon the House of Guise, and one of the chiefest sticklers in the League; the Clergy concurred in this Vote, That the King should be moved to prohibit the exercise of any other then the Roman Catholick Religion; and that all sorts of people subject to the Crown should be forced to live according to the Rites of that Church; the same proposition was followed by many of the Nobility, who suffered their Votes to be swayed by the will of others, though many of that Order were against, not the integrity of the Roman Catholick Faith, but the taking up of Arms, desiring the preservation of Religion, and reducing of such as were out of the way, but by those means which might be used without War. The Commons assented to this last opinion, because the burthen of the War lay chiefly upon the meanest people, as Merchants, Tradesmen, and Husbandmen: nor could any
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of the Deputies (who in particular reaped fruit by those troubles, and being engaged with the heads of the League, did therefore obstinately follow the Vote of the Prelates) have power to perswade any of them to change their verdict ; for *Jean Bodin*, a man famous for learning and experience in State-affairs, one of the Deputies of the Commons of *Vermendois*, and who was secretly induced by the King to contradict the Church-men in that particular, endeavoured by a long discourse to make appear unto the Assembly how ruinous and fatal the new taking up of arms would be, repeating from the beginning all the dangers and miseries of the late Warrs, which made a very deep impression in the mindes of the third Estate, and would have done the like in both the other Orders, if their consciences had been absolutely free and sincere ; but meeting with men who were not only carried by the zeal of Religion, but whose opinions were byassed and pre-engaged, it was determined by plurality of voyces, that request should be made unto the King to establish only the Catholick Religion in the Kingdome, and to exclude for ever all communion with the Hugonots. Nevertheless, *Bodin* procured certain words to be entered in the Records of the Order of Commons, to certifie their desire of unity in Religion without the noise of arms, and the necessity of war.

Jean Bodin
contradicts
the Prelates in
the general
Assembly.

This motion of the States being propounded to the King, who had already founded the secret practices of the Assembly, made him resolve no longer to oppose (knowing that the plurality of voyces would be cleerly against him) but to delude the propositions of the Deputies ; for by opposing, he saw those armes of the Catholick League would be turned upon him, which were then prepared against the Hugonots : wherefore seeking obliquely to hinder that determination, he proposed to the States and perswaded them, that before it were enacted, Commissioners ought to be sent to the King of Navar, the Prince of Conde, and the Marefchall d' *Anville*, who by true substantial reasons should perswade them to obey the will of the States, without returning again to the fatall hazard of arms, hoping by such delays to find some remedy against that resolution which he saw the major part of the Deputies was obstinately bent upon. To that purpose they chose the Archbishop of Vienne, Monsieur de *Rubempré*, and the Treasurer *Menager*, Commissioners to the King of Navar :
the

1576

the Bishop of Autun, Monsieur de Momorine ; and Pierre de Rate to the Prince of Conde ; the Bishop of Puits, the Sieur de Rochefort, and the Advocate Toley to the Mareſcall d' Anville, to know the laſt reſolution of every one of them. But the King of Navar having notice which way the States inclined, and ſeeing ſo terrible a ſtorm preparing againſt him, whilſt the time was ſpent at Bloys in conſulting, and things were drawn out in length by diverſitie of opinions, and other obſtacles which were interpoſed ; he being reſolved to make ready for War, buſied himſelf in gathering Souldiers with infinite diligence from all parts, and in ſeiſing upon many places convenient for the defence and maintenance of his party ; which ſucceeding according to his deſires, he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Bazas, Perigueux, and S. Macaire in *Guttenne*, Chivray in *Poitou*, Quimperley in *Bretagne*, and with a more warlike then numerous Army laid ſiege to Marmande, a great Town ſeated upon the bank of the Garonne neer to Bourdeaux, and therefore very commodious to ſtrengthen that place, which was the only principal City of that Province that made reſiſtance.

1577

In the mean time the States Commiſſioners being come unto him, he gave them audience at Agen, in the beginning of the yeer 1577, with demonſtrations of great honour and reſpect. There the Biſhop of Vienne having eloquently declared the reſolution of the States, to ſuffer no other but the Catholick Religion in the Kingdom of France, exhorted him effectually in the name of all the Orders to come unto the Aſſembly, to reunite himſelf in concord with the King his Brother-in-law, to return into the boſom of the Church, and by ſo noble and ſo neceſſary a reſolution to comfort all the Orders of the Kingdom ; by whom, as firſt Prince of the Blood, he was greatly eſteemed and honoured ; and afterward enlarging himſelf, he repreſented the ſeveral commodities of Peace, and the miſerable deſolations of Warr. The King of Navar with ſuccinct but ſolid words replied punctually, That if the happineſs of Peace, and Miſeries of War were ſo great and many as he alledged, the States ought therefore ſincerely to eſtabliſh that Peace which was before concluded, and not by new deliberations, and by revoking Edicts already made, to kindle again the ſparks of War which were almoſt extinguished : That it was an eaſie matter to diſcourſe of the root-
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ing out of a Religion by the sword, but experience had all ways shewed, it was impossible to effect it ; and therefore it was to be esteemed a more discreet advice to allow a spiritual peace, thereby to obtain a temporal one ; than by disquieting mens consciences to fancy the conservation of an outward peace : That for his part, he was born and brought up in the Religion he professed, and he believed still that it was the right and true faith ; but yet when by sound reasons urged to him by men of understanding, and not by force and violence, he should find himself to be in an error, he would readily repent his fault, and changing his Religion, endeavour the conversion of all others to the belief of that faith which should be acknowledged the true one : Therefore he prayed the States not to force his conscience ; but to be satisfied with that his good will and intention, and if that answer were not sufficient to content them, he would expect new and more particular demands, for the better answering whereof he would presently assemble a full Congregation of his party at Montauban ; but in the mean time, while he saw all things prepared to make war against him, he was constrained to stand armed upon his own defence, to prevent that ruine which he plainly saw contrived by his Enemies.

The Prince of Conde's answer was very different ; for having received the Commissioners privatly, he would neither open their Letters nor acknowledge them for Deputies of the States General, alledging that that Assembly could not be called the States General, which wanted the Deputies of so many Cities, Towns, and Provinces, and which treated of violating mens consciences by force, of shedding the Blood-Royall of France, and suppressing the liberties of the Crown, to comply with the desires of strangers, who were so hot upon the prosecution of their own intolerable, pernicious interests of ambition and private ends ; that it was a Conventicle of a few men suborned and corrupted by the disturbers of the publick peace, and therefore he would neither open their Letters, nor treat with their Commissioners.

The Prince of Conde will not acknowledge the Assembly of Bloys to be the States General ; nor treat with their Commissioners.

The Marechal d' Anville gave an answer not much unlike, but something more moderate, the Deputies having found him at Montpellier : For having represented to them, that his heart was as reall as any mans to the Catholick Religion, wherein he had been born, and would continue as long as he lived,

1577

lived, he told them, that it would be both vain and impossible to prohibit the exercise of the Reformed Religion granted by so many Edicts, and confirmed by so many Conclusions of Peace, and that by blowing up the Flames of War, the destruction and ruine of all parts of the Kingdom would be continued; but that it ought to be consulted of in common in a lawful Assembly of the States General of France, and not in a particular Congregation as that of Bloys, where onely the Deputies of one party were met together; and therefore he did protest against the validity of whatsoever should be there decreed or resolved.

The Commissioners returned to Bloys with these answers in the beginning of February; and the Duke of Guise being come thither to give a colour to the business on his part, the inclination of the States appeared manifestly ready to disannul the late Edict of Pacification, and resolve upon a war with the Hugonots: Wherefore the King not willing to draw the hatred of all the Catholick party upon himself, nor give them cause to suspect the sincerity of his Conscience, making the Pope and all Christendom believe he held intelligence with the Hugonots, which jealousy would have endangered the Catholick League to take arms of themselves without his Authority, and disorder the whole state of things: Besides being advised by the Bishop of Lymoges, and Monsieur de Morvillier, two of his principal Councillors, he determined (since he could not by open resistance hinder the designs and progress of the Catholick League, which already had taken too deep a root) to make himself Head and Protector of it, and draw that authority to himself which he saw they endeavored to settle upon the Head of the League, both within and without the Kingdom; hoping that he being once made Moderator of that Union, in time convenient means would not be wanting to dissolve it, as a thing directly opposite to his intentions: Wherefore shewing a great desire to extirpate the Hugonot-Faction, and making all believe that he was highly offended with the Princes Answers, he caused the Catholick League framed by the Lords of the House of Lorain to be read, published and sworn in the open Assembly, where they themselves were present, establishing it as an Irrevocable and Fundamental Law of the Kingdom: Then he declared himself principal Head and Protector of it, with loud specious protestations

Henry the Third declares himself Head of the Catholick League.

testations, that he would spend his last breath to reduce all his people to an unity in Religion, and an entire obedience to the Roman Church: thus did he labour to avoid that blow, which he saw he could not break by making resistance.

But the King having for many dayes shewed a wonderful desire to suppress the Hugonots, purposed with one mortal blow to try the constancy of the Deputies; for having sent his Brother the Duke of Alençon, and the Duke of Nevers unto the Assembly, he caused them to propose, that it being requisite to make war which powerful Armies, against those that were disobedient to the Catholick Church, great summs of money were also necessary, and that therefore the Kings Treasury being exhausted, he desired the States to assist him with two millions of Duckets to maintain the vast expences of the war; which none ought to refuse, since they had all solemnly taken the Oath of the League, and thereby obliged themselves to contribute their Fortunes in common; at which demand, the Deputies for the City of Paris not being present (because some were indisposed, and the rest gone home to elect the *Prevost des Marchands* the chief Officer of that City) and therefore *Jean Bodin* being President of the Order of Commons, and knowing all that burthen was to be laid upon the people, rose up, and answered, That the Third Estate had alwayes propounded and protested to desire unity in Religion, and the reducing of those that went astray but without the noise of arms and war, and that if they looked into the Records of the Assembly, they should finde those very words formerly expressed in the Vote of the Commons, which he had caused to be registred; and that since they had not consented to the war, neither were they bound to contribute to the expences of it, to satisfy the fantastick humours of some of the Deputies, and consume their own estates to renew the yet bleeding wounds of the Kingdom; to which speech of his, not onely the other Orders, but the Clergy themselves assented, who having sworn that in words, which they were not so forward to perform in actions, and desiring no less then the rest to ease themselves of those contributions wherewith all of them were equally wearied and burthened, the ardour and constancy of those began to waver, who had so readily resolved upon a warre at the charge and danger of other men: whereupon the King turning his sail

1577

according to the wind, the next day he himself propounded to the Deputies, that since they thought the charges of war so grievous a burthen, they should patiently expect the Duke of Montpensier and Monsieur *de Byron*, sent by him to the King of Navarr, to procure his conversion in a friendly and peaceable manner, with which motion (notwithstanding the opposition of many) the major part of the Deputies were contented.

Not many dayes after the Duke of Montpensier returned, and being brought into the Assembly by the Kings command, related in order all that had passed in his negotiation, and in substance shewed them that the King of Navar being most desirous of the peace of the Kingdom, would be contented with such reasonable conditions, as cutting off all exorbitant, superfluous matters which were granted in the last Edict, might moderate and compose all differences without putting themselves upon the necessity of a War, and gave almost assured hopes, that he himself (though he would not give occasion to have it thought he turned Catholick by compulsion) might yet in time condescend to alter his opinion, and make a happy conclusion of all things : which relation coming from the Duke, who was of the Blood-Royall, Brother-in-law to the Duke of Guise, and alwayes partiall to the Catholicks, wrought such an effect in the mindes of all, as encouraged *Jehan Bodin* and others of the Order of Commons, again to try the way of agreement with expresse protestation, that unity in Religion ought to be procured without war : which Vote being some dayes stiffely opposed, and as constantly maintained, was at last carryed, and a Writing drawn up in the name of the States, beseeching the King to endeavour an unity in Religion by peaceful means, and without the necessity of War ; which being propounded by the King himself in his Councell, the opinions concerning it were diverse ; for the Duke, and Cardinal of Guise, the Duke of Mayenne, the Duke of Nevers, and others were against the proposition of the States, alledging that the end they aimed at could not be obtained without the extirpation of the Hugonots, who were up in arms, and moreover had already renewed the war ; and affirming, that last proposition of the Deputies to be artificially contrived and extorted ; whereas the first had been voluntarily and generally agreed on, and the Oath taken in approba-

approbation of the League, which was directly contrary to the present proceedings. But the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Montpensier, the Marechal de Cossé, Monsieur de Byron, the High-Chancellour Byraco, Morvillier, Chiverny, Bellicre, and Villeclaire, with the major part of the Council being of the contrary opinion, alledged that there were many other means (though such as required more time) to bring those that were out of the way, home into the bosome of the Church; and that to destroy so much people would exceedingly weaken the Kingdom, and bring it again into the late miseries and dangers. Wherefore it was concluded that the Duke of Montpensier should return to the King of Navarr, to know his last answer concerning his conversion and reconciliation to the Church, and the settling of a lasting, reasonable peace.

In the mean time many other things were debated in the Assembly, about the rule of justice, the ordering of the *Finances*, the payments of debts, and the reformation of manners; among which matters, some of the Prelats moved, that the Council of Trent might be received and observed: but the Deputies of the Nobility, and those of the Commons opposed it stoutly; with which the major part of the Clergy concurring, for the conservation (as they said) of the priviledges of the Gallique Church, and such as had been granted to it by several Popes, it was at last resolved, that it should pass no further.

The Heads of the Catholick League and their followers omitted not to seek some way of restraining the Kings power, and propounded that his Council might be reduced to the number of four and twenty Counsellors; which should not be chosen at the Kings pleasure, but by every Province of the Kingdom, as is the custom in other States. But this motion being made but coldly, and stiffly opposed by many as contrary to the ancient constitutions, and all former precedents, it was in the end cast out, lest the mention of it should too much exasperate the King.

With these deliberations, not onely ambiguous and uncertain, but also opposite and disagreeing among themselves, the Congregation of the States broke up, which having neither concluded Peace nor War, the King was left free to do what pleased himself: who having happily, though not without

After many disputes the general Assembly is dismissed without concluding any thing.

The History of the Civill Warres

without much pains and industry, overcome the conspiracies of the League, was in good measure confirmed in the resolution of his first designs; having not onely increased his inward hatred toward the House of Guise, but found by experience his own weakness, and the too great power of their Faction: Wherefore being resolved to establish Peace, because both parties were nourished and fomented by the War, he first of all put the Bishop of Lymoges away from the Court, and cunningly excluded *Morvillier* from the Cabinet-Council, suspecting that they held secret intelligence with the Duke of Guise, and that they had perswaded him to declare himself Head of the League, not sincerely, but to assist that party; for though the artifice had succeeded happily, he thought nevertheless he had discovered that in many occasions they had dissuaded the War with the Hugonots; which they having done, because they thought it so became their Order, being of the Clergy, had thereby stirred up the Kings anger and suspicion, who was jealous beyond measure of seeing the League favoured or not opposed by any of his own Creatures. The Bishop of Lymoges being retired to his own house, lived very quietly all the rest of his dayes; but *Morvillier*, a man secretly full of great ambition, was possessed with so deep a melancholy, that within a few moneths he ended his life with grief.

The King presently dispatched Monsieur *de Byron* and Secretary *Villeroy* to the King of Navarr, that they being joynt with the Duke of Montpensier, might prosecute the Treaty of Agreement: But though the King of Navarr (who with wise consideration measured the strength of his party, which was not very powerful at that time, making shew to do it through a moderation of minde, and a desire of the general quiet) did yield to decline the late conditions, and consent to what was proposed by the Kings Agents; yet the Prince of Conde, of a fierce haughty nature, and the Hugonot Ministers, with whose advise all things were necessarily to be governed, were still obstinate against Peace, unless upon the Capitulations already established, disputing about such things as necessity disposed another way: wherefore as soon as their stubbornness, and the difficulty of the Treaty appeared to the King, being resolved to put the Hugonots in minde of their weak estate, and force them to receive conditions of Peace, if they persisted

in their wilfulness, he sent out two several Armies against them in the beginning of April; one into the Countreys near the Loyre, and the Provinces on this side the River, under the command of the Duke of Alançon, who to remove all doubts, was declared his Lieutenant General; the other, on that side of the River in Xaintonge, under the Duke of Mayenne, whom he made use of much more willingly then of the Duke of Guise, because he found him of a more moderate minde and inclination; and besides those two Armies, he set forth a Fleet under Monsieur de Lansac to clear the coasts, and hinder the entry into Rochelle: By this means he thought presently to make the Catholick party weary of those expences which (by the management of the Duke of Alançon) would become intolerable; and at the same time to break the obstinacy of the Hugonots, letting them see how little means they had to resist his forces; whereby he might afterwards accommodate the conditions of peace in such a way as should appear to him just and reasonable, since the former Capitulations could be neither broken nor moderated, unless there were first some beginning of a War.

It was not hard for either of the Kings Armies to do great matters in a little time; for the Hugonots being reduced to an exceeding want of men and money, were not able to keep the field; and their fortified places, though valiantly defended, yet having no assistance ready either of their own party, or of strangers, their onely help and refuge in all times of their need; they were fain either to let themselves be miserably destroyed, or yield to the discretion of the Conquerors. So no head of the Hugonots appearing in the Field, the Duke of Alançon having attacked, and within a few days taken la Charite, was marched into Auvergne, and had besieged Isoire, a place strongly situated and well fortified, but which imported most, constantly, or (to say better) desperately defended by the inhabitants: Yet as the event always proves it impossible to keep any place that cannot be relieved, it was brought to such extremity at the beginning of June, that being at last yielded to discretion, it was not onely sacked, and the inhabitants put to the sword, as it pleased the immoderate will of the Duke of Alançon, but it was also set on fire, and burnt to the very ground: On the other side, the Duke of Mayenne, having without difficulty taken Thone-Charente,

1577

The Kings
sends two Ar-
mies against
the Hugonots.

The Duke of
Alançon
made the
Kings Lieute-
nant General.

and

1577

and Marans, had laid siege to Brouage, a place for situation, strength, and the profit of the salt-pits of very great importance; where the Prince of Conde having tryed all possible means to relieve the besieged, the Hugonots after some difficulty were brought into such a condition, that about the end of August they delivered it up, saving onely the lives of the Souldiers and inhabitants, which agreement the Duke punctually observed. Nor did their affairs prosper better by sea then land: for *Lansac* with the Kings Fleet having driven away that of the Rochellers commanded by the *Sieur de Clairmont*, and taken two of their greatest ships, landed also in the Isle of Oleron, took it; and being at last come to the Cape of *Blaye*, did exceedingly incommode the affairs of Rochel. These accidents having qualified the Prince of Conde's fury, and overcome the obstinacy of the Ministers; there was not any of the Hugonots, who foreseeing their totall ruine, did not desire and labour for peace, with so great an inclination of all private men, that the Souldiers forsook their colours, the Gentlemen retired to their own houses, and the inhabitants of the City, detesting the exercise of arms, returned to the business of their shops; besides, the *Mareschal d'Anville*, who in their prosperity had united his Counsels and Forces with them, now pretending he had been abused and ill dealt withal by certain Heads of the faction, did indeavour to make his peace, and return unto the Kings obedience, and had already taken arms against some of the Hugonots, by whom he gave out, that he had been grievously offended.

Nor were the Catholicks more cool and moderate in their desires of peace; for though the good success of the war redounded to the benefit of the King, and of the Catholick Religion, yet the charge of contributions, and the losses the Country sustained by the insolencies of the Souldiers, and want of government in the Duke of *Alençon's* Army, resaulted to the detriment and ruine of private men; wherefore seeing that the war, though unactive, and not very dangerous, was yet like to be long and tedious, a great many of those who at first either desired it, or did not oppose it, began now to long for peace, to free themselves from the Burthens and in-commodities of the war, and, except the Lords of Guise and their dependents, there was not any who did not think it requisite to procure an agreement, for the ease of the people who

who were so exceedingly oppressed. But the expectation of the Hugonot party was settled upon the King of Navar, who (having from the beginning foreseen that mischief, and desired peace) now treating at Bergerac with the Kings Deputies, knew so well how to hide and conceal his weakness, that though he stood not upon those conditions which were last concluded with the Duke of Alençon, yet he held up the affairs of his party in being and reputation. But the Kings inclination, and by consequence the easiness of his Ministers was not less then the policy of the King of Navar: wherefore a cessation of arms being agreed upon for a few dayes in the beginning of September, the Accommodation was so actively followed, that in the end the Articles of peace were concluded with so great contentment of both parties, that the King being come to Poitiers with the Court for that purpose, shewed manifest signes of joy, calling it His peace; and the Prince of Conde imbraced it with so much greediness, that the ratification coming to him in the evening when it was already dark, he caused it to be publickly proclaimed that very night by torch-light.

Through weakness of both parties the peace is concluded and published by torch light

The Edict of this pacification was very copious, being comprised in 74 Articles, which did limit and take away many of those exorbitancies that had been granted in the former Edict in favour of the foreign Forces establishing a very moderate, political Government, equally just and reasonable for both parties: it permitted the exercise of the reformed Religion in the houses of Gentlemen Feudataries, or (as they call them) * *de Haute justice*, with the free admission of every body: but in the houses of private Gentlemen, not above the number of seven was allowed, and in a prefixed place in every Jurisdiction and Baili-wick, except in Paris and ten leagues about, and two leagues compass from the Court wheresoever it should be; it bridled the licence of those who leaving their religious Orders, had joyned themselves in matrimony, by speciall favour pardoning what was past, and severely regulating the future: it restored the use of the Catholick Religion in all places from whence it had been taken during the war: it prescribed the present restitution of Ecclesiasticall Revenues to Priests and Prelats in what Province soever, and that without any delay: it obliged the Hugonots to the certainty of Baptisme, to keep the appointed holy dayes,

* High jurisdiction; authority to judge and determine all criminal or capital matters (except High-treason) within his own precincts, and all civil actions or controversies, except in Royal cases, and such as concern Gentlemen and the high-ways.

1577

* Courts of
justice; where
in half were
Catholicks,
half Hugonots

to exclude consanguinity in marriage, and many other things wisely observed in the Catholick Church, and very proper for a peaceful orderly Government: it took away *les Chambres * mi-parties* (as they call them) which were already settled in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Bretagne, leaving them still in the other Parliaments, but with a smaller number of Hugonots; nor was any thing omitted which could hinder discords, take away scandals, reunite the mindes of those that were diffident or divided, and settle the authority of Magistrates and vigour of the Lawes in their first state and condition: Yet were eight places granted to the Hugonot Lords for their security for the space of four yeers, after which (the Edict being entirely observed) they promised faithfully to restore them into the Kings hands; they serving onely in the interim till the Edict of Pacification was settled in a way, and by time and observance reduced unto the ordinary usuall course. These places were *Mompellier* and *Aiguemorte* in Languedoc; *Myon* and *Serres* in Dauphine; *Seine* in Provence; *Perigueux*, *la Reolle*, and *le Mas de Verdun* in Guienne; things all prudently ordered, and disposed for the establishment of a well settled peace.

But though the King for the Catholick, and the Princes of Bourbon for the Hugonot party, had (to the universal joy of the people) concluded this Agreement, which seemed very likely to take away the late discords, and quiet the distracted estate of the Kingdom; yet neither were mens mindes generally pacified, differences totally composed, nor the tumults utterly appeased; but the fire of publick war being extinguished, particular quarrels did still boyl in the interests of private persons; for neither did the *Mareschal d'Anville* (who every day withdrew himself further from the Hugonots) cease to prosecute those by whom he pretended to be injured in Languedoc, under colour of reducing the places of his Government under his own command; nor did the *Sieur des Diguieres* in Dauphine dare to trust the peace, nor hazard himself upon the Kings word, remembering what had befallen *Mombrun*, in whose company he had made war, and therefore still continued armed for his security: and the Catholicks (especially the adherents of the League) when they saw the Hugonots meet at their Sermons, being inflamed with anger, and transported with passion, could not suffer them without

without murmurings and detractions, which occasioned many contentions, and sometimes dangerous bloudy accidents; whereby a great part of France, though the peace was made, continued still in broyls and insurrections. But the King believing that the benefit of time and moderation of Government might at last appease and extinguish all those commotions, dissembled those things which were written and presented unto him from severall parts, and had settled his whole thoughts upon the framing and executing of his designs: yet after the space of some months, seeing the stirs and dissensions still continue, he resolved that the Queen his Mother going into Poictou to conferr with the King of Navar, and then into the other most suspected Provinces, should with the wonted effect of her presence compose the differences, artificially taking away those scruples which still disturbed the Edict of pacification.

About that time the King created two Mareschals, men of admirable valour in War, and singular prudence in Government; *Armand* *Sieur de Byron*, and *Jaques* *Sieur de Matignon*, who free from the interests of the Duke of Guise, depended meerly and wholly upon the Kings will, acknowledging him their sole benefactor; and though *Byron* for those passages concerning Rochel, and some other jealousies, had for a long time been little favoured by the King, especially before he came unto the Crown; yet being now resolved to exalt and trust those who were disaffected to the House of Guise, he came to rise to one of the highest places: it being generally conceived, that he was chiefly induced to those other matters by the envie and hatred which he inwardly bore that Family, by which he knew that not onely his advancement was opposed, but that oftentimes, and particularly at the Massacre of Paris his death was both propounded and perswaded. And because *Renato di Birago* the High-Chancellor at the recommendation of the King and Queen was by the Pope received into the number of Cardinals; that most important Office was conferred upon *Philip Hurault* Viscount de Chiverny, one of the Kings most trusty intimate Counsellours.

The High-Chancellor *Birago* being made Cardinal, *Philip Hurault* is chosen in his place.

In the mean time the yeer 1578 being begun, the Queen, Mother, after some delayes, caused by the sharpness of the Winter, had with a noble train of principall Lords and Gentlemen,

1578

plemen, begun her journey toward the King of Navar, taking with her the Lady *Margaret* her Daughter, to restore her to him, she having by his sudden departure been left behind him at the Court : being arrived at Bourdeaux, she sent to treat with the Deputies of the Hugonots, who, as to their Head, were come unto the King of Navar, who (in this weakness and slenderness of his party; mens bodies being wearied, their estates consumed, and the mindes of the Protestant Princes alienated by reason of the small account that had been made of Prince *Casimir* and the Germans,) was forced by cunning and dissimulation to supply the publick necessity, and his own private maintenance: Wherefore being reduced into a corner of that Province, Governour of Guienne only in title, deprived of a great part of his own revenues, and altogether excluded from the Kings favour and liberality, where with his Ancestors had born up their dignity after the loss of the Kingdom of Navar, he was on the one side faine to embrace peace, because he had not forces to make war; and on the other he was necessitated secretly to suffer private discords to break forth into acts of hostility, thereby to maintain his credit and his followers, who had no other means to keep themselves; wherefore with politick deliberations, and with a certain lively promptitude which was natural to him, he made shew exceedingly to reverence the Kings commands, and yet managed his own interests so dexterously, that in such an exigence of urgent affairs, his vivacity was much esteemed by men of understanding; though some blamed his resolution to live rather in that manner like a banished man, then to submit himself unto the Kings obedience, who by infinite signes was known to be more averse to the House of Lorraine, then to him.

1579

But though this variety of interests had prolonged the treaty of matters till the beginning of February 1579, yet could it not utterly disturb it, so that at last it was concluded at Nerac, where both parties were met; for the Hugonots not having strength sufficient to think of war, were content in the end (the obscurity of the Edict being taken away, from whence all those dissensions were thought to arise) that every particular should remain firmly established, and the peace (as much as the secret designs of both parties did allow) perfectly settled,

In the mean time the King constant to his own intentions, had

had begun to confirm the ground-work of his determination ; for besides the two Marshalls which were formerly chosen, he had given the Office of General of the Artillery (that for a long time had been held by Monsieur de Byron) to *Philibert Sieur de la Gniche*, and had declared *Laurence Sieur de Maugiron* Lieutenant-General in Dauphine, which place was vacant by the death of the *Sieur des Gordes* : and the Government of the City of Paris, formerly held by the chief Lords of the Kingdom, was given to *René Sieur de Ville-guier* (then one of his two principal Favourites) ; and *Francis*, *Sieur d' O* (the other) was Superintendent of the *Finances*, and almost at the same time *Jehan Sieur de Aumont*, a man of very noble birth, and not inferiour valour, but not favoured with the power or union of any of the Factions, was created Mareschal in the place of *Francis de Momorancy*, who waisted by the tediousness of adverse fortune, was lately departed out of this life. The King bred up continually near his person (besides those who already sat at the helm of Government) many young Lords and Gentlemen, of great hopes and expectations, to fill up the vacancy of those Offices that fell daily ; among which the chief were *Anne* Son to the Viscount de *Joyeuse*, and *Jehan Louis* the Son of *Monsieur de la Valett*, who by the vivacity of their wits did equal the nobleness of their extraction : for the Viscount de *Joyeuse*, Father of *Anne*, being honourably descended, had long been Governor of Gasconne, and amidst the greatest combustions had faithfully followed the Kings and Queens party, without meddling with either faction ; and *Monsieur de la Valett* the Father of *Jehan Louis*, being also a Gentleman of most noble blood, having commanded the Light-Horse in the course of all the Warrs, had gained an extraordinary reputation of valour : Wherefore these young Lords bred up in the discipline of the Court (where they had the example of their worthy Progenitors, and advanced into the Kings Chamber) were as Leaders to the rest, who were brought up in great number to the principal hopes of the Crown : and though *Monsieur de Quelus*, and *Francis* the Son of *Maugiron*, two of these young Favourites (falling into a quarrel with *Antraquet* and *Riberack*, Favourites of the House of Guise) were both slain in Duel, and *S. Megrin* (a third Companion of these two) was killed a few dayes after by some that were unknown, as he came out of the Court late

1578

*Hen. the Third
his manner of
life.*

late at night ; yet the King, satisfying both his grief and anger by doing honours to the dead (in so much that he caused their Statues in marble to be erected in the Church of S. Paul) did still raise up others into his favour, who for birth and ingenuity were proper for the greatness of his designs: which things while they were ripening, the Kings life was very different from that education in which from his childhood he had been trained up generously in the midst of Arms ; for having at first determined to fain a soft quiet course of life, very conformable to the inward inclination of his nature, and out of measure pleasing to him ; he gave himself over wholly to his ease, frequented Sermons and Processions, conversed often with Capuchins and Jesuits, built Monasteries and Chappels, used to undergo penances and wear hair-shirts, wore his beads openly at his girdle, and was often present at the Schools of the Penitents, and at the Canonical hours of the Hieronimites who were brought by him to live in his own Palace ; by which actions he shewed a wonderful affection to Religion, and a most ardent desire to increase and propagate it. This manner of living did in great part produce the effect he desired ; for many of the Catholicks, lulled asleep, and weened from a military life by the example of their Prince, had turned themselves to quiet peaceful thoughts, and to the care of their domestick affairs, which in the revolutions of so many wars had been long neglected and forgotten ; and among the Hugonots, (part laying aside their stubbornness, since it was not provoked ; and part seeing all gifts and favours were bestowed upon such as followed the Kings example, in reverencing Religion, and exercising Catholick duties) many by little and little withdrew themselves from that party, and either really, or in appearance joyned with the Roman Church ; so that a few moneth of peaces were cleerly seen to have converted more then twenty years of continual War had done before.

But this deliberation of the Kings, which if it had been prosecuted with the same severity it was begun, might perchance have happily effected his proposed end ; being at length drawn aside by passion and inclination, began to pass from devotion to luxury, and from ease to dissoluteness ; so that though he continued in the same spiritual exercises, yet his hours of recreation and dayes of rest were spent in delightfull pastimes,

times, sumptuous Masques and Balls, Stately marriages, and continual conversation with the Ladyes of the Court, whereby his designe of a quiet and peaceful life, corrupted by little and little, was no longer art and dissimulation, but turned into custome, and abuse; and though on the one side the advantage of taking off mens minds from their wonted fierceness, did thereby continue; yet on the other it rendred the King very odious, and contemptible to a great part of the Kingdom: For the * Nobilitie, (seeing their Prince's favour was totally ingrossed by a few men, and every one excluded from any advancement at Court, but by the means of those favourites (commonly called *Minions*;) who were not onely to be served, and wayted on, above the condition of their birth, but oftentimes also to be corrupted with great Presents) were kindled with an infinite disdaine, and, shunning and avoyding the very sight of the Court, awakened and stirred up the state of present affairs. The Common people intolerably burthened with new taxations, and innumerable grievances not onely thereby to heape up treasure sufficient to sustaine that fabrick of the Kings designes, but much more to supply his superfluous expences both spiritual and temporal, and to feed the greedy covetousness of his Minions; seeing themselves in a much worse condition in peace, then they were wont to be in war, hated the very name of the King, and murmured against his way of government. The Clergy no less burthened then the rest, did continually blame the Counsellors of that administration, which had made peace with the Hugonots to follow the luxuries, and pleasures of the Court; and many of the principal Hugonots themselves though they peaceably enjoyed a liberty of Conscience, yet could they not settle their mindes, nor free themselves from jealousies, whilst they saw the King publickly addicted to the severest exercises of the Catholick Religion, and continually accompanied by the Capuchins, Jesuites, Bernardines, Hieronimites, and other Religious Orders; so that in the midst of peace, nothing but the persecution of heresie was dayly threatened. Thus the Kings secret designes, framed, and plotted with so long care and industry, (as is the custome of too subtil counsellors) did at length produce effects very different from the intend and aim of their contriver.

* Including the Gentry, who are always meant by the French Noblesse as well as the Lords.

This occasion of the general hatred against the Kings person

1579

The Guises
foment the
peoples ha-
tred against
the King.

son was not omitted by the Duke of Guise, nor by his brothers, and confederates, for doubting of his intentions in matter of Religion, whereof they had declared themselves defenders; and having already by many conjectures, found out the end to which the action tended; they, being no less politick, and crafty then himself, did labour by all means possible, not onely to increase the ill will which was in a manner generally borne him, and to bring him into the contempt of all his people, but also to gaine themselves credit and reputation, and to winne the love, and applause of every one; grave in their speech, affable in conversation, ready to shew favour and assistance to those that needed, boasters of their own vertues which were many, and (which among the common people is alwayes very prevalent) of noble presence, comely person, and graceful behaviour. So though the King diminished their power, by bringing such into employment as were averse from them, and onely depending upon himself, yet they grew up another way, cunningly receiving, and assisting such as were injured, and drawing the Malecontents to joyne with them; and though the King had taken off much of that hatred, which formerly in the common sort of Hugonots was very great against him, by having granted them both an inward, and an outward peace, yet did they stir up the hatred of the Catholicks, and particularly of the Parisians, imputing his favours towards the young Gentlemen that were about him, unto an unfitting irregular desire; his devotions, and penances to hypocrisie, and dissimulation; the advancing of his dependents to offices and honours, to a tyrannicall power, and a greedy appetite to devour all things; which things they themselves not naming, but speaking of the Kings actions with ambiguous words and reservations, caused them to be divulged by active eloquent men, sometimes figuratively in the pulpit, sometimes openly in meetings and ordinary conversations, and many times by little pamphlets under diverse titles, made them be artificially described and published.

But the King trusting to the secret structure of his designs, which he thought to be in a very good forwardness, believed he should at last be easily able to overcome all oppositions; and to levell the line of them the more regularly, by joyning the theoretick to the practick, he retired himself every day

day after dinner with *Baccio de Bene*, and *Giacopo Corbinelli*, both Florentines, men exceedingly learned in the Greek and Latine Studies, making them read unto him *Polybins* and *Cornelius Tacitus*; but much more often the discourses and Prince of Machiavel; which readings stirring him up, he was so much the more transported with his own secret plots; for the advancing whereof, that he might the better engage and oblige the principal persons more nearly and confidently to himself, under colour that the Order of the Knights of St. Michael was become mean and common, by having been too easily, and too indifferently conferred by his Predecessors, he instituted a new Order of Knighthood; which with strict rules and an assignment of certain Revenues, he called *l'Ordre du St. Esprit*, solemnizing the Ceremonies of it upon the first day of the year: But as this Prince was most ingenious in laying his designs, and ardent in the beginning of them, but remiss in the prosecution, having found many difficulties at Rome in his purpose of assigning Church Lands to that Order of Knighthood, under title of *Commendams*; so the profits of that Order were frustrated, though the Name and the Order itself being placed in persons of eminent quality, hath continued for many years in high esteem and veneration.

Henry the 1
Third institutes the order of Knighthood of the Holy Ghost.

Whilest these things pass at the Court, the Queen Mother (having concluded the Treaty with the King of Navar, and endeavored to make him taste the delights and benefits of Peace) went to visit the Provinces of Gascogne, Languedoc, and Dauphine, every one receiving her answers as so many Oracles; since the King shewing a desire to live quiet and retired, had remitted all the weight of affairs unto her care; and having left her Daughter with her Husband, she had conferred with the Viscount *de Turenne* in Poictou, and had composed differences with the Mareschal *d'Anville* in Languedoc, who having sued for pardon, (yet without stirring from his Government) was returned (though but in appearance) unto the Kings obedience. Last of all, the Queen went to Montluel, a Town of the Duke of Savoy's not far from the Confines, to speak with the Mareschal *de Bellegarde*; who, during the Wars of France, had possessed himself of the Marquisate of Saluzzo.

Bellegarde had for many years held the chief place in the Kings favor, and in the beginning of his reign was by him

1579

Bellegarde, by intelligence with the Duke of Savoy, usurps the Marquessate of Saluzzo.

created Marechal ; but afterward, for some jealousies the King conceived of him, and by the instigation of his competitors *Chiverny* and *Villeguier*, he was faine out of favor ; and under pretence of sending him into Poland to negotiate for the Duke of Alençon, he had cunningly sought to put him from Court : But being openly favored by the Marechal *d'Anville*, and secretly by the Duke of Savoy, he went into the Marquessate of Saluzzo, where having found a light occasion of dispute with *Carlo de Birago*, the Kings Lieutenant, who held the principal places, he easily drove him away by force, and having without much difficulty made himself Master of that State, he carried himself in imitation of *d'Anville*, obeying the Kings orders onely so far forth as he himself thought fit. This action of his did not onely prove very prejudicial to the affairs of France, but likewise wrought great suspicions in the Italian Princes, who with reason doubted, that *Bellegarde*, set on by the Catholick King to deprive the French of the Marquessate of Saluzzo, might give the King occasion, for the recovery of his own, to bring the War into Italy, and put the affairs of that Province into confusion ; and that so much the rather, because they saw *Bellegarde* leavy Soldiers, and fortifie places, and yet knew not with whose money he could do those things : Wherefore the Pope being moved, had prayed the Venetian Senate, as friends to the King, to interpose their wisdom to take away the occasion of that fire, the preparations whereof were so near at hand : The Senate undertook the business very carefully, and having caused their Ambassador *Grimano* to treat with the King, and *Francesco Barbaro* Resident in Savoy, with the Marechal *de Bellegarde*, was the occasion that the King committed that affair unto the managing of his Mother. For this cause the Queen, not being able to draw *Bellegarde* unto Grenoble, whither the Duke of Savoy and the Venetian Ambassador, were come to meet her, was content to go to Montluel, (according to her custom) making small account of Ceremonies (which are so much to trouble Princes) so she might obtain her ends in the substance of things. There having wrought the Marechal to acknowledge the King, and receive the Patent of his Government from him, she dispatched it for him, with many demonstrations of honor ; but whatsoever the occasion were, the Marechal died suddenly as soon as he was returned unto Saluzzo,

Saluzzo; and before the Queen departed from those Provinces, the Governours and Guardians of his Son delivered up that State into the hands of the King of France.

The Queen being gotten out of that trouble, passing thorow Bourgogne, was returned unto her Son, to assist in the administration of the Government; whilest he, retired from the management of affairs, seemed onely to minde feasts and solemnities, leaving all busineses to her, and to his Council, though indeed every least particular passed thorow his own hands; by which arts he thought himself so secure of present, and certain of future matters, that he believed he had already fully executed all that he had secretly contrived in his minde. Onely he thought the course of his designs was stopt by the Duke of Alanson, who fickle and unconstant in his desires, sometimes retiring himself from Court, sometimes returning confidently again, now holding intelligence with the Male-contents, and within a while refusing to meddle with them, kept him still solicitous with many jealousies and anxieties.

The Queen-Mother endeavoured principally to remedy that fear, as a thing so material, that the tranquillity or disturbance of the Government depended on it: Wherefore the people of the Low-Countries being already withdrawn from the subjection of the Catholick King, having first besought the King of France to receive them into his protection; and after he refused it, having offered the command of themselves to the Duke of Alanson, if with a powerful Army he would deliver them from fear of the Spanish Tyranny; the Queen desirous to free one Son from his suspicions, and to provide a convenient State for the other, exhorted the King to let the Duke of Alanson accept of the protection of the States of Flanders, and to raise an Army upon fained pretences within the limits of France, alledging that all unquiet factious spirits would go along with the Duke, and diminish that pestilent matter which maintained the discords and troubles of the Kingdom: and the better to ground and settle that designe, she tryed to renew the so often rejected treaty of marriage between the Duke and the Queen of England; which though it could not be concluded, yet at least this consequence might result from it, That the Queen by her Forces and Authority would incline to favour the Duke in his new

The Low-Countries being withdrawn from the King of Spains Dominion first seek protection from the King of France, and then put themselves under the Duke of Alanson.

1579

Command; wherefore omitting nothing that could advance that end, after many Embassies on both sides, Alançon himself went this year personally into England, where being honourably and sumptuously received by the Queen, he stayed there a great while; and though she abhorred to submit herself to the yoke of Matrimony, and that the State of England did likewise abhor the Government of a French King; yet because the interest of State required to dissemble, as well to encrease the Dukes reputation, and by consequence the strength of the States of * Flanders, as also to cause a jealousy in the Catholick King, who at that time was intent about many other designs, which were much suspected by all the Princes his neighbours; the Queen fained to consent unto the match, and amongst the pomps and delights of her Court, honoured and favoured the Duke of Alançon very familiarly; in whose behalf the King dispatched an honourable Embassie, the chief whereof was *Francis de Montpensier* Prince Dauphin, a Lord of winning carriage, and often imployed, being known to be of a sincere minde, an honest (but not crafty) nature, and very far from meddling or consorting with factious minded men. At the arrival of this Embassie, which was received with great tokens of honour, the articles and conditions were treated of, which were to be observed by both parties; and the business went so far, that the Duke and Queen gave each other a ring in token of future marriage, though she nevertheless persevered constantly in her resolution of a free, single life, and therefore would by no means suffer it to goe any further: But these things happened in the course of the year following.

* The Italians under the name of Flanders usually comprehend all the Low-Countries:

In this year the King of Navar, after the departure of the Queen-Mother, did assemble a Congregation of his party at Mazere in the County of Foix, to deliberate in what manner they should behave themselves for the time to come; where (amongst the discourses of peace, the spirits of many that desired war shewed their inclinations) in the end it began to be debated, whether the peace should be continued, or that they should return to the hazard of arms. Nor was the King of Navar himself much averse from active thoughts, knowing by experience, that peace and idleness did ruine by little and little, and insensibly diminish the strength of his party; for many, weary of innovations, returned sincerely unto the Catholick

tholick Church, many seeing the Hugonots depressed, and excluded from offices and honours, did fain to return to it; and all of them (old business growing out of date, and the authority of Command languishing) did equally withdraw themselves from the cares and interests of the Faction: and he himself being reduced to a very low ebb of Fortune, not onely foresaw his future ruine, but for the present had not wherewithall to maintain the honour of a King, nor of first Prince of the Blood. To which necessities the instigations of the Prince of Conde being added (who was of a more fierce unquiet nature, unable to digest the affront of being excluded from the Government of Picardy; and the assent, or rather desire of many young men that ordered matters of Government concurring in the same) they concluded at last that it was better to try the fortune of arms, than to perish securely in the idleness of peace; and they resolved to prepare themselves, and seek some occasion to begin the war, so much the rather, because the Kings manner of life being already thought to proceed from dissoluteness of customs, and weakness of spirit, it incited all to carry themselves without respect according to their proper interests and inclinations. Wherefore the King of Navar calling to him the Deputies of Languedoc and Dauphine which were come to the Congregation; after a long discourse, wherein he exhorted them on their parts to lend what assistance they were able unto the common cause, he gave them pieces of a broken French-Crown of gold to carry to Monsieur de Chastillon, Son to the Admirat de Coligny, who was already gotten into Lauguedoc, and to Monsieur des Dignieres, who was in Dauphine, with direction that they should give credit in the matter and order of war to those that should bring them the remaining pieces of the Crown, esteeming that a very secret token, and not so easily to be counterfeited: with which determination each retiring into his own Province, they began secretly to make themselves ready to take up arms.

But the King of Navar seeking to put a gloss upon the business with some specious reasonable colour, the time drawing on that the cautionary Towns were to be restored, though the King demanded them but coldly, rather out of compliance with the Catholick party, than a desire to have them; yet He made a mighty noyse about it, and often cal-

The Hugonots stir up new commotions.

ling

1579

ling Assemblies of the Hugonots (which they call *Synods*) endeavoured to shew them, that the time of restoring those places was not yet come, nor the execution of the Edict fully accomplished; since the free exercise of their Religion was neither permitted in Champagne, Normandy, Bourgogne, nor the Isle of France; whereupon, the Ministers growing hot, who were very much pleased with that pretence, their minds began to incline to war; for the beginning whereof, the King of Navar was resolved to undertake some notable enterprize, the fame whereof might quicken the slowness of all the rest of his party: wherefore he thought of beginning with an attempt upon Cahors, which Town having been promised by the King to the Lady *Margaret* his wife in dowry, was never assigned unto her, it being kept by the Governour in the Kings name: by that he obtained a reasonable pretence (so necessary in Civil Wars to feed the mindes of the people, and to palliate the interests of the parties) and a great benefit resulted to him by the addition of a rich City and neighbouring Territory, which was both very great, and wonderful commodious for his present affairs.

The Prince of
Condé enters
la Fere, and
drives out the
Governor and
Garrison.

The Prince of Condé also, who could not blot the business of Picardy out of his memory, purposed to go unknown into that Province, and by the help of some adherents, to make himself Master of a place or two, by which he might get footing in that Country, and enlarge his State and Fortune beyond the narrow limits of Xaintonge; thinking he might fairly cover his own ends, by making shew that he would live under the Kings obedience, and revenge himself of his enemies, by whose practices he had been excluded from the Government. The Prince of Condé as of a more hasty impatient nature, began first; and being come unknown to Poitiers, he passed from thence with very great danger thorow the other Cities and Provinces of France, into the heart of Picardy, where after the space of a few moneths, having with art, and the intelligence of his Friends, drawn together from severall parts the number of 300 men, he entered *la Fere*, a strong place, and of great consequence, whence driving away the Governour, and the small Garrison that was in it, he became Master of it the 29 day of November, and having presently writ unto the King, that he kept that Fortres in his name, as being by him elected Governour of the Province,

from

from which he had been excluded by the malice of his enemies; he began notwithstanding to make preparations to defend himself as well as he could, not doubting but the King would use all his force to chase him out of so convenient an harbor.

1579

But in the beginning of the year following 1580, the King of Navar (after he had sent the remaining pieces of the broken Crown to the Lord of Chastillon, and Monsieur des Diguières, in token that they should begin the War) began to settle himself in his intended enterprize of Cahors, which was to surprise that City upon a sudden, and bring it into his own power.

1580

The City of Cahors is seated upon the River Lot, which environing it on three sides, leaves onely one passage free, called la Porte aux Barres, and the other three sides are entred by three fair Bridges that cross the River. By one of these, called the New-bridge, the King of Navar was resolved to attack the City secretly in the night, not having Forces to assault or besiege it by day: And because the first entry of the Bridge was hindred by a Gate that was kept locked; after which, without any Draw-bridge, at the other end stood the Gate of the City, defended by two Ravelines, one on either hand: He purposed at each Gate to fasten a Petard (an engine till then little esteemed for the newness of it, but since by often tryals grown famous for sudden enterprizes in War) and the obstacles being broken, to come presently to handy-blows with the defenders. For this purpose, besides the company who to fasten the Petard were necessarily to go before, he divided his Soldiers into four Squadrons; the first led by the Baron de Salignac; the second by the Sieur de St. Martin, Captain of his Guards; the third, wherein were the Gentry, and he himself in person, by Antoyne Sieur de Rophelaure; and the fourth by the Viscount de Gourdon, wherein were 1200 good Firelocks. The Petard being fastned to the first Gate of the Bridge by Captain Jehan Robert, wrought its effect according to expectation, and those few Soldiers that were in the Ravelines were cut in pieces without much difficulty; nor did the second Petard any less, having broken open the Gate of the City, so that they might easily have entred if there had been no further opposition; but they of the Town wakened with the noise of the first Petard, and the Sieur de Vesins, who was

Cahors is
raken and
sacked by the
Hugonots.

1580

was Governor, being run to the danger just as he was, not utterly without Arms, but almost without Cloaths; they stoutly opposed the entry of the enemy, fresh men still running armed from all parts of the City to make resistance: There was a very hot service between the first Squadrons, not onely fighting at a distance continually with shot, but the boldest of them coming up with short weapons; and by little and little, the second and third Squadrons being every where mingled with the first, the encounter became very fierce and bloody, wherein the Governor of the Town (who, though unarmed, was of necessity to be in the thickest of the Fight) was killed on that side; and, on the King of Navars, the *Sieur de St. Martin*. The business continued for two long hours in equal ballance; but the Baron *de Salignac* first, and then the *Sieur de Roche-Laure* being dangerously wounded, and carried out of the hurly-burly, the courage of the rest began to sink in such manner, that the assailants gave ground apace; who, though at the first they had entred as far as the Market-place, yet being now driven back almost to the very Gate, would certainly have been quite repulsed, and beaten out of the City, (for the Viscount *de Gordon*, with his Firelocks that were in the Rere, advanced but very slowly) if the King of Navar (much troubled for the loss of his Captains, highly incensed at the affront his men were like to receive, and despairing of his own affairs, if his first enterprise failed of a happy success, coming up to the head of his Soldiers in the very face of the enemy) had not renewed the assault, by fighting gallantly and undauntedly with his own hand: For the Lords, Gentlemen, and Soldiers, hasting bravely after him, and striving to go beyond each other in following the steps of their Leader, who (doing incredible exploits) did fiercely quell the ardor of the defendants, advanced so far, that about break of day they had again recovered the chief Market-place of the City, the Townsmen having shut up and fortified themselves (as well as the shortness of the time would permit) in the publick Schools; from whence, though they gave fire on every side, to the great slaughter of the assailants, who fought without defence in the open streets; yet the King of Navar never moved from the head of his men, though they that were next to him were often killed by his side. In this manner they fought all the day, and all the night following; except onely that now and

and then they took a little rest, which both sides were invited to by the darkness of the night. The next day about Sun rising, news was brought to the King of Navar, that supplies were coming to the City from the Neighboring Towns; wherefore he sent the *Sieur de Chouppes* to fight with them without La Porte aux Barres, and courageously redoubled the assault to drive the defenders from their places of advantage; but he found so stout and valiant resistance, that though the Supplies were defeated that came to assist the Town, and that they thereby received no relief, yet could not he in all that day, and the night following, force them to yield, till three Pieces of Cannon, which they found in the City Magazin, being fitted and brought forth, they shattered and broke down all the Barricadoes made up by the defendants; whence followed a bloody execution, and a wonderful slaughter of the people. Thus after three days continual fighting, the City of Cahors was at last taken, and violently sacked; having not onely yielded very rich spoil and booty to the Soldiers, but wreaked the hatred which many of the Hugonots bore to the very name of a Catholick. In this enterprise, the fearless courage of the King of Navar was much admired by every one; who having in his other actions given proofs of a great and lively spirit, in this (to the terror of his enemies, and admiration of his friends) he shewed himself as gallant and as daring a Soldier, as the effects of his following exploits did compleatly witness him to be.

At the very same time, *Les Dignieres* in Dauphine, not being able to move the Nobility, which scorned to come under his Command, (who though a Gentleman by birth, was yet neither favored with the splendor of an ancient Pedigree, nor Riches) had stirred up the Country people to take Arms against some of the chief of them, by whom they complained they had been very much oppressed; but the War proceeding with very small success, because Monsieur de Mangiron, Lieutenant of that Province, and Monsieur de Mandelot, Governor of Lyons, often routed and defeated his peasants; he having attempted many enterprises without effect, at last retired, and fortified himself in la Muze.

But in Languedoc, whether it were, that the Lord of Chastillon's authority was not yet very powerful with that people, or that men being weary of civil broils, stood in aw of

1580

Monſieur d'Anville, who ſhewed himſelf very ready to ſuppreſs any Inſurrection, there was not any ſtir or taking of Arms, as the King of Navar expected, the Mareſchal laboring very diligently to take away all occaſions of diſcontent, by a full obſervation of the Kings Edicts.

At the news
of theſe ſtirrs,
the King
ſends forth
three Armies.

The King being informed of theſe new eruptions in ſo many ſeveral places, whileſt he thought himſelf ſecure, and free from all troubles and dangers of War, reſolved to ſhew his face once more to thoſe that made Inſurrection, to reduce them to obedience, and to the ſincere obſervance of the Peace; to which end, he raiſed three ſeveral Armies with infinite diligence: One for Picardy, to recover la Fere; another for Guienne, againſt the King of Navar; and the third, to ſettle the Commotions in Dauphine: From which ſudden reſolution, and the readineſs of levying and ordering thoſe Forces, wiſe men drew more confident aſſurance that his quiet ſtilneſs was onely voluntary, and that under a ſhew of eaſe and careleſneſs, he nourished more deep important thoughts in his minde. To theſe Armies the King appointed Commanders ſuitable to the occaſion, and his ſecret intentions: For deſiring that la Fere ſhould preſently be recovered, becauſe it is ſo near the heart of the Kingdom, and the City of Paris, and eaſie to be relieved by the nearneſs of the States of Flanders, he ſent thither *Jacques Mareſchal de Matignon*, whom he was always wont to make uſe of where there was need of doing ſomething to the purpoſe, on the other ſide, deſiring, that the King of Navar ſhould be reſtrained, but not utterly ſuppreſſed, becauſe he would not caſt the Scale ſo much on that ſide, and make the Faction of the Guiſes Superior, (which had no other countepoize ſo proper as his party) he ſent *Armand Mareſchal de Byron*, to the end, that by his old inclinations he might proceed very warily in oppoſing it. And being neceſſitated to employ ſome one of the Lorain Princes, by reaſon of the power of the Houſe of Guiſe, to which it was requiſite to bear a convenient reſpect; and becauſe he would not utterly alienate thoſe of the Catholick League, he made choice of *Charles Duke of Mayenne* for Dauphine, as well becauſe he eſteemed him to be of a more ſetled nature than his Brother, as out of a belief the buſineſs of thoſe parts was very eaſie, and of but ſmall conſequence. Nor did the effect differ from the Kings expectation; for *Monſieur de Matignon* having beſieged la Fere, from whence

the Prince of Conde was already departed, and gone into England, he within a small time recovered it, though not without some blood. The Duke of Mayenne having taken *la Mure*, and put the Hugonots of that Province in a very great terrour, did not onely reduce the Gentry and Commons to obedience, but also the *Sieur des Dignieres* himself. And the *Mareschal de Byron* having about *Nerac* defeated some Companies of *Gens d'armes*, and taken many weak places in *Guienne*, at last his horse falling under him, and his thigh being hurt in two places, he drew his Army into Quarters, without any further progress. So that the King of Navar not being able to keep the field, nor undertake any designe, by reason of the opposition of the Kings Army; yet shewing much more courage then strength, maintained himself still in Arms with actions of small importance.

1580
La Fere recovered by
Monsieur de
Maignon.

In this interim, the Duke of Alançon being returned out of England, full of hopes by the Queens promises, but without any certainty of the future Match, and preparing for the journey of Flanders, interposed between the King his brother, and the King of Navar his brother-in-law, to settle businesses in the former Concord; fearing that if the War should break forth in good earnest in France, he should not then be able to draw those helps from thence which he expected for the accomplishment of his designe: wherefore being gone personally to *Libourne* and *la Freche*, Towns in the County of *Foix*, whither also came the King of Navar, and on the King's part the Duke of Montpensier, the *Mareschal de Cossé*, and *Pomponne Sieur de Bellicre*, he wrought so far, that he brought the business to a good conclusion: for the King by nature was inclined to it, and the King of Navar, besides the smallness of his Forces, and the ill success of his late enterprises, had no hopes at all of any assistance from abroad; the Prince of Conde, who went into England, and thence into the Low-Countries, and after into Germany, found all their mindes intent upon the business of Flanders, weary of the instability of the French Hugonots, and unsatisfied at the taking up of Arms without any lawful occasion, whilst the King living in peace observed punctually the Conditions of the Agreement; wherefore having no hope of aid, and not daring to set up his rest within the Kingdom, the former Articles were willingly accepted by him, and the Edict of the late Peace confirmed, as

1580

also the Conference held at Nerac with the Queen: and in this manner Arms were laid down again, and all things were composed in a peaceful way.

The Civil broils being quieted, two different enterprises kept all France in action; That of the Duke of Alençon, who with the tacite permission of his Brother, prepared himself to go into the Low-Countries against the Catholick Kings Forces under the Command of *Alessandro Fernelse* Prince of Parma; And that of the Queen-mother, by occasion of the Kingdom of Portugal. For the King *Sebastian* being dead in the War of Affrica, and after him King *Henry Cardinal*, without sons; among many others who pretended to that Crown, the Queen-mother, as heir of the House of Bologne, and descended in a right line from *Robert* the son of *Alfonso* the third and the Countess *Matilda* his first and lawful wife, pretended also to that succession, alleadging that all the Kings who had reigned since *Alfonso* (being descended from *Beatrice*, which could not be the lawful wife, but the Concubine of *Alfonso*, *Matilda* being yet alive) were illegitimate: and because by reason of her being so far distant, and many other respects, she thought her self not so powerful in Forces as some of the other Competitours, she pretended that the business was to be decided by the way of Justice, without coming to Force of Arms. But the King of Spain, out of a confidence of his power and nearness, having in the mean time usurped that Kingdom with an Army, and causing himself by the Governours thereof to be proclaimed the lawful Successour; the Queen joyning Counsels with *Antonio* Prior of Crato (who pretended to the same Kingdom, had been put beside it by the Spaniards) set forth a mighty Navy under the command of *Filippo Strozzi*, against King *Philip*, to relieve the *Tercera's* Islands in the Ocean Sea, belonging to that Kingdom, which were yet held by *Antonio*, and to make new acquisitions, if they could land upon the Coasts near the City of Lisbon. The death of *Strozzi*, the dispersing of that Navy, and other things that happened in that business, I leave to those Authors that shall write the History of Portugal, it not being necessary to enlarge this Narration, and make it more prolix, by the addition of forraign matters that little or nothing concern the knowledge of the French affairs.

*Geographers call these Islands the *Acores*, and only one of them the *Tercera*, as being third in the passage from Spain towards Virginia, Florida, and those parts.

The same silence, and for the same reason, I observe in the business.

business of Flanders, whither the Duke of Alençon (having with the Kings tacite consent levied a very great Army) went the following year, being 1581, to relieve the City of Cambray, and after he had succoured it, and reduced it into his power, passed on with greater Force into the Low-Countries, to receive the Title and Possession of those States, which having withdrawn themselves from obedience to the Catholick King had put themselves under him with certain limited conditions. Nor did the King of Spain and the Pope fail by means of their Ambassadors to complain of the King of France, as well for what concerned the Duke of Alençon, as because Antonio of Portugal was received into France, and by the Queen-mothers attempts abetted in his pretensions to that Kingdom. But he answered the Ambassadors, and by means of his Agents at Rome and in Spain, excused himself to both, That Antonio had been received by his Mother, and assisted as her Vassal, she her self pretending to the Crown of Portugal: That the Fleet which had been set forth, was made ready at her own charges, without his knowledge or consent; and though it should be fought withal and beaten by the Catholick King, he would not at all think himself injured or ill dealt withal, it being a business apart, that concerned not his interests or the Crown of France: That for the Duke of Alençon, he had opposed him stiffly more then once; but that he was more apt to follow the suggestions of others, then to obey his commands: That he was sorry he had not been able to restrain those French that went with him; but that the disobedience of his Subjects was known to all the world, and also the quality of those persons that were gone thither, who for so many years had disturbed the Kingdom in his time, and in the Reigns of his Brothers and Predecessours: That he had given a sufficient testimony of himself, when the States of Flanders desiring to put themselves under his Authority, he had refused them without any demur at all: So that he having no hand in those preparations made against Flanders, nor in the others against Portugal, he believed that the peace and friendship which he held with the Catholick King, were neither violated nor disturbed; concluding, that to give a clear evidence of himself, and to conserve the Peace with the Crown of Spain (if the Catholick King should desire it) he would at any time send men into Flanders to serve the Prince of Parma, with express order not

1580

1581

only

1581

onely to fight against the States, and against the other Commanders, but also against his brother the Duke of Alañon himself.

1582

This was the substance of what the King said, adorning it with many particularities and circumstances; but in effect he endeavoured to make both businesses continue, being glad not onely that the Duke of Alañon should go out of his Kingdom, but that with Monsieur *de la Noue*, the Marechal *de Byron*, and many other Commanders, the greatest part of that matter which did molest and disquiet his State, should also be removed; which when he saw effected in the year 1582, having settled himself in his former repose, he continued the prosecution of those designs which by long practice were grown familiar to him: and because cunning and dissimulation were already converted into nature, and he now did that by use and custom, which his humour inclining to, he was from the beginning resolved to bring to pass by art; he went on, exalting and giving power onely to those who bred up by himself, were beyond measure esteemed, and most excessively favoured by him: amongst which, to *Anne de Joyeuse* (by him created Duke and Peer of France) he gave in Marriage his own sister-in-law, sister to the Queen: and to *Jehan Louis de la Valet* (created also Duke of Espernon and Peer of France) he granted the most important Governments and the greatest Offices that were daily vacant. Next to these in his favour were the Chancellour *Chiverny*, *René Sieur de Villequier*, Francis *Sieur d'O*, *Pompone de Bellienre*, *Villeroy* the Secretary of State, and the Marshals of *Retz* and *Matignon*, who (no less mature in understanding then in age) cared not to be the first in the King's favour, lest they should also be first exposed to the blowe and envie of Fortune; but yeelding the highest place to the vanity of young men, contented themselves with a more settled, and more moderate condition. The wisdom of the Marechal *de Retz* was particularly very remarkable; who knowing himself to be an Italian, and therefore subject to the hatred and persecution of the French, though the King did by the vastness of his gifts seek to exalt him to the highest pitch of greatness, yet did not onely put rubs and hinderances in the way of his own advancement, but afterward, when he saw that the King was resolved to make him great, he most discreetly endeavoured that those things which he knew were destined

destined to him, might be procured by the intercession of some one of the great Princes : A thing that succeeded so happily for him, that his greatness was established without envy, every one being either unwilling or ashamed to cross that fortune which he himself had favored, and that man which he believed, he had made one of his obliged dependents. But Joyeuse, Espernon, and the other youths, whose age and experience had not taught them so much moderation, spreading all their Sails before the prosperous Wind of Fortune, labored by all possible means to attain to the most eminent Dignities : Wherefore the death of *Philippo Strozzi*, who was General of the French Infantry, hapning at the Tercera's, that charge was given to the Duke d' *Espernon*, but much more amplified in Command and Authority. And the Marechal de *Byron* having left the Office of Lieutenant of Guienne, to go into Flanders with the Duke of *Alançon*, it was conferred upon the Marechal de *Matignon*. And the Governments of Orleans, Blois, and Chartres, void about that time by the death of the Marechal de *Cossé*, were transferred upon the Chancellor. The same rule being observed in all things, that the most important Places and Governments, should still be bestowed upon Creatures of his own breeding.

But the year following 1583, the Duke of *Alançon* having attempted to bring his limited Command in Flanders to a free absolute Dominion, the success proving very contrary to his hopes; and therefore he being hated and opposed by those very men who had first called him thither, was driven from thence by the Forces of *Alessandro Farnese*, and (to the Kings great trouble) returned again into France, where it was feared he would contrive some new mischiefs, according to his rash inconsiderate nature, most ardent to leap headlong into any dangerous design : Wherefore he being recalled into Flanders by his adherents, and by those who more abhorred the Tyranny of the Spaniard than his fickle instability, the King promised him very great Supplies of Men and Moneys, that returning to his former design, he might ease him of the jealousies and fears of new Commotions; and without doubt, the effects would have made good his promises, if the Duke of *Alançon* (afflicted with the crossness of his late Fortune, and quite worn out with perpetual toil and trouble, or else (as some said) with those dissolute courses to which he had wholly

The Duke of *Alançon* rejected by those who had called him into Flanders, is driven thence by the Prince of *Parma*, returns into France, and a while after dies there.

1584

wholly given himself over) had not died at Chasteau-Thierry, a Castle of his own, in the Moneth of June, 1584, leaving Flanders at liberty, and his Brother free from a most certain revolution of new troubles. After his death, the Signories of *Anjou*, *Angoulesme*, and *Berry*, which had been assigned for his *Appennage*, returned into the Kings power: But the City of *Cambray* taken two years before, and put under the Government of the *Sieur de Balagny*, (the King not desiring to transfer it openly to himself, lest it should break the Peace with the Catholick King) fell in appearance, and as by inheritance, unto the Queen his Mother.

The End of the Sixth Book.



THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
CIVILL WARRES
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The Seventh B O O K.

THE ARGUMENT.

IN this Book are set down the causes, why the Duke of Guise and his adherents endeavor to renew the Catholick League, which before was almost laid aside: The Reasons they alledge for themselves: The quality of those persons that consented to, and concurred with the League: The design of drawing in the Cardinal of Bourbon, and his resolution to embrace it: Philip King of Spain takes the protection of it: The Conditions agreed to with his Agents at Jainville: The Popes doubtfulness in ratifying and approving the League, and his determination to delay the time. The King of France consults what is to be done for the opposing of that Union, and the opinions differ: He sends the Duke of Espernon to confer with the King of Navar, to perswade him to embrace the Catholick Faith, and return to Court. The King of Navar, at that Proposition, resolves to stand firm to his Party. The League takes occasion by that Treaty, and makes grievous complaints. They of the Low-Countries, alienated from the King of Spain, offer to put

Sff them

The History of the Civill Warres

themselves under the Crown of France: The King is uncertain what to do in it, but at last remits them to another time. King Philip entering into suspicion of that business, sollicitates the Duke of Guise and the League, to take up Arms: To that end, Forces are raised both within and without the Kingdom. The King tries to oppose them, but findes himself too weak. The Cardinal of Bourbon leaves the Court, retires to Peronne, and with the other Confederates publishes a Declaration. They draw an Army together in Champagne, seize upon Thoul and Verdun. The City of Marseilles riseth in favor of the League, but the Conspirators are suppressed by the rest of the Citizens; the same happens at Bourdeaux. Lyons, Bourges, and many other places in the Kingdom, side with the League. The King answers the Declaration of the League; he endeavors to disunite it, by drawing many particular men from that Party, as also the City of Lyons; but seeing his design succeedeth not to his minde, he resolves to treat an Agreement with the Confederates: The Queen Mother goes into Champagne to confer about it with the Duke of Guise, and Cardinal of Bourbon: After many Negotiations, the Peace is concluded. The King of Navar publisheth a Declaration against the League, and challengeth the Duke of Guise to a Duel: He passeth it over, and makes the Declaration be answered by others. The Duke of Bouillon and Monsieur de Chastillon go into Germany, to stir up the Protestant Princes in favor of the Hugonots. The King consults of the manner of effecting what he had promised in the Agreement with the League: The opinions differ, and there ariseth great discord about it among his Councillors. He resolves to make War against the Hugonots; and coming to the Parliament, forbids all other except the Roman Catholick Religion. He sends for the Heads of the Clergy, and the Magistrates of the City of Paris, and with words full of resentment, demands money of them for the War. He prepares divers Armies against the Hugonots. Pope Gregory the Thirteenth dies: Sixtus Quintus succeeds him, who at the instigation of the League, declares the King of Navar, and the Prince of Condé, to be excommunicate, and incapable to succeed in the Crown. This Excommunication is diversly spoken of in France: Many write against it, and many in favor of it.



From the ashes of the Duke of Alençon, the half-extinguish't sparks of the League began again to be kindled and burn afresh: for the King by his policy in the Assembly at Blois, and after by the delight and benefit every one received in Peace, and by keeping down the Heads of the Hugonots, and holding them at a distance, having taking away the opportunities and specious pretences of the Lords of Guise, it was of it self grown old, and in very great part decayed and dissolved. And though those Lords, being stung to the quick by the excessive greatness of the King's *Minions*, and continually stirred up by the jealousy of his proceedings, had failed of no occasion that might conveniently blemish his actions, and bring themselves into reputation; yet matters had till then been rather in unsettled debates then certainly concluded; and had consisted more in words then actions. But now by reason of the Duke of Alençon's death, and that the King, after having been ten years married, had no probable hope of issue, affairs began to be very much altered: For as the King of Navarre's being first Prince of the Blood, and so neereſt the Succeſſion of the Crown, did spur forward the readineſs of the *Guiſes*, his old corrivals and natural enemies; ſo likewise it afforded them a fair occasion to renew the League, that they might take a course betimes to hinder the Kingdom from falling into the hands of the Hugonot Prince, to the univerſal ruin of the Catholicks, and the total overthrow of Religion: Wherefore, the diſguſts they received at Court, and the ſuſpicion which for many years they had conceived, concurring to ſollicite them, and this emerſent occasion offering a fit opportunity, they began again not onely to repair the old ſtructure, but alſo to contrive and build up new deſignes. The diſaſters which the Lords of Guise received at Court, were many: For beſides ſeeing themſelves excluded from the Kings favour, and from the adminiſtration of State-affairs, wherein they were wont to hold the firſt place, and whereof they now did not at all participate; as likewise being ſo little able to do any thing for their dependents and adherents, becauſe the King reſerved unto himſelf alone the diſpoſing of all Gifts and Honours: they were alſo highly offended at the greatneſs of theſe new

The *Guiſes* foreſeeing their own ruin, contrive new deſignes.

1584

men, who not favoured by the lustre of ancient Families, nor raised by the merits of their own actions, but only by the liberality of their Prince, were advanced so high, that with a sudden splendour they eclipsed all those Honours which they with infinite pains and dangers had attained to in the course of so many yeeres. And though the Duke of Joyeuse, by his Marriage with the Queens sister, was allied unto the House of Lorain, and seemed in many things to be interessed with them, yet they disdained to lie under the shadow of another's protection, where they were wont to see an infinite number of persons shelter themselves under the favourable wing of their Power and Authority. To this was added, that the Duke of Espernon, either through his own natural instinct, or the hopes of raising himself upon the ruines of the Great ones, or through the friendship which he had held from his youth with the King of Navar, who was most averse from any familiarity with them, seemed to despise and undervalue the merits and power of so great a Family, and failed not upon all occasions to sting and persecute them; on the other side obstinately favouring, and in all opportunities maintaining and assisting the Princes of Bourbon. Whereupon it was commonly believed, that he to abase the credit and lessen the reputation of the Duke of Guise, had perswaded the King to determine a matter never clearly decided by his Predecessours; That in the Ceremonies of the King's Coronation, and other occurrences, the Peers should not have precedence according to their Age and Seniority; but that those Peers which were Princes of the Blood, should absolutely take place of all the rest, by Prerogative of the Royal Family; which much incensed the Princes of Lorain: But it toucht them a great deal more nearly to see that the King was wholly intent to deprive them of their Offices and Governments, to bestow and heap them upon his *Minions*: For *Charles* Duke of Mayenne having been first declared Admiral (a place held by his father-in-law the *Marquess de Villars*, after the death of the Admiral *Chastillon*) was after forced, by the King's violent perswasions, to take eighty thousand Crowns in recompence, and to resign his Office, which presently was settled upon the Duke of Joyeuse: And Because the Duke of Espernon complained that his place was not so eminent, the King desirous to satisfie him, or at least feigning to be so, for the compassing of his designs, had often moved

moved the Duke of Guise to give up his Office of **Grand Maître* ; and when he saw that, being displeased with the overture, he resolved not to part with it, by little and little he took away all the Authority and Priviledges which were wont to belong unto that Office, leaving him onely the empty name ; and, in stead of it, conferred upon the Duke of Espernon the charge of Colonel General of the Infantry ; which having been formerly promised to *Timoleon de Cossé* for his exceeding great deserts, and he being by death prevented, the enjoyment seemed in reason most due to his son *Charles* Count of Brissac, who was a fast friend to the Lords of Guise, as his father and grandfather had been before him. The Duke of Aumale complained likewise, that he being elected to the Government of Picardy (for which he had been in competition with the Prince of Conde) to keep him as it were in an uncertainty of the possession, the entry of many chief places was denied him ; among which, Bologne, Calais, and la Fere, kept by persons depending upon the King, in the name of the Duke d'*Espernon*. And finally, all that bore the character of dependents of the House of Guise, were either by money or other means devided of their Offices and Governments, or at least deprived of the authority and execution of them, which by oblique ways were reserved for and transferred upon the King's favourites and confidants.

These were then all or part of the discontents that troubled the Lords of Guise, wherein (being well versed in affairs of State, and mindful of what had happened five and twenty years before) they admired the revolutions of this world, and the effects of divine Justice, seeing themselves handled in the same manner by the Dukes of Joyeuse & Espernon, as they (governing in the Raig of Henry the second) had used the Houses of Momorancy and Bourbon ; concluding, that though God for the most part reserves his punishment and vengeance till the everlasting pains of the world to come, yet is he sometimes pleased, by those glances of his power, to shew us a glimpse of that Justice wherewith he governs the course of mortal things. But besides the disgusts which these Princes pretended to receive, they were much more sharply pricked with the sting of that jealousy which by many conjectures, and by things daily put in practice, they had conceived : For seeing that the King balanced the Forces very carefully with those

1584
* Lord High
Steward of
the Kings
Houhold,
heretofore
called *Le
Comte du Pa-
lais, & le Se-
neschal de
France.*

1584

those of the Hugonot Lords, and that he would not suppress that party, which (as they believed) he easily might have done; that under several pretences he devested all the dependents of both Factions of their Places and Honours, to bestow them upon such as should acknowledge them meely from himself; and that where other pretences failed, he bought those Offices which they possessed with great sums of money, to ingross them all into his own disposing; that he admitted no intercession for any body, thereby to take away the bait that drew so many followers and dependents to the Princes of both parties; that he spent great store of money to bring those things about, and also gathered great store together in Mers, Bologne and Angoulesme, though in the name of the Duke d'Espernon; they judged that all these things tended to their ruine and destruction. Nor could it satisfie them to see the King taken up with religious thoughts, and addicted to a quiet unactive life: for, they knowing his nature, wherewith they had been conversant from his very childhood, interpreted that countenance of life to subtil deep dissimulation. Wherefore the Duke of Guise, a man of a wonderful quick insight, discerning judgement, and high thoughts, laying all these things together, determined with himself to prevent, and not stay to be prevented: in which resolution he was boldly seconded by his brother *Louys* the Cardinal, a man of a high spirit, and an understanding no less ingenious then his; as also by *Henry* of Savoy Duke of Nemours, and *Charles* Marquess of San-Sorlin (both sons of *Anna d'Este*, and therefore his brothers by the mother), *Charles* of Lorain Duke of Aumale, and *Claude* his brother a Knight of Jerusalem, *Charles* of Lorain Duke d'Elbeauf, *Emanuel* Duke de Mercure, and his brothers; who though allied unto the King yet in respect of the common Family, were nearly united unto him both in opinion and interests. Onely *Charles* Duke of Mayenne concurred more slowly then the rest, who with more settled thoughts considering the course of worldly affairs, thought it as difficult and dangerous for the League to pull down the King, protected by the Majesty of a Royal Name, and the natural obligations of his Subjects, as he believed it impossible for the King himself to destroy and ruine their Family, protected by the favour of the Catholics, and by the merit and innocence of their persons. Wherefore thinking it superfluous to put themselves into that fear,

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and for that cause to hazard their safety by rash uncertain resolutions, he counselled them to proceed with more patience and more respect toward the lawful Possessor of the Crown. But the Duke of Guise, resolute in his thoughts, and by the authority of his Person, the vivacity of his Courage, the eloquence of his Language, and the excellency of his Wit, able to perswade and draw all the rest to his opinion, excluding his Brothers advice, had settled all his thoughts upon the machinations of the League; for the enlargement and establishment whereof, dissembling his discontents no less than his jealousies and private interests, he made shew of stirring onely for the respects of Religion, and the general good, making an ill interpretation of all the Kings actions, and with many arts and circumstances aggravating that danger, which he pretended hung over the Catholick Religion in that Kingdom.

He grounded his fears upon the death of the Duke of Alençon, and the Queens barrenness, which in the space of ten years had had no Son, whereby, the King dying without Heirs of the House of Valois, the Crown fell to the Princes of Bourbon, and in the first place to the King of Navar, a relapsed Heretick, and an open enemy to the Roman Religion. He urged, that his coming to the Crown, would be the universal ruine of Religion, and the total conversion of all France to the Rites and Opinions of *Calvin*; and therefore shewed how all good Catholicks were obliged to look to it in time, and to prevent the terrible blow of that imminent subversion; and if they had gathered themselves together ten years before, to hinder the Prince of Conde from entring upon the Government of Picardy, much more ought they now to assemble and combine themselves, to keep the King of Navar from entring, not into a City or Province alone, but into the possession of the whole Kingdom. He endeavored to prove that his Introduction to the Crown would be very easie; for the King, perswaded by the Duke of Espernon and his other Favorites, (by whom he was wholly governed) and induced by them to favor and advance the party of the Princes of Bourbon, would in his own life time bring him in by little and little, without resistance: That therefore he had granted Peace to the Hugonots, while in that low condition and extraordinary weakness, their extirpation was evident to all the World: That therefore he deluded the constant and general resolution of the

States

1584

States at Blois, by his arts unfinewings; and by his delays untwisting the joynt will and consent of all the French Nation: That therefore when sometimes he had been constrained to make War against the King of Navar, he employed the *Mareschal de Byron*, who though a Catholick in outward appearance, was yet by many former proofs known to be a favourer of the Hugonots, and interessed in their Faction: That therefore he had lately taken Geneva into his Protection, shewing clearly to all the World how little he esteemed the Catholick Religion, and how much he was inclined to the enemies of the holy See, and of the great Bishop of Rome: That therefore he had excluded all the Catholick Lords from any access to the Court, or administration in the Government; particularly, those who had spilt so much blood for the preservation of the Kingdom and Religion, and had brought in a new people that were privy to his designs, and friends to the House of Bourbon: That therefore he deprived all the old servants of the Crown of all their Offices and Honors, of the most principal Governments, and most suspected Fortresses, to put them into the hands of men that were Catholicks in shew, but really partial to Hereticks, and inwardly adherents to the King of Navar: That therefore without remorse or compassion, he daily oppressed the poor Subject with new Taxes and intolerable Grievances, lest when occasion served they should be able to make resistance, and oppose his pleasure and their own slavery: And though the King made an outward shew to do otherwise, and to be of another minde; yet, that men of understanding ought not to let themselves be deceived by his dissimulation, who did but feign himself to be wholly addicted to a spiritual life, and altogether taken up with the zeal of Religion: For they that had penetrated to the depth of those businesses, knew certainly that they were but a cloak and mask which under colour of devotion contained abominable hypocrisie; and that appearing full of mortification, cloathed in a penitent Frock, with a Crucifix in his hand in the streets, in his private lodgings he gave himself over to the unbridled lusts of the flesh, and to the perverse satisfying of his loose depraved appetite. From which things, set forth with many specious reasons, and adorned with many, and those most particular circumstances, he concluded it was necessary to provide against that mischief betimes, to underprop the house before it fell

fell upon their heads, wisely to unite themselves for their own defence, and to pull down and destroy those designs; before they were brought unto perfection.

These were the reasons of the Lords of *Guise*; among which, that they mentioned about the protection of *Geneva*, was, that the King having been desirous to renew that Confederacy with the Swisses which they for many years have held with the Crown of *France*, the Protestant Cantons had refused to accept it, unlesse the King would take *Geneva* into his Protection; who considering (the affairs of the Marquisate of *Saluzzo* being then in disorder, and the friendship of the Duke of *Savoy* suspected and uncertain, because he was neerly allied unto the King of *Spain*; having taken to wife his daughter the Infanta *Katherine*) that if he should have a passage in his power, whereby without setting foot in another man's house he might make use of the Swisses assistance, it was necessary for him to embrace the protection of that City, from the Territories whereof the passage is free to those places upon the confines of *France*, he resolved at last to consent unto it, forced by necessity; but against his will, and with much suspension of minde, being both by nature and custome most averse from having to do with the Hugonots. But that which was spoken concerning the King's secret dissolutenesse, though it were not altogether without ground, by reason of his amorous inclinations to the Ladies of the Court; yet was it by the reports of his enemies amplyfied and enlarged to such vices and debauches as were very far both from his nature and custome: and among the common people there went such extravagant tales of his licentiousnesse, as caused at the same time both laughter and loathing in those that were acquainted with his most secret hidden practices.

Henry the III. takes upon him the protection of Geneva.

Now the Duke of *Guise*, either really moved with a zeal to Religion, or drawn by the interests of his own greatnesse, or else perswaded by both respects joyntly united, having framed his design and ordered his reasons with so fair an appearance, made use of popular eloquent men to divulge them from their Pulpits, and infuse them in private discourses among the people, thereby to win their affections, and procure the enlargement and spreading abroad of the League. Among these, the chief were *Guillianme de la Rose*, a man of powerful eloquence who came afterward to be Bishop of *Senlis*; *Jehan Prevost*

The D. of Guise by means of the Preachers and Friars, in Pulpits and other places of Devotion, labours to insinuate the Catholick League into the people.

1584 chief Priest of *S. Sewerins*, a man of rare learning and copious eloquence; *Jehan Boucher*, by birth a Parisian, a man in the same City Curate of *S. Bennets* Parish; one *Poneet*, a Friar in the Abbey of *S. Patrick* at *Melun*; *Don Christin* of *Nizias* in *Provence*; and *Jehan Vincestre*, all famous Preachers; and finally, most part of the Jesuites, displeased perhaps that the King having at the first used them very familiarly, was afterwards turned away from them to the Order of the *Fueillants* and *Hieronimites*. And as these prosecuted the business of the League in *Paris*, the same was done at *Lions* by *Claude Marini* a Priest of the same Society at *Soissons*, by *Matthieu de Lamoignon* Canon of that Cathedral; at *Rouen*, by Father *Egide Blouin* of the Order of *Minimes*; at *Orleans*, by *Boulate* a very noted Divine; at *Thoul*, by *Francois de Roper* Archdeacon of that Church; and an infinite number of others dispersed thorow the several parts of *France*, who by their credit and plausible popular eloquence, sometimes in their Pulpits, sometimes in the Congregations of the Penitents, sometimes in their secret Conferences at Confessions, did allure the People, and entice them to enter into that Combination, which it is likely very many did, out of a respect to Religion, believing that thereby the Calvinists would be utterly rooted out, and the authority of the Church restored to its pristine greatnesse: But many entred into that Covenant invited by other ends, and drawn to it by different hopes, or else necessitated by their particular interests, though all shrowded themselves under the same cloke of the preservation and maintenance of Religion. Thus was the League composed of two different kindes of Persons.

The Catholick League composed of men disaffected to the present Government, and zealous in Religion.

The first sort for the most part of such as were noble eminent persons, who ill satisfied with the power of the King's *Minions*, and not enduring to be banished from all Offices and favours of the Court, went that way partly out of anger, partly out of hope of change; believing, by the subversion of the present state of affairs, they should rise to a greater height of fortune, and in the end compasse the height of their desires. The chief of these was *Ludovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, who after he had refused the Government of the Marquisate of *Saluzzo* and other places beyond the *Alps*, when the King resolved to restore those Towns which had been withheld from the Duke of *Savoy*, thinking himself partly hated, and partly de-

despised, could never any more attaine to any other government, as his great services to the Crown made him hope he should. In this number was also *Guy Sieur de Lansac*, and *Francois Sieur de S. Luc*, who having seen some beams of the Kings favour, and entertain'd hopes of being received amongst his *Minions*, were afterwards thrust out by their competitors, and falling from so great expectations had for anger taken the contrary side; likewise among these was *Monsieur de Vins*, a man more fit to be the head of a Party, both for his readines of his wit, and for the noblenesse of his Family, which was the chiefe in *Provence*, he having at the siege of *Rochelle* sav'd the Kings life, and interposing his own body to defend him from the Bullets which were aymed at him, received a Musquet shot in the right side, did afterwards neither obtain his favour, nor those rewards and advancements which the merit of that service had caused him to expect: with those also was *Jehan de Hemery Sieur de Villers*, to whom in recompence of his many services, especially for taking the Count *Montgomery* prisoner, the Government of the City and Castle of *Caen* in *Normandy* having been promised, The King without giving him any thing in exchange, disposed of it presently to *Monsieur d'O* his favourite; The like was the condition of *Monsieur de la Cbastre* Governour of *Berry*: who after many great services performed in the time of *Charles* the Ninth, was not onely unrewarded for his valour, and fidelitie, but also denyed the Government of *Blois* and that of *Chartras*, one of which he very much desired, because they lay so commodiously neer *Berry*. The *Sieur de Mandelot* Governour of *Lions* consented likewise to it, who having received intimation that his Government should be taken from him, and in favour to *Bernard Sieur de la Valet* brother to the Duke of *Espernon*, joyned to that of *Dauphine*, and to the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*; and *Monsieur de la Mante*, first, and then the *Sieur de Passage*, both creatures of the Family of *la Valet*, having been put into the Cittadel, which is the bridle of the City of *Lions*, took that party to secure his own Affaires, *Monsieur d'Entraques* Governour of *Orleans* was another of them, who having formerly been favoured, and gratified by the King, being afterwards discontented that he himself, and his Government should be subject to the high Chancellor, Governor of that Province, with whom he had no good correspondence, and moved by his

The sieur de
Vins at Rochel
receives a
Musquet sho:
to save Henry
the third.

1584

hatred to the Duke d'Espernon, who both in words and actions had abused a son of his; joyned himself also with the Lords of the House of Guise. The same resolution was followed by the Count de Saux, whose Father and he himself having at first, (but with ill fortune) held of the Hugonot Party, had left it by reason of many enmities, wherewith he was sharply persecuted, and for his own safety retired under the protection and shelter of the League. Guillianne Sieur de Feruques was also joyned in that confederacy, who of a subtil wit, but voluble nature, and ready without respect to lay hold of any thing, by which he could hope for profit and advancement, after he left the King of Navar, had followed the fortune of the Duke of Alencon, and now wanting a support, and not being well looked on by the King, sought new protection, and new matter for his vivacities to work on. But the Archbishop of Lyons a man of contrary nature, to whose extraordinary Learning was joyned a wonderful gravity, and great care not to erre from those ends which were suitable to his vocation, beside the interests of Religion, and his long dependance upon the House of Guise, was driven into the League by the Duke d'Espernon's hatred, who slighting and despising him as a person not well affected, thrust him out of the Kings favour, and almost out of the Court, where his worth had held one of the cheifest places. But amongst them all the most principal was the Count d'Brissac, who took that resolution for anger, that the Office of General of the Infantry (promised to his Father, and pretended to by himself in recompence of the great labours hee underwent in the Portugal Fleet, for the service of the Queen-Mother) was disposed from him without so much as making shew to reward him any other way. For these and such like occasions, the Sieurs de la Roche Breault, de la Baulme, de Sourdeac, de Couriers, de la Brosse, de Beauvoir, de Forone, and an infinite many more Gentlemen were persuaded to follow that resolution, either for discontent of things past, or hopes conceived of the future.

The other kind of Persons whereof the League was composed seemed much inferiour in quality to the first; but was not so at all in the advantage and benefit of the cause; for by means of them whole Towns and Cities were won, and the common people, and men of many several professions were brought over in all parts of the Kingdome. These were for

the

the most part, honest well meaning men, of simple nature, affectionate to the Catholike Religion, and bitter enemies to the Hugonots; whereof some really believing (as was pretended) that the total ruine of the Roman Religion was at hand; and some desiring the destruction of Heresy, did not onely promote the League ardently in their own persons, but used all their endeavours to lead on the people, and increase the Adherents of that Faction; to these were joyn'd also certain * Gown-men, who under the colour of Religion, covered both unquiet thoughts, and ambitious, covetous desires of working their own greatnesse. Among these was *Jehan Maistre* President in the great Chamber of the Parliament of *Paris*, a man of great honesty and sincerity, *Estienne de Nully* President of the same Court, *Honorat de Laurent* Councillor in the Parliament of *Provence*, *Jehan Quiere* afterward called *Sieur de Bussy* then Attorney in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, a man wonderfully followed, and of great authority among the people, *Louys d' Orleans*, a principal Advocate in the same Court, and a man of singular learning. *Charles Hauteman* an Agent of the Bishop of *Paris*, and a man of very great Riches, *la Chappelle Martel* Son in law to the President de *Nully*, *Estienne Bernard* an Advocate in the Parliament of *Dyjon*, *Rolland* one of the Treasurers of the *Finances*, *Druart* an Advocate in the Court of the *Chastelet*, *Cruce* a Proctor of the same Court, *Compans* and *Louchart* Commissaries in the Court of *Paris*, and many other men of the long Robe, who were in very great credit and reputation among the common people.

* de Robe
Longue.

This body so composed of two so different qualities of persons, the sword concurring with the Nobility and Gentry, and the Gown with Clergy-men and Lawyers, was strengthened and knyt together as with Nerves and Bones, by the Adherents and Dependents of the House of *Guise*, who insinuating themselves into every place, did effectually stir up mens minds to enter into that League; for besides the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, there were likewise joyned in it the Cardinal de *Pelleve*, the Commendatory *Dien* a Knight of *Jerusalem*, *Claude Baron de Senesay*, the *Sieur de Bassompier*, *Pierre Jannin* President in the Parliament of *Dijon*, the Baron de *Medanit*, the Chevalier *Bertone*, the *Sieur de Antraquet*, de *Riberac*, de *Rony*, de *Nissy*, de la *Barge*, de *Bois Dauphin*, de *Chamois*, de *Beau-regard*

regard, de Menetille, Monsieur de St. Paul and Sacromoro Bira-
go, both Colonels of Foot, and an infinite number of others,
both Prelates, Barons, and Commanders, who acknowledged
the rise of their fortunes to proceed from the favour and power
of the House of *Lorraine*.

Charles Cardina
l of Bourbon
Uncle to the
King of Navar
is desired for
head of the
Catholicks.

But because the Duke of *Guise* having learned by the
experience of all former times, and by the examples of
the late actions of the Hugonots, that through the natural in-
clination of the French, those commotions could have but a
weak foundation, which had not the protection of a Prince
of the blood, he began to seek about to pick out and persuade
one of them, who furnishing him with the authority and
right of the Royal Family, should be of such a nature and con-
dition, as to let himself be wholly governed by him; There was
none more proper for his designs, nor more ready to receive
that impression then *Charles Cardinal of Bourbon*, the third
brother of *Anthony King of Navar*, and *Louys Prince of Con-*
de deceased; for having been alwayes most observant of the
Catholike Religion, and an open enemy to the Hugonots, it
was easie to draw him by the respect of Religion, to consent
unto that Union, and make himself Head of the League: but
he was also of so mean a Capacitie, and of so meek, gentle a
disposition, that the Duke of *Guise* might without difficulty,
turne and winde him at his pleasure, and that which was more
important then all the rest, being the eldest Prince of the blood,
and Uncle to the King of *Navar*, he might bring the Inheri-
tance of the Crown in question, and pretend that the King
dying without Heires, the succession of right belonging to
him, and therefore he was very fit and proper to foment the
pretentions of the League, which principally did profess to
exclude the King of *Navar*, and the other princes that were
favourers, or followers of Heresie, from the succession of the
Kingdome. Nor did fortune fail to offer the Duke of *Guise*
his industry a convenient meanes of obtaining his desires with
much facility. *Andre Sieur de Rubempre*, a man of swolne
thoughts, and of a vain nature, but one who by his industry
and politick way of living, and clothing himself after a fashi-
on that was conformable to the Cardinals humor, was become
very gracious with him, and reckoned among his chiefe ser-
vants and favourites. The Duke of *Guise* (by the means of
the Advocate *Louys de Orleans*, and of the Abbot of *S. Omer*
brother

brother to Pellicart his Secretary) caused those reasons to be infused into this man, for which his Patron might pretend to the Crown of France, urging that the Representation (so the Lawyeis call it) is of no validity in collateral degrees, and that therefore the King of Navar could not represent the person of Anthony his father, the eldest Son, and Heir to the Kingdom of France, but that without doubt it belonged unto the Cardinal yet alive, and not to his elder Brother, who was dead so many years before. Besides, that the King of Navar being a relapsed Heretick, and by the Canon-Laws incapable of inheriting the most Christian Crown of France; and the other Princes of the Bloud being likewise followers and favourers of Heresie, and therefore incurred the same incapacity of the Succession, it was not to be endured that the vain cautious respect of not doing injury to the right of his Nephew, should suffer it to fall into other hands; and therefore his succession was not onely just, because the Laws had so disposed it, but also pious and honest, because necessity so required, not to exclude the Royal Family, and at the same time to preserve the Catholick Religion. To this they added, that though the Cardinal was nearer to decrepidness then old age, and that the King of France was yet in the flower of his youth, yet in respect of the short lives of his brothers, the weaknesse of his own constitution, and the continual debauches by which he was half wasted and consumed, the Cardinal was likely to out-live him, and come to the possession of the Crown before his Nephew, and might transfer it upon the Cardinal de Vendosme, who also was his Nephew, bred up by him in the Catholick Religion, and that with so much integrity and sincerity of life, that among so many Hereticks and Favourers of Hereticks, he alone shewed himself worthy to attain to the rule of so Christian a Kingdom as that of France. Which things alledged by them not onely in words, but in their writings, folded up among a number of examples, and amplified with the ornaments of their wonted eloquence, did easily make impression in Rubempre, desiring rather to be the Minion of a King, then the Favourite of a Cardinal; Nor found they it more difficult to instil them into the minde of the Cardinal himself, who to the aforesaid reasons, and the near hopes of the Succession, added the honest intentions of propagating the Catholick Faith, whereof he had ever been a zealous promoter;

1584

The Cardinal of Bourbon his pretensions to the succession of the Crown.

1584 moter; whereas his Nephew coming to the Crown, it was to be doubted he would subvert Religion, and spread the poison of Heresie thorow the whole Kingdom. This seed being cunningly scattered long before hand, had brought over the Cardinal to the Duke of *Guise's* party; in such manner, that when it was needful to make such a resolution, he easily was persuaded to make himself Head of the League, and became a Cloke and Buckler to them that sought the ruine and extirpation of his Family; bearing willingly the weight and burden of that Enterprise upon his own shoulders: for being overcome by the subtil practices and skilful flatteries of the Duke of *Guise*, he gave himself wholly over to the opinions and government, esteeming and honouring him exceedingly, as a Lord of invincible courage, and wonderful zeal to the Catholick Religion. Whereupon, they that then discoursed of present affairs with the ordinary French liberty, were wont to compare the Cardinal to a Camel, that kneels down before his Enemies, to take up a Load that may endanger the breaking of his own back.

But the League being established, and confirmed with these Forces, and with the colour of Religion, and of the Bloud Royal; that it might also be furnished with money necessary to maintain it, and those outward helps that might bring it either favour or authority, to the end it might not want any of those things that ordinarily seem requisite for the effecting of so great an Enterprise, the Duke of *Guise* began again to quicken the negotiations with *Spain* and *Rome*, which for some few years past, had with all those other matters, been coldly prosecuted, and deferred. Nor did they finde the Catholick King very doubtful or backward in the businesse; for desiring to free himself from his suspicion that the French might further endamage him in the Low-Country Wars; and being offended at the late attempts and troubles in *Flanders* and *Portugal*, could not but be very well pleased that they should be busied in their own affairs, and not have leisure to meddle with those of their Neighbours: and it making for his purpose that the Hugonots should be suppressed, who bitterly hated his very name, and that the King of *Navar* should be kept from the Crown of *France*, who had still his wonted pretensions of recovering his Kingdom of *Navar*, already united to the Crown of *Spain*, he earnestly desired an oppor-

opportunity to crush them both together, wherefore without
difficulty he not only condescended to concur with his consent,
but also to furnish moneys, believing that the greatnesse of his
designes would be effected in all parts of the world, if France,
which could onely balance and withhold his Forces, being di-
vided in its own dissensions, did but afford him convenient
means of attaining to that Greatnesse which mighty Princes
are wont to aspire to in their mindes. Neither did he think
of any violation of the Peace which was still reciprocally con-
tinued with the King of France: for if the Duke of *Alanson*
had been openly assisted by the most Christian King, whilst to
obtain the dominion of that People that had cast off the yoke
of his obedience, he made War against his Armies in *Flanders*;
and if the Queen-Mother with the Forces of the Crown had
opposed his succession to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, he belie-
ved it much more lawful to preserve the Catholikes of France
from being oppressed by the Hugonots, and hinder the King
of *Navarre* his known enemy, from coming to the Crown: And
if the King had denied that he fomented either the business
of *Flanders*, or that of *Portugal*, whilst the Wars were mani-
festly made with the men and moneys of his Kingdom, he
thought it not unfit for him, concealing that assistance which
he purposed to lend unto the League, and conveying it by se-
cret and hidden means, to deny in appearance that he either
broke or violated the Peace. Wherefore *Juan Baptista Tassi* a
Knight of the order of *S. Jago*, and *Don Juan Morreo*, the
Catholike King's Commissioners, being come to *Jainville* a
place of the Duke of *Guise* in the Confines of *Picardy* and
Champagne, and being met there by the Duke of *Guise*, the
Duke of *Mayenne* his brother, and *Francois Sieur de Meneville*
the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s Attorney for those of the League
in France, both parties agreed to these Conditions the second
day of the year 1585.

That in case the present King of France should die without
a Son lawfully begotten, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* should be
declared King as first Prince of the Blood, and so true Heir to
the Crown, universally excluding from the succession of the
Kingdom all those who being Hereticks, Revolters, or fol-
lowers and favourers of Hereticks, had made themselves
incapable of it: And that during the life of the present King,
to prevent those Hereticks, left by the means which they were

1585

Conditions a-
greed upon
between the
Deputies of
the King of
Spain, and the
Heads of the
Catholike
League.

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1585 Still attempting, they should open and facilitate their way to the attainment of the Crown, the confederate Princes should raise Armies, gather Forces, make War against the Hugonots, do all other things which should be thought fit and necessary. That the Cardinal of Bourbon, coming to the succession, should raise the Peace already concluded at Cambrasis, between the Crown of France and Spain, and observe it punctually, prohibiting any other Religion in the Kingdom except the Roman Catholike, and rooting out all Hereticks by force, if they were utterly destroyed, should settle the Decrees & Constitutions of the Council of Trent. That he should procure for himself, his Heirs and Successors, to renounce all friendship and confederacy with the Turk, and not consent to any thing that he should manage or contrive in any place against the Commonweal of Christians. That he should forbid all Pyrates whereby the Subjects of the Crown of France disturbed the Spaniards Traffique & Navigation to the Indies. That he should restore unto the Catholike King all that had been taken from him by the Hugonots, and namely the City and Jurisdiction of Cambra; and that he should assist him with convenient Forces for the recovery of that which those that were up in Armes had taken from him in the Low Countryes. And on the other side. That King Philip should be bound to contribute Fifty thousand Crowns effectively every Month towards the maintenance of the League, and of his Forces; and moreover, should assist with what number of men should be thought necessary, in the progresse of the Forces of the League, as well during the life of the present King, as after his death, for the utter extirpation of Heresie. That he should receive into his protection the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the Lords of the House of Guise, the Dukes of Mercur and Nevers, and all those other Lords and Gentlemen that should subscribe unto the League, promising to assist them against the Hugonots and their adherents, so that they should be kept safe and harmless. That no Treaty or Agreement whatsoever should be made with the King of France, without the mutual consent of both Parties; and that the Articles of this Union should for many convenient respects be kept secret till a more fitting opportunity.

This was the substance of the Capitulation made with King Philip, who besides the aforesaid things, promised secretly to the

1585

the Duke of Guise the assignment of two hundred thousand Crowns *per annum*, for his own particular, to be employed in the advancement and for the benefit of the League.

But the Treaty was not so easie, nor so speedily dispatched at Rome, where the same interests of State did not perswade: For though Father Mattei riding Post with admirable celerity, sometimes to this place, sometimes to that, did take great pains to contract this Union; and though Cardinal Pellene staying at Rome, did use all possible means to make it be received into the Pope's protection; yet Gregory, a wonderful good man, and not of too violent a nature, counselled moreover by Tolomeo Gallo Cardinal of Como, his Secretary, a man of very great experience in matters of Government, finding that he could not see clear into the designs of that League, and thinking it unfit for him to consent to the taking up of Arms against a King that was manifestly a Catholike, and an infinite honourer of the Roman Religion, under pretence of hidden secret things, and such as were onely to be left to mens consciences, whereof he thought he could not easily judge, went still putting off and deferring his resolutions, that time might bring to light the bottom of those thoughts, which to him seemed yet very obscure, and much entangled. Wherefore, having made choice of certain Cardinals, and other wise men, who were to meet, and consult upon the Propositions of the League, and those Deputies still answering conditionally with the clause (*If it be so,*) whereby they shewed their doubt of those Propositions which were made by Pellene and Mattei; the Pope still giving the Agents of the Confederates good hopes, and exhorting them to be watchful for the good of the true Religion, and the extirpation of Heresie: For the rest, he held them on with continual delays; nor could they ever, with all the diligence they could use, get any Writing out of his hand, whereby they might securely affirm he had approved the League, or taken it into his protection.

Whilst the confederate Lords are thus busie in strengthening the Body of their Union, the King of France particularly advertised of all these things, consulted with himself, and with his most intimate Confidants, what resolution he ought to take to oppose or divert the violence of those proceedings. The Duke of Espernon, the high Chancellour Chiverny, Monsieur d'O, and Alberto Gondi Marechal de Retz, were of opinion

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1585

that the King shewing his face boldly, and uniting himself presently with the Hugonots and the King of Navar, should prevent the *Guises*; and finding them in disorder, and unprovided, (as the motions of Leagues (where the concurrence of many is requisite) use to be unready and disagreeing) he should endeavour to pull up the first sprouts of that scandalous sect: alledging that they being yet unarmed, and disunited, might be put into confusion, and suppressed before they could have time either to draw any Forces together, or to get assistance and supplies from *Spain*: That it was not good to stay till that great Fabrick, being brought to perfection, should unite all the members of its Body: and that it was no sound counsel to give time, till the great abundance of humours, which daily grew more malignant and pernicious, had seized upon some vital parts of the Kingdom; for as while dispersed they might easily be purged away in their beginnings, so it would be very hard and dangerous to provide against them, when being grown to a masse of corruption, they should stifle and suffocate the natural vigour: That they knew, neither the Duke of *Guise*, nor any of his Faction, had any Army yet united together, but onely the consent of some Church-men, and the concurrence of the common people, with the adherence of some few of the Nobility of the Kingdom, Forces weak and uncertain of themselves, the greatest part whereof, as soon as they should see any considerable strength, would fall asunder of their own accord: That the Catholike King was so taken up with the affairs of *Flanders*, that he could not without much difficulty and many delays, perform so much as part of those things which now he so largely promised, to raise the turbulent spirits of the French: and that the Pope, a Prince far remote, and not very strong, who seldom used other then Spiritual Weapons, was not yet well resolved either to protect or assist the League: On the contrary, the major part of the Nobility (always prepared with Arms, and ready for the War) would presently meet together, wheresoever the King in case of so great necessitie should call them: That the Swisses, who had lately renewed their Confederacy with the Crown, would for money supply them with any number of Souldiers their need required: That the King of Navar, and the Hugonots, who still continued in Arms for their own defence, would thank God for so happy an occasion, and readily

readily submit themselves to the King's obedience, to oppose their natural enemies: That in the course of so many Civil Wars, experience had taught them, the neglect of beginnings made the disease mortal and incurable; and that the vivacity and boldness of noble sprightly resolutions, was always wont to bring forth fortunate proceedings, and glorious conclusions.

But the Duke of Joyeuse, Rene Sieur de Villequier, Pam-pone Sieur de Bellieure, and Villeroi the Secretary of State, were of contrary opinions; urging that the King, intending to make war against the House of Lorain, and against all the other confederate Lords, he must necessarily either do it of himself alone, or being united with the Hugonots: That if he stirred alone, his Forces would be very weak and slender; for all the Kingdom being divided into Catholicks and Hugonots, he being an enemy to both, would have no other Party but some few servants and dependents against two powerful, ancient and inveterate Factions, which possessing all the greatest and most considerable Provinces of France, viz. the Hugonots, Poictou, Guienne, Languedoc, Gasconne, and great part of Dauphine; and the Guises, Champagne, Bourgogne, Picardy, Lyons, Provence, and Bretagne, besides the City of Paris very much inclined to favour them; the King would certainly remain without Revenue, without fortified places, without Subjects, without Militia, and without Money, by making a War so ruinous to himself, and so ridiculous to the whole world. But to unite himself with the Hugonots, besides the unworthinesse of the action, so contrary to the customs and ancient purposes of His Majestie, and so unbeseeming the piety of the most Christian King, and the eldest Son of the holy Church, would draw on consequences of very great moment, the alienation of all the remaining part of the Catholicks, and the revolt of the City of Paris, so constant to the true Religion, and so natural an Enemy to the Hugonots; the addition of greater Forces to the League, which could receive no better news nor greater nourishment; the making authentick all those lyes and scandals which till then had been spread abroad against the King's designs and real intentions: That it would colour and justify the Spaniard's protection of the League, necessitate the Pope to declare himself in favour of it, as soon as the enemies of the Apostolike See should be united

1585 united with the King: That the most important, neer, and inland Provinces of *France* would be lost, by staying for the supplies and assistance of those that were far remote, at the utmost confines of the Kingdom: Nor was the strength of the Hugonots great, or their aid secure, who on the one side were exhausted, and unable to go forth of their native Provinces, where they could hardly subsist of themselves; and on the other side, they could not easily in so short a time unite themselves with the King faithfully and sincerely, who had ever been their bitter enemy, and their fatal terrible persecutor: That the fresh memory of the bloody Massacre at *Paris*, whereof he was esteemed the chief author, and as it were the sole executer, would be more prevalent with them then the present demonstrations, which by many suspicious men would be interpreted cunning, and dissimulation, to catch them that were unwary again suddenly in the net: And finally, that the Proverb was true, *Different natures never suite well together*. Wherefore they judged it to be a much better resolution, to give satisfaction to all in general, and to the Lords of the League in particular, the major part whereof they knew had for private disgusts consented to that publike Commotion: for the Lords of *Guise* being quieted, and the other principal men of the Kingdom satisfied, the colour of Religion vanishing and growing stale, the League would of it self be broken and dissolved: insisting, that the causes being taken away, the effects would cease of themselves; and shewing by many particulars, that it was in the King's power to disunite the League, by giving and granting to the Heads and other Confederates, of his own accord, those things which they strove for, but were uncertain to obtain by War.

The Queen-mother consented to this advice, as the most secure, of lesse noise, and lesse scandal; and being experienced in the several revolutions of so many years, thought it no lesse destructive then opprobrious, to forsake the more favourable, more certain, more powerful, and more constant Party of the Catholikes, to follow the almost desperate fortune of the Hugonots. And this was the common vote and general opinion of the ordinary sort of Courtiers, who are wont every where (but most especially in *France*) to discourse very freely of the highest deliberations of their Masters.

But the Authority of the Duke d' *Espernon*, and of the other Mini-

1585

Minions, was very great; and they foresaw their own assured ruine in that satisfaction which was motioned to be granted unto the Lords of the League, because it could not be given them without devesting the Favourites of that greatnesse and authority, and of those Offices which they enjoyed: so that of them all onely the Duke of *Jeyuse* consented to an Agreement with the Catholike League, partly through the hatred which he bore to the Duke d' *Espernon*, who was infinitely before him in the King's favour; partly because being neerly allied unto the House of *Lorain*, he thought at the fall of all the rest, he alone should be able to hold his place, and keep upon his feet. Besides, this advice was very contrary to the designs and inclinations of the King himself, being thereby obliged to throw down, at one instant, all that he had been so many years in building up: for by consenting to the satisfaction of the *Guises* and their Confederates, he must be brought to put that authority, those Fortresses and Offices into their hands, from whence he had so long been disengaging but a part of them, by little and little, with infinite cost and industry, and so by consequence must himself destroy his first resolution of the total ruine and extirpation of both Factions. Therefore he would more willingly have concurred to oppose the League, and unite himself to the Hugonots, if the sting of his own conscience, the unseemlinesse of the thing, and the resistance of the Queen-mother, had not made him absolutely abhor it: Wherefore, his minde remaining yet doubtful, and his determination suspended, he resolved in the mean time to sound the King of *Navar* more perfectly, and finde out the strength of the Hugonots, endeavouring to perswade him to reconcile himself to the Church, with the other Princes of *Bourbon*: which if he could compasse, he thought he should destroy the foundation of the League, and reduce the *Guises* into a very hard and dangerous condition: For the principal point of the Succession of the Crown failing, which gave colour and credit to the affairs of the League, and he uniting the Forces of the House of *Bourbon* sincerely to himself, should remove the obstacle of *Rome*, the concurrence of the foolish multitude, who believed the businesse onely to concern the defence of the Catholike Religion, the abetting of religious Orders, and so compose all those stirs. He hoped also that many particular men, and perhaps the very Heads of that Party, would be drawn by respect

1585 respect and shame, from those practices which then would have no other foundation left, but the ambition and unjust desires of the Great ones; and that by taking away the fuel, the flame which then blazed so high, and spread so far, would in a moment be extinguished.

A Meeting between the King of Navar and the Duke of Espernon sent from Henry the third.

To this end he dispatched the Duke of Espernon (under colour of going to see his mother, who being old, lived in Gasconne) to confer with the King of Navar, believing that for his own interest he would effectually labour to convert him to the Catholike Religion; for if he did not, he saw the King inevitably necessitated to satisfie the Lords of the League, and abase the greatnesse of his Favourites, among which he held the chiefeest place. But the Duke of Espernon being come into Gasconne to the King of Navar, and proposing very large Conditions in the King's Name, if he would resolve to turn Catholike, and come to Court, the doubts and consultations were no lesse there then they had been before in the Court of France: for Monsieur de Salignan and Monsieur de Roche-Laure, Confidents to the King of Navar, perswaded him earnestly to trust the King, to reconcile himself to the Catholike Church, and return to Court, as first Prince of the Blood, alledging that that was the way to conquer his enemies without Arms or Dispute, to recover the Place due to him in right of his Birth, to get possession of the Inheritance of the Crown, to which the King, seeing himself without sons, would open and facilitate his passage, and to settle his own Fortune in quietnesse and tranquillity, as also the whole Kingdom of France: And though to attain those ends, he must be faine to suffer much, and to dissemble and bear with many things, yet it was wisdom to bar himself of his own ease, and deny his own will, for the obtaining of so high, so eminent a design: That many men endured very much for the getting of a private Inheritance, though but a mean one; how much more was to be done and suffered to compass the Succession of the Crown of France? That they cleerly saw the King's aim, and the expresse will of his Councillours and Favourites: nor could he ever desire a more ready way to subvert and dissipate the power of his old enemies and persecutors.

On the other side, Arnould Sieur de Ferrier his Chancellor, argued the contrary, a man of a subtil Wit and of excellent Learning (who after his Embassie to Venice, where he had been

Liege

Lieger many yeers, being returned into *France*, and little accounted of at Court, had retired himself to the King of *Navar*) he fearing, if his Master came to an Agreement, and into the King's obedience, that he should remain abject and forsaken, was, though a Catholike, of the same opinion with *Philip de Mornay* *Sieur de Plessis*, with the *Sieur d' Aubigny* (a trusty servant of the King of *Navar's*) and with the other Hugonots, who obstinate in their Faith, laboured to shew that temporal hopes were not to be preferred before a good Conscience and the safety of the Soul, which is eternal: Nor was it fit for the King of *Navar*, by so often changing his Belief, to get the manifest scandalous opinion rather of an Atheist than of a fickle inconstant man: nor yet were the present hopes that were offered him so surely grounded; for the King of *France* in the vigour of his youth, and the Queen in the flower of her age, might yet possibly have a Son, whereby the old intentions being renewed, he would remain (as formerly) despised and undervalued at the Court. That the hope of succeeding a young King of but two and thirty yeers old, was very remote and uncertain, the King of *Navar* himself being but little younger; so that according to nature it was hard to judge which of them would live the longer. That in the mean time, for things so remote and uncertain, he must put himself into a present certain servitude, lay down the command and dependance of his followers, deprive himself of the power and foundation of his Party, and submit himself to the pleasure and discretion of his enemies. That all the world knew the King's nature and inclinations, who desiring for his own interests to make use of the King of *Navar* in the present conjuncture, would, as soon as that occasion was past, reassume his old hatred, and his intent (derived from the firm resolution of his Ancestours) to abase, persecute, and finally destroy the House of *Bourbon*. And with what heart, with what courage could he return to imprison himself in the *Louvre*, where with his own eyes he had seen that bloody slaughter of all his friends, and the safety of his own life held uncertain for so many hours, that he ought rather to acknowledge it to the Divine Goodnesse, and the chance of Fortune, than to the modesty and clemency of his enemies? That God's Justice was not to be distrusted, for the setting him in the rightful possession of the Crown, in case the King should die with-

1585 out a Son. That it was much more easie to attain it, being strengthened by powerful Forces, and the adherence of an armed Party that had so often resisted the pride of their persecutors, and the Power of so many Princes joyned together against them, then being left naked, deprived of assistance, slighted, and put in Prison at the Court. That therefore he ought not to expose himself to the certainty of those dangers, treacheries, poisons and murders whereby he had seen his mother taken away, and so many of his friends and servants; but sustaining himself with the greatness of his courage, to remit the event of things so far distant and so obscure, unto the Divine Providence.

There was no doubt among the wisest men, but that the first advice of reconciling himself to the King and Church, and returning to the Court, was the most secure and expedient: but he could not clear his minde of the suspicion of being deceived again, and circumvented by the practises of his enemies; and his *Genius* could hardly be reduced to forsake his liberty & authority, for almost a certain imprisonment, or at least a very private condition in the Court. He considered he could not commit an error in that resolution that would not cost him his life: for if the King's proceedings were not real and sincere, or if he should suffer himself again to be ruled by the powerful persuasions and contrivances of the *Guises*, he saw he must of necessity, either by sword or poison, incur the infallible danger of being murdered. He was also very much moved with the consideration of the Lady Margaret his wife: for having in a manner repudiated her, by reason of the report of her unchastity; and she being gone to certain Castles of hers in *Anvergne*, where she lived with a very licentious freedom, he saw that necessarily he must either receive her again to his bed, or else he could never continue in sincere friendship and perfect confidence with his mother and brother-in-law, but that daily new discords and dissensions would arise, to the total ruine of his Fortune. These considerations joyned to the power of *Ferrier*, and to the spur and persuasions of the Ministers, made him at last resolve, neither to turn Catholike, nor return to Court; but onely with a great deal of modesty he offered the Assistance and Forces of his whole Party to serve the King, whensoever he pleased, to tame those, who, with the Forces of the League, disturbed the State, and quiet of the Kingdom.

In this Conference was treated likewise (as had been many times before) the restitution of those places granted to the Hugonots by the Edict of Pacification: For the limited time being expired, the King moved to have them restored according to the Agreement. But the King of Navar being determined not to forsake his Party, made excuses for not delivering them up, shewing that the times to come were like to be such as made him rather desire to have yet others for his security, then to restore those which he already possessed; beseeching the King to bear with the urgent necessity, and to ascribe the fault to the imminent attempts and the obstinate persecutions of his enemies. But this point being onely treated of in formality, there was neither long nor difficult debate about it; and the answer was easily received and approved, by reason of that colour which the course of present affairs afforded it.

With these Answers the Duke d'Espernon returned to Court; from whose Conference they of the League taking occasion, divulged every where that it had been to treat an Union between the King and the Faction of the Hugonots, for the establishment of Heresie, and the introducing of the King of Navar (an enemy to the Catholike Church) unto the Succession of the Kingdom; for which purpose, the King had also sent him two hundred thousand Duckets. Which things being thundred out of the Pulpits by their Preachers, filled the people with vain pretended fears, and with a most bitter hatred against the Person of their Prince, and against all his Favourites and Councillours. But the curiosity and itch of the Hugonots, did in great part cut up the roots of these lying slanders: for the *Sieur du Plessis*, burning with an ambition to be known the Authour of the King of Navar's determinations, and to get himself credit and esteem amongst those of his own Party, published a little Book in print of the whole Treaty that had passed with the Duke d'Espernon, with the reasons alledged by the King of Navar's Councillours, and his last answer and resolution: whereby it appeared, that the King sought not to unite himself with the Hugonots, to the prejudice of the Catholike Religion, as was divulged by those of the League; but by endeavouring to bring home the King of Navar and the other Princes of the Blood into the bosome of the Church: As also, that it was not true that the King voluntarily consented that the Hugonots should keep the possession

1585 sion of those places, but that they refusing for apparent reasons to restore them, he made shew to bear with their denial, rather then in so unseasonable a time to put Arms into the hands of that other Faction also.

The Low-Countries send Ambassadors to the King of France intreating him to take the Protection and Dominion of their States.

The Duke d' *Espenon* at his return found new matter of doubts and consultations: For the Low-Country-men (the Duke of *Alacon* being dead) were left without any foreign assistance, and being as it were abandoned of all, thought to put themselves under the Crown of *France*, and by that means to gain the King's Protection against the Spaniards: wherefore they sent an honourable Embassie about that time to the King of *France*, to intreat him to take the Protection and Dominion of all their Countries; and making War with the King of *Spain*, to deliver them with a powerful Army from that Tyranny from which they had already for many yeers withdrawn themselves. This Embassie at first kept secret by the King, lest it might exasperate King *Philip*, was afterward publicly received and admitted, when he saw the Spanish Agents continued to foment the League,

There were many, and those the same that had counselled him to unite himself with the Hugonots, who exhorted him to accept of that so ample Dominion, and so noble occasion to raise and increase his own estate; urging, that since the Spaniards thought it lawful by secret practices and suggestions to disturb the peace and quiet of his Kingdom, it was much more lawful for him to undertake the defence of that oppressed people, retorting the injury which he received, and bringing those to a necessity of looking to their own, who now craftily sought to put the affairs of others in disorder and confusion; That this was the way to digest and expel the hurtful humours of his Kingdom, which could never enjoy peace at home, but by the help of War abroad, to take up the mindes and employ the active Forces of his Subjects: They said, This was a most powerful means to abase the League; which being deprived of the money and assistance of the Spaniard, would fall of its own accord, not having any strength or ability to maintain it self: That finally it was time to ease themselves of so many miseries as were every where about them, to give vent to the French fury, and rather employ their Arms to the destruction of the old enemies of the Kingdom, then use them to tear in pieces the body of their common Mother.

But

1585

But as these probable apparent reasons were very noble and generous, so were they likewise difficult, and little lesse then impossible to be effected: For with what armies, with what Forces could the King (his Kingdom being torn and divided, and he himself suspected by both Factions) undertake and manage a war of so great importance; He could settle no foundation in the Catholike Party; for most of them were united by secret intelligence with the Catholike King: and to joyn himself with the Hugonots, produced the same difficulties and the same oppositions that were before considered: Wherefore the King perswaded by the evidence of Reason, and counselled by the Queen his Mother, answered the Ambassadors with kinde words, expressing his grief for the oppression they complained of, excusing himself by the present divisions, and intestine discords of his Kingdom, and shewing how ready he should be to succour and protect them at another time: With which Answer, and all demonstrations of Honour, they were at last dismissed: And yet *Don Bernardino Mendoza* the Catholike King's Ambassador grievously complaining that the Embassie was admitted, and that the Ambassadors of those that rebelled against his master had been so much honoured; the King either highly exasperated against the Spaniards, or not willing to shew fear and poornesse of spirit, answered boldly, that the common right of Countries and the neighbourhood of so neer a People, derived from the French Nation and Empire, did perswade him to take them into his Protection: yet because of his own interests, he had not consented to do any thing at all in the businesse; and that he would not break the Peace in publike, though he knew it had been violated by the King of Spain in private; but that in his own time he would signifie his pleasure, not fearing the forces or threatnings of any one, and knowing himself to be a free King, master of his own Will, and one that might make War or Peace wheresoever it pleased himself. By which Answer the King thinking to bridle the Spaniards with a jealousy of the affairs of *Flanders*, he on the contrary hastened their practices, and made them labour to kindle the fire in his Kingdom, that he might not be at leisure to do so to his neighbours: Wherefore *Don Bernardino* departing with that Answer, began to sollicite the *Guises* and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, that taking Arms, with the assistance and with the money of Spain, they should begin to execute the

Bernardino de Mendoza the Spanish Ambassador, having received a sharp Answer from *Henry* the third, begins openly to set forward the League.

1585 the designes of the League; and presently disbursed two hundred thousand Duckets to the Duke of Guise, for his first years Pension, disposing three months Pay in Germany for the raising of Souldiers in that Country: For Lodovick Fifer the chief Commander of the Swisses, being corrupted with great Bribes, had yeelded to receive a stipend from the League; and Christopher Sieur de Bassompier was gone into Germany to levie * *Reiters*: nor did they omit in those Provinces which were held by the Lords of the House of Lorain, to raise both Foot and Horse in all diligence, that with such mighty Forces they might give a beginning to their intended designs.

* Germane
Horse.

The Kings
Edict forbid-
ding the rais-
ing or gather-
ing of Souldi-
ers together.

But the King, who could neither frame his minde to joyn with the Hugonots, nor to give satisfaction to the confederate Lords, expecting counsell from the benefit of time, went on with slow preparations, rather setting a glosse upon his Cause, and justifying himself, then hindring the progresse of the League: For besides the publike Prayers and Processions continually made, to beseech God to grant him a Son, being advertised from many severall places at the same time, of their so frequent raising and drawing armed men together, he thought it sufficient to send forth a Decree (published the 28 of March) to all the Governours of Provinces; wherein, after having with his wonted Preambles testified that all his actions were led by a desire of the publike peace and tranquillity, and that he had begun to provide for the ease of all his people by fitting remedies, which some enemies of quiet laboured to oppose and hinder; He did expressly forbid all raising and gathering together of Souldiers, commanding that the Leaders of them should be rigorously chastised; and that at the ringing of the *Toquesaint*, the Gentry and Commons should rise, to defeat, prosecute, and cut them in peeces, delivering as many of them as they could into the hands of Justice, to receive the condigne punishment of their Insolency and Insurrection: Which Edict onely caused those that drew Forces together to be acknowledged his enemies, but neither hindered nor stopped the proceedings of the Confederates. But in the end, being necessary to make other Provisions, more fit for the quality of the present times, after long doubt and uncertainty, he resolved to oppose the Designes and Attempts of the League by himself alone, without any intelligence with the Hugonots, hoping to have so much strength as would be sufficient to re- strain

strain them, and thinking that the Hugonots would not onely be natural indifferent spectatours of the event, without troubling or molesting him, but that without other union or confederacy, they would give both heat and life unto his enterprises. But he scarce began to put this resolution in practice, when the deceit of that expectation appeared in the weakness of his Forces; for though the *Sieur de Fleury*, brother-in-law to Secretary *Villeroy*, who was then the King's Ambassadour in *Switzerland*, had in a short time raised ten thousand Foot of that Nation for his Majesties service, yet they being to march thorow the Provinces of *Burgogne*, *Champagne*, and *Lyonnois*, which were possessed by the Heads of the League, their passage was very uncertain and difficult: and *Gasper Count of Schombergh*, who was sent to raise some German Cavalry, being forced to passe thorow the same Provinces, was by Commission from the Duke of *Lorain* taken prisoner: for the Duke being spurred on by the hopes of getting *Metz*, *Thoul*, and *Verdun*, Cities upon the confines of his State, and long ago taken away by the Kings of *France* from the Dukes' his Predecessours, had at last changed the determination of standing Neuter, which he had observed in all the late Combinations, and consented to the League of the Lords of his own Family. Nor were matters any more succesful within then without the Kingdom; for the Nobility divided by the respect of Religion, and their old sidings not yet forgotten, but revived by these new Commotions, came in very unwillingly and in small numbers unto the King's party; the People ill-affected to his name, did not administer any help unto his necessity; and the King's Revenues not onely interrupted by the rumour of Armies, but purposely intercepted by the Heads of the Faction, were in great part diminished: so that he was every way destitute of the sinews of the War;

The Heads of the League taking courage from these difficulties of the King's, began boldly to gather Forces, and to give a beginning to the execution of their intended purposes. The first breaking forth, was the departure of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* from the Court; who under colour of keeping Lent at his Bishoprick of *Rouen*, went to *Gallion*, a fair house four leagues from the City, where he was received by a great number of the Gentry of *Picardy*, and for his security conducted to *Peronne*, the womb that gave birth unto the League; where the

the Duke of *Guise* being come to meet him, with the Duke of *Mayenne* his brother, as also the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbeuf*, they published a Declaration, which though it spoke in general under the name of Catholike Peers, Prelates, Princes, Lords, Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom of *France*, was yet subscribed by the name of the Cardinal of *Bourbon* alone. The Declaration contained precisely these words.

A Declaration published by the Heads of the Catholike League.

*(Contrary to their Majesties hopes.)
Note that this addition, and all the other alterations and additions in the following Declarations standing in the margin, are according to the French Originals in a Book intitled *Memories de la Ligue*.

IN the Name of God Almighty, the King of Kings. Be it manifest unto all men, That the Kingdom of *France* having for fourteen years last past been tormented with a pestiferous Sedition, raised to subvert the ancient Religion of our Fathers, which is the strong bond of the State; such remedies have been applied, as * have proved more fit to nourish then cure the disease; such as have onely had the name of Peace, but have not established it to any, except those that had molested it, leaving honest men scandalized in their Consciences, and engaged in their Fortunes. And in stead of a remedy for these mischiefs, which in time might have been hoped for, God hath permitted that the late Kings have died young, not leaving as yet any Children able to inherit the Crown, and (to the grief of all good men) hath not yet been pleased to give any to the King that now reigneth, although his good Subjects have not, and will not cease their most earnest Prayers, to beseech God of his mercy to send him some; so that his Majesty being the onely Son remaining of all those which his Divine Goodnesse gave unto *Henry* the Second of famous memory, it is too much to be feared (which God forbid) that his House, to our great misfortune, will be extinct, without hope of issue, and that about the establishing a Successour in the Throne, great tumults will arise thorow all Christendom, and perhaps the total subversion of the Romane Catholike Apostolike Religion in this most Christian Kingdom, where it would never be endured that an Heretick should reign, forasmuch as the Subjects are not bound to acknowledge or submit themselves to the Dominion of a Prince fallen from the Christian Catholike Faith; the first Oath which our Kings do take when the Crown is set upon their heads, being to maintain the Romane Catholike and Apostolike Religion: by which Oath, and not otherwise, they afterwards receive that of their Subjects Loyalty: Yet since the Death of my Lord the Duke *Alancon*

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the King's Brother, the pretensions of those who by publike profession have ever shewed themselves persecutors of the Catholike Church, have been so favoured and upheld, that it is exceeding necessary to make some wise and speedy provision against them, for the avoiding of those very apparent inconveniencies, the calamities whereof are already known unto all, the remedies to few, and the manner of applying them almost to none: and so much the rather, because one may easily judge, by the great preparations and practices every where, the raising of Souldiers as well without as within the Kingdom, the withholding of Towns and strong places which long ago should have been delivered up into His Majesties hand, that we are very neer the effects of their evil intentions; being sufficiently informed, that not long since they have sent to treat with the Protestant Princes of *Germany* for the procuring of Forces, to the end that they may more easily oppress all good men, as their designs aim at no other end, but to secure and possess themselves of necessary means to destroy the Catholike Religion, which is the common interest of all, especially of the Great ones, who have the honour to hold the first and chiefest Offices and Dignities of this Kingdom, and whom they labour to ruine in the King's life-time, nay more, by his authority; to the end that there being no body left who for the time to come can be able to oppose their desires, they may more easily work that change of the Catholike Religion, which they endeavour; to enrich themselves with the Patrimony of the Church, following the example of what hath been done in *England*. Moreover, all the world knows very well, and plainly sees the actions and deportments of some, who having insinuated themselves into the favour of the King our Sovereign (whose Majestie hath ever been and shall be to us most holy and sacred) have in a manner totally possessed themselves of his authority, to maintain that greatnesse which they have usurped, favouring and advancing by all means possible the effects of those aforesaid changes and pretensions, and have had both the boldnesse and the power to remove from the private conversation of His Majestie not onely the Princes and Nobility, but all that naturally are most neer unto him, not admitting any but such as are their own dependents: wherein they have advanced so far, that none of them now have any part in the Government and Administration of the State, nor the

whole power belonging to their places; some having been deprived of the Titles of their Dignities, and others of the Authority, though the empty imaginary names be still left unto them. The same likewise hath been done to many Governours of Provinces, Commanders of strong Holds, and other Officers, who have been forced to leave and resigne their Places in consideration of certain sums of money, which they have received against their wills and desires, because they durst not contradict those that had the power to constrain them to it. A new example, and never before practised in this Kingdom, to get Offices by money from them to whom they had been given for a reward of their Loyalty and faithful services; and by this means they have made themselves Masters of all Forces both by Sea and Land. Nor do they cease to endeavour the like daily to others that are in possession; so that there is not one of them, who is not in fear, or who can assure himself that his Place shall not be taken from him; notwithstanding that having been bestowed upon them for their deserts, they cannot nor ought not to be deprived of them by the Laws of the Kingdom, unlesse for some just and reasonable consideration, or that they have failed in some thing that depends upon them, and that such their fault be proved by the means of justice. Moreover, these men have drawn into their own hands all the gold and silver out of the King's Coffers, into which they put onely the smaller sums of the general receipts; for their particular profits, keeping all the great ones at their own devotion, as also all those that have the management of them; which are the true ways to dispose of this Crown, and set it upon whose head they please. And by their avarice it is come to passe, that abusing the easinesse of the Subjects, they have exceeded all bounds, laying still heavie Taxes upon the poor common people, not onely equal to those the calamities of War had introduced, which have not at all been lessened since the Peace, but much more grievous ones, by infinite other Impositions growing daily from the greedy appetite of their unbrideled wills. Indeed some glimpse of hope appeared, when upon the frequent cries and complaints of the whole Kingdom, the convention of the States General was appointed at *Blois*, which is the ancient remedy of home-bred evils, and as it were a Conference between the Prince and People, meeting together upon the terms of their

their due obedience on the one side, and of the due protection on the other; both sworn, both born at the same time with the Royal Name and fundamental Rules of the State of France: but this dear and laborious enterprise produced nothing, saving the authorizing of the evil counsel of some, who feigning themselves to be good Politicians, were indeed wonderfully ill-affected to the service of God and the good of the Kingdome; who not being contented to turn the King (by nature most inclined to piety) from the holy and profitable resolution which he had made at the most humble request of all his States, to unite his Subjects in one onely Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, to the end they might live in that ancient piety, wherein this Kingdome had been established, preserved, and afterwards increased, to become the most powerful of all Christendome; which then might have been effected without danger, and almost without resistance; they perswaded him quite contrary, that it was necessary for his Majesties service, to weaken and diminish the authority of the Catholick Princes and Lords, who with exceeding zeal had infinitely hazarded their lives, in fighting under his Banners, for the Defence of the said Catholick Religion; as if the reputation which they had gained by their virtue and loyalty, had been a means to render them suspected, in stead of being honoured and esteemed. Thus the abuse which began to swell by little and little, is since fallen like a torrent from so violent a precipice, that the poor Kingdom is even upon the point of being overwhelmed by it, having but very slender hopes of safety: for the Order of the Clergy, notwithstanding all the Assemblies and just Remonstrances which they could make, is now oppressed by extraordinary Taxes and Impositions, besides the contempt of the sacred things of the Holy Church of God, wherein now all things are taken away and polluted; the Nobility brought to nothing, enslaved, and unnobled, and every day miserably burthened with infinite payments and unjust exactions, which they must pay to their exceeding damage, if they will sustain their lives; that is to say, eat, drink, and clothe themselves: the Cities, the Kings Officers, and the common people so heavily laden with the weight of frequent new Impositions, which they call **Inventions*, that there is now no other way to be found, save **Projetts* the means of applying a good remedy against them.

For these just causes and considerations, We *Charles* of *Bourbon*, first Prince of the Blood, Cardinal of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church, as he whom it most concerns to take into his safeguard and protection the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, and the conservation of the good and loyal servants of his Majesty and of the State; with the assistance of many Princes of the Blood, Cardinals, and other Princes, Peers, Prelats, and Officers of the Crown, Governors of Provinces, chief Lords and Gentlemen of many Cities and Corporations, and of a great number of good and faithful Subjects, which make the best and soundest part of this Kingdom; after having prudently weighed the motive of this enterprise, and having taken the advice as well of our good friends who are most affectionate to the good and quiet of this Kingdom, as of discreet understanding persons, and such as fear God (whom we would not offend in this for any thing in the world) do declare, That we have all sworn and holily promised to use strong hand, and take up arms, to the end that the holy Church of God may be restored unto its dignity, and unto the true and holy Catholick Religion; and the Nobility (as they ought) may enjoy their perfect freedom; and that the people may be eased, the new impositions abolished, and all additions since the Reigne of *Charles* the Ninth (whom God absolve) absolutely taken away; that the Parliaments may be left to the freedom of their consciences, and in entire liberty of their judgements; and all the subjects of the Kingdom maintained in their Governments, Places, and Offices, so that they may not be taken from them, save only in the three cases of the ancient Constitutions, and by the sentence of the ordinary Judges of the Parliaments. That all moneys that shall be raised upon the people shall be employed in the defence of the Kingdom, and to the end for which they are appointed; and that henceforward the General Assembly of the States may be held freely without any practices every three years at least, with perfect liberty for every one to complain of those grievances, against which there is no due provision made. These things and others which shall be more amply and particularly set down, are the subject and argument of the raising Arms, which are now taken up for the restoration of *France*, the maintenance of the good, the punishment of the bad, and the security of our persons, which
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some have often, and that not many dayes since, laboured to oppresse, and utterly ruine by secret conspiracies, as if the security of the State depended upon the destruction of good men, and of those that so often have hazarded their lives to preserve it: We having no other means left to save us from that mischief, and to divert the knife that already is at our very throats, but to have recourse to those remedies which wee have alwayes abhorred; which yet are excusable, and ought to be accounted just, when they are necessary, and applied by principall authority, and with which we would not yet help our selves at this present for the danger of our estates, if the ruine of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdome, and of the State, were not inseparably joyned unto it: for whose preservation we shall never fear any danger, beleeving we cannot chuse a more honourable funeral, then to die in so holy and just a Quarrel, and to acquit our selves of the debt and obligation which as good Christians we owe to the service of God; and as good and faithful subjects to hinder the subversion of the State, which would certainly follow the said alterations. Protesting that we do not take up arms against our Sovereigne Lord the King, but for the guard and just defence of his Person, Life, and State, for which we all swear and promise to expose our fortunes and lives to the last drop of our blood, with the same fidelity as we have done in times past, and to lay down our arms immediately, when it shall please his Majesty to take away the danger, that threatens the ruine of Gods Service, and so many good men; which we humbly beseech him speedily to do, giving testimony to all men by good and true effects, that he is indeed a most Christian King, indued with the fear of God, and hath ingraven in his heart the zeal of the Catholick Religion, as we have alwayes known him, and as it befits a good Father, and a King that is most affectionate to the preservation of his Subjects; which his Majesty performing, he shall be so much the more obeyed, acknowledged and honoured by us, and by all his other Subjects with most obsequious reverence, which we desire more then any thing in the world. And though it would not be very far from reason, that the King should be requested by an open declaration to provide a Successor, that during his life, and after his death the people committed to him may not be divided into sides and factions by the differences about Succession;

1585 fion; yet are we so little moved with any such consideration, that the calumny of those that upbraid us with it, will prove to have no ground at all; for besides that the Lawes of the Kingdome are known, and cleer enough, the hazard also in to which We the Cardinall of *BOVRBON* do put our self in Our old age and latter days, doth give sufficient assurance, that We are not swelled with such hope and vanity, but only spurred on by true zeal of Religion, which makes us pretend to a part in a more secure Kingdome, the enjoyment whereof is more lasting and more desirable. Wherefore our intention being such, we do all of us together humbly beseech the Queen, Mother to the King, our most honoured Lady (without whose wisdom and prudence the Kingdom would long agoe have been lost and destroyed) by the faithful testimony which she can, will, and ought to give of our great services, but in particular, of Us the Cardinal of *BOVRBON*, who have alwayes honoured, served, and assisted her in her most imporatnt affairs, without sparing our Estate, Life, Friends or Kindred, to strengthen with her the Kings party, and the Catholick Religion, that she will not forsake us now at this time; but to imploy all that credit with the King her Son, which her pains and troublesome labours ought justly to deserve, and which her enemies disloyally would have robb'd her of. Wee also earnestly entreat all the Princes, Peers of *France*, Officers of the Crown, Prelats, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of what quality soever they be, who are not yet joyned with us, that they would favour and assist us with all their power, toward the execution of so good and so holy a work: And we exhort all Towns and Corporations, if they love their own preservation, to consider briefly of our intentions, and to acknowledge the ease and quiet which may thereby redound to them, as well in publick as domestick affairs; and so doing, to lay hand to this good work, which cannot but prosper, with the grace of God, to whom we remit all things; or at least, if their opinions and resolutions cannot so soon be united, (their counceels being composed of many) we admonish them to open their eyes and look to their own affairs, and in the mean time not to let themselves be tempted by any body, nor seduced by them, who, out of some sinister interpretation of our intentions, would possesse themselves of their aforesaid Cities, and putting Garrisons of Souldiers into

into them, would reduce them to the same servitude which those other places feel that are already in their hands. We further declare unto all, That we will not use any act of hostility, save against those that shall oppose us with Arms, and by other unfitting means favour our Adversaries, who seek to ruine the Church, and subvert the State: And we assure every one, That our just and holy Armies shall not injure nor oppress any body, either in passing thorow, or staying in any place; but shall live in good discipline, and not take any thing but what they pay for. We will also receive unto our selves all those good men which have zeal to the honour of God, and of the holy Church, and of the good and reputation of the French most Christian Religion; with protestation notwithstanding never to lay down our Arms till the aforesaid things be fully performed; and rather all willingly to die in that cause, with a desire to be heaped up together in one Sepulchre, consecrated to the last French men who died fighting for the service of God and of their Country. Finally, since all our help must come from God, we pray all true Catholics to put themselves with us in a good condition, to reconcile themselves to his Divine Majesty by a thorow reformation of their lives, to appease his wrath, and to call upon him with purity of conscience, as well in publick prayers and holy processions, as private and particular devotions, to the end that all our actions may tend to the honour and glory of him who is the Lord of Hosts, from whom we expect all our force, and our most certain support.

To these words the Heads of the League adding deeds no lesse effectual, began to make themselves Masters of many Cities and Fortresses, some by secret practices, some by open force of Arms; for being drawn with an Army that already mustered 12000 fighting men, to *Verdun*, a City upon the Confines of the Duke of *Lorain*, though the Governour be-
having himself gallantly, laboured to defend it, yet one *Guitald*, a man of great authority with the Citizens, being secretly got into the Town, made them the next day after the siege was laid to take Arms, to possess themselves of the Gates, and to bring in the Army of the Confederates, which uprore the Governour courageously opposed; but having verie small forces, was easily overcome: for the Duke of *Guise* himself being entred the Citie, drove him out with all those that followed

Verdun the
first City taken
by the Army
of the League.

1585 lowed him; and having put *Guittald* in his place, the City remained absolutely at the devotion of the League. The City of *Thoul* followed the example of *Verdun*; for rising in Arms, and driving out the Kings Officers, it gave it self up voluntarily into the hands of the League. The same would perchance have happened at *Metz*, a Fortresse and City of great consequence, if the Duke of *Espernon*, who had the Government of it, foreseeing the danger, had not in time put in Gentlemen and Souldiers from several places, by which relief the Garison being confirm'd, which of it self was wont to be very strong, as a place of importance upon the Frontiers, the Duke of *Guise* thought not fit to make any attempt, either not having sufficient forces to besiege it, or doubting he should spend so much time about it, as would prejudice his main designe.

The Insurrection at *Marseilles*.

At the same time happened a commotion in the City of *Marseilles*, the chief Port of *Provence*, and a place infinitely desired by those of the League, that they might more easily and by a shorter cut receive supplies from *Spain*: They had drawn to their party *Louis Daries* Consul of the City, and *Claude Boniface* called *Chabanes*, one of the City Captains, whereof the first being a man of a tyrannical nature, desired to attain to the absolute Government; the other aspiring to the inheritance of his Brother, who was one of the Kings Treasurers (a rich, but a very covetous man) had wickedly conspired to kill him, and therefore desired that tumult and insurrection of the people, that he might the more conveniently execute his design. These having gained a rabble of followers, made up of all sorts and qualities of people, went by night to the Treasurers house, and calling him to the door, under pretence of delivering him certain Letters, slew him treacherously, and after ran armed through the whole Town, exhorting the people to Liberty, and the defence of Religion, which they proclaimed to be in very great danger by the machinations of foreign Hugonots. The common People being up, they took and led to prison some that were reported Hugonots; others they slew, and many hid themselves in private houses, the greatest part of the Citizens being as it were astonished by reason of that sudden taking up of Arms, and of the Consuls and Captains authority, who with the same fury made themselves Masters of the Forts that command the Haven.

ven. They presently dispatched an Expresse, to give notice of this to *Lodovico Gonzaga Duke of Nevers*, who thinking that the revolt of the City was to be effected by other means, and without those wicked practices, which were caused by private interests; under pretence of going to *Rome*, stayed by the way at *Avignon*, with hope that the designe of *Marseilles* succeeding, he should by the League be made Governour of *Provence*; and they also sent for *Monsieur de Vins*, and the Count de *Saux*, that they as being neere, might come to assist them: But they delaying to come, the day following, when the first fury of the people began to cool, and that the wickednesse of *Chabanes* against his own Brother was come to light, the multitude of those that were up in arms began by little and little to fall asunder, and one of the gravest Citizens for age, and of most authority and esteem, named *Bonquier*, having called the people to a parley, exhorted every one to take arms against those seditious men, and to endeavour the punishment of the murther committed by *Chabanes*; at which the greater and stronger part of the Citizens being moved, (who as in a City of great traffick, jealous of their own wealth, were very suspicious) took arms generally, and began to fall upon those that had raised the tumult: They sent also in great haste to call the grand Prior of *France*, *Bastard Brother* to the King, and Governour of that Province, who was then at *Aix*, at whose coming, which was speedy, though with no more then two hundred Horse, the People following his authority with a very great concourse, the Fort de la *Garde* was taken, and in it the Consul *Daries*, and Captain *Chabanes*, who the next morning were executed, by which severity the City was kept free from those dangers, and under the Kings obedience.

The like successe had the designe upon the City of *Bordeaux* in *Guienne*; for the Confederates attempting to make themselves Masters of it by means of the Castle, commonly called *Chasteau de la Trompette*, whereof the Governour was the *Sieur de Valliac*, one of those that had signed to the League; the *Mareschal de Matignon* (Lieutenant to the King of *Navar* in the Government of that Province, but a Catholike, depending upon the King, and residing in the Town) having had notice of all that was plotted, made shew of holding a generall Councell in the Palace, to communicate unto all some

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Orders

1585 Orders received from the Court, and among the rest drew thither also the *Sieur de Valliac*, who did not yet so much as dream himself to be at all suspected: There having made them that were met together, acquainted with the revolt that was contriving, he imprisoned *Villiac*, and at the same instant caused Artillery to be planted against the Castle, threatening to put the Governour of it to death, if they within should dare to shoot against the Town, by which threats, and the resolute nature of *Matignon*, *Valliac* being terrified, commanded his men presently to deliver up the Fortresse; which with new Fortifications and a strong Garison was ever after kept at the Kings devotion under the command of *Matignon*.

But these successes were little considerable in comparison of the frequent revolts which followed in other parts of the Kingdom; for those of the League beginning freely to declare themselves, the *Sieur de Mandelott* Governour of *Lyon* had taken and demolished the Citadel there; the *Sieur de la Chastre* had put *Bourges* into the power of the League; the *Sieur d'Entraques* having driven those of the Kings party out of *Orleans*, had made himself absolutely Master of it; the Count *de Brissac* with the City of *Angiers*, and others of his Government, had manifestly united himself with the Confederates; the Duke of *Guise* in person had possessed himself of *Mezieres*, a City of importance in the Confines of *Champagne*; the Duke of *Mayenne* had taken the Castle and City of *Dijon* in *Bourgogne*; and at length with a strong Army they were come to *Chalons* in *Champagne*, the place appointed for their Magazine of Arms, and for the basis and foundation of the War. There they determined to expect the Forces, both Horse and Foot, which had been leavied in *Germany*, with Spanish money, and which they had intelligence began to move towards *Lorain*: and whilst they advanced, the Duke of *Guise* leaving the Duke of *Mayenne* to command the Army, with the Dukes of *Anmale* and *Elbeuf*; himself with a select number of Horse was gone to *Peronne*, from whence, with infinite demonstrations of honour, he conducted the Cardinal of *BOURBON* to *Chalons*, to give reputation with his Name and Presence, to the proceedings of the League, to show him in the Army, and to make use of him as of a shield and bulwark in the future Warre.

Against these so powerful, and so neer preparations of the

the League, the King made opposition both by words and actions as much as he was able; and first of all he answered their Declaration with another of the following tenure.

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Although the King hath by Letters and Commands already many times admonished his Subjects not to let themselves be perswaded nor counselled by some who endeavour to stir them up, and intice them into their Association, and by so doing to lead them astray from their own repose; and hath likewise offered and promised pardon to those, who being already engaged, should withdraw themselves as soon as they were informed of his intentions: yet his Majesty having to his great discontent understood, that notwithstanding his said commands and favourable advertisements, some of his Subjects do not cease to enter into the said Associations, induced thereto by divers interests, but the most part dazled and deceived by the fair specious colours which the Authors of those Insurrections give to their designs: His Majesty hath thought fit, for the universal good of all his good Subjects, and for the discharge of his own conscience towards God, and of his reputation toward the World, against those artifices to set forth the light of Truth (the true consolation of the good, and capital enemy of the bad) to the end that his Subjects, being guided by the cleernesse of it, may know and discern in time, and without impediment, the original and end of such commotions, and by that means may come to avoid those miseries and calamities both publick and private which are like to arise from them.

The Kings answer to the declaration published by Catholick League.

The pretences which the Authors of these stirs do take, are principally grounded upon the Restauration of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion in this Kingdome, upon the disposing of the Dignities and Offices thereof to those to whom they are justly due, and upon the good, honour, and disburthening of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons: All which things are by real, not disguised effects, known to every one to be so dear and precious to his Majesty that none can truly doubt of his intentions therein, so that it doth not appear, it was necessary to stir up his Subjects, to put them in arms, and raise forreign Forces to make him consent to the Articles which they shall propose, in case they be just, possible, and profitable for his people. For as concerning Religion,

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His Majestie, before he came to the Crown, hath too often exposed his own life, fighting happily for the propagation of it; and since it pleased God to call him to the Government of this Kingdom, hath too often hazarded his State unto the same end, and used his best means, with the lives and fortunes of his good Subjects and Servants, to perswade them at this present, and to gain their belief, that no man whosoever in this Kingdome or else-where, of what profession soever he be, hath more piety and Religion in his heart then he hath alwayes had, and by the grace of God ever will have. And according to the example of the King his Brother of famous memory, and of many other Princes of Christendom (whose Kingdomes and States have been troubled with different opinions in Religion) his Majesty with the prudent advice of the Queen his Mother, of my Lord the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and other Princes, Officers of the Crown, and Lords of his Council, who then were neer about him, pacified the tumults that were amongst his Subjects about matter of Faith, waiting till it should please God to unite them all in the bosome of the holy Church; it doth not therefore follow, that his fervour and devotion in what concerns the glory of God, and the perfect restauration of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church, should since be changed, or lesse at this present, then he shewed it to be during the said troubles. But so far is it from being so, that His Majesty desires every one may know, that he made the said Peace purposely to try, if by means of it, he could reunite his Subjects in the Church of God, which the malice and licentiousnesse of the times had separated from it; having so long proved with the hazard of his Person and State, and with the price of the blood of a great number of Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of his Subjects, who lost their lives in those broyles, that the discord raised about Religion, and that took root in this Kingdome during the minority of the late King his Brother, and of himself, to the great grief of the Queen their Mother, could not be settled by the way of Arms, without destroying his said Subjects, and putting his Kingdome into evident danger. Wherefore his Majesty resolved for Peace, when once he found that all sorts of Persons were tyred and afflicted by the too long continuance of those said Tumults, and that he wanted the means of supplying any longer the expences of so destructive a War. [* Which would

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not have come to passe, if in the Assembly of the States General of this Kingdome held at *Blois*, the Deputies who were there had made request unto his Majesty to prohibit absolutely the exercise of the pretended reformed Religion in this Kingdome; for then that course would not have been decreed which was there taken and sworn to, and which His Majesty laboured to put in execution, with those conditions which are cleerly expressed in it. For if it had been concluded in good earnest to prosecute the War, care would likewise have been taken to provide a certain stock of money from time to time, to maintain it till the end, as it was necessary to do, and as his Majesty insisted that they would;] * and they should then have had no pretence of complaint, who nevertheless publish, That every one was quickly deprived of that glympse of good hope which appeared to them at the resolution taken by the States; though it be neither decent nor lawful for a Subject to judge of the actions of his King, if for no other reason, but because he is often ignorant of the secret causes that are the motives of his commands, which sometimes are more pregnant then those that are apparent and known to every one; it not belonging to any to do so, save onely to God the Searcher and Judge of all hearts, and of the actions of Princes, who knows the causes that then forced his Majesty to conclude Peace before any thing else; being certain, that if he had deferred so to do, this Kingdom would in a moment have been filled with forraign Forces, and with diverse Factions, and new divisions, which would have been wonderfully prejudicial to the State. His Majesty therefore to prevent all the aforesaid inconveniences, to hinder the effects of them, and to try the best remedies, condescended to the aforesaid Peace; and not to settle and establish Heresie in this Kingdom (as is published abroad,) for such a thought never entered into the mind of so good, and so Christian a Prince as is his Majesty; who having foreseen, felt and proved the difficulties of War, thought fit so much the sooner to consent unto the aforesaid Peace, to the end that by means thereof he might at least satisfie his good Subjects with that ease which they expected from those other points propounded and required in the Assembly of the said States General for the publick good of the Kingdom; Peate and concord being the principal necessary foundation for the establishing of good Laws,

and

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have come to
passe, if in the
Assembly of
the States Ge-
neral held at
Blois, when the
Deputies (in-
duced therun-
to by his Maje-
sties fervent
affection to
the Catholick
Religion) had
requested him
utterly to pro-
hibit the ex-
ercise of the
pretended re-
formed Religi-
on in this
Kingdome,
(whereupon
followed the
determination
which was
there taken &
sworn, which
His Majestie
hath since la-
boured to exe-
cute) they had
at the same
time provided
a certain stock
of money to
prosecute that
War unto the
end, as it was
necessary to do,
and as it was
moted by
His Majesty.]
* And they
would now
have had no
pretence of
complaint,
who neverthe-
lesse publish,
&c. *Mem. de
la Ligue.*

1585 and the reformation of manners; which busineses His Majesty hath since continually prosecuted, as appears by the Edicts and Constitutions made for that purpose, which he hath laboured to cause to be observed and put in execution; and if his intention hath not been fulfilled according to his desire, it hath been very much to his grief, and it may be also as well through the negligence of some of his Officers, and through the cunning of his evil-willers; as by reason of the advantage and footing which wickednesse, corruption, and disobedience had taken in this Kingdome during the said War. By that Peace many Cities full of Citizens and Catholick inhabitants, were freed from Souldiers that had seized upon them; and the exercise of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion was restored to its being, as by the diligence and care of His Majestie it is brought to passe in almost all the Towns of this Kingdome, wherein neverthelesse those that make profession of the said pretended reformed Religion, have since those Commotions been, and at this present are still the strongest, and by whom the said exercise had till then been banished, both before and since he came unto the Crown. Likewise the face of Justice hath appeared in them, and if not so fully and perfectly as might have been desired; yet so, that sometimes it hath had sufficient strength to relieve the good, and terrifie the bad. The Prelates and Clergy-men are settled again in their Churches, and in the possession of those goods that were taken from them. The Nobility hath been able to live securely in their own houses, without being lyable to those expences they were wont to make during the War, to keep themselves from being suddenly surprized. The Citizen, deprived of his possession, and wandring about the Country with his Family, is also entred again into his own house by means of the said Peace. The Merchant hath likewise wholly betaken himself again unto his Traffique, which was interrupted by occasion of the said Tumults. And the poor peasant, pressed down under the weight of an intolerable burthen, proceeding from the unbridled liberty of the Souldier, hath had means to breathe, and have recourse unto his ordinary labour to sustain the poverty of his life. Briefly there is no kinde of Estate or Person that hath not effectually shared in the fruit and benefit of that Peace.

And as His Majestie hath alwaies been most jealous of
Gods

1589

Gods honour, and as solicitous of the publick good of his subjects, as a most Christian and truly good Prince ought to be; knowing that the evils and calamities of a State doe spring chiefly from the want of true Piety and Justice; he hath since the said Peace continually laboured to set those two Pillars up again, which the violence of the said Tumults had as it were overturned and thrown to the ground: and that hee might so do, had begun to nominate such persons to Ecclesiastical dignities that have cure of souls, as were fit and capable, and such as are ordained by the holy Decrees. Hee hath also invited his Subjects by his example to reform their manners, and to fly unto the grace and mercy of God by prayer and austerity of life, which hath confirmed the Catholicks in their duty towards the divine Majestie, and moved some of those that were separated from the Church of God to reunite themselves unto it. Hee hath also graciously taken time to hear the discourses and complaints of the Clergy (after having given them leave to meet together for that purpose) and provided amply and favourably for them, having since rather eased then burthened them with new extraordinary Tenths, without having any respect to the necessity of his own affairs, * being very sorry that he could not also free them from the payment of the ordinary ones, having when he came to the Crown, found them engaged for the payment of the rent of the Towne-house of Paris. The said Prelates and Clergy-men have likewise had conveniency by His Majesties permission to call and hold their Provincial Councils, by means whereof they have consulted and provided for the reformation of abuses introduced into the Church during the said Tumults, and have made many very good and holy Ordinances for the Government of it, which have been commended and approved by his Majestie. These are the fruits, and publick generall advantages which the Church of God, and the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion have reaped from the aforesaid Peace, besides infinite other private and particular ones, which it would be too long to recount.

* [whatsoever is published to the contrary.]
Mem. de la Ligue.

Then as concerning Justice; every one knowes the pains His Majestie hath taken in drawing it out of the darknesse where those troubles had buried it, to set up the light thereof again in its first force and ancient splendor: having by death disannulled those Offices that were supernumerary, and more-
over

1585

* Evocation is
a transferring
of causes from
one Court to
another.

* (And pre-
servers.) Mem.
de la Ligue

over prohibited the sale of the said Offices, which the necessity of money had forced his Predecessors to introduce, without having any regard of his own wants, though they were no lesse then those of his Predecessors. Besides that, His Majesty hath excluded all pardons and * evocations which in times past were wont to be dispatched by his own will and pleasure, knowing that the hope of the one gives encouragement to wickedness, and the too much easiness of granting the other, brought a confusion in matters of Justice. Moreover, His Majesty since the said Peace, hath had opportunity to send Courts composed of the Officers of the Parliament of Paris, into divers Provinces of this Kingdom, to do justice to his Subjects upon the place, from whence that fruit hath been gathered, which every one hath tasted, and which yet would have been greater, to the great contentment of good men, if his good intentions had been better assisted by those who naturally, and by the particular obligation of their Offices were bound to do so. But as the misfortune of the time hath made some so bold, as to attribute the faults of others to his Majesty, so the corruption and malignity of them hath been filled with so much impudence and indiscretion, that many have also taken pleasure to defame his most holy and best actions, and in that manner gain themselves credit at the cost of his reputation: and have had so high a degree of boldness, as to interpret to too much rigour and severity, that laudable resolution hee had taken to make the Sentences and Decrees of the said Courts be executed against Malefactors. Thus his Majesty having by these means begun to provide for the setting up again of these two Pillars, the true and only foundations of all Monarchy, had promised himself that he should settle and restore them absolutely by the continuation of Peace, if God had been so merciful to him, as to make his Kingdome and Subjects worthy of it. Which, it appears, having been as soon feared, as foreseen by those who at this present would stir up his Subjects to take Arms, but under colour of providing for both their points: They do also publish, that they have taken Arms to prevent those troubles, which they saw they fear will happen after the death of his Majesty about the establishment of a Successour; to the prejudice of the Roman Catholike Apostolike Religion: being perswaded (or at least publishing that they are so) that his Majesty,

jesty, or they that are neerhim, do favour the pretensions of
 those who have alwaies shewed themselves persecutors of the
 said Religion; a thing which His Majesty prayes and admo-
 nishes his Subjects to believe he never so much as thought;
 for being yet (God be thanked) in the force and flower of
 his age, and in perfect health, as also the Queen his Wife, hee
 hopes that God will give him issue, to the universal content-
 ment of his good and loyal Subjects. And it seems unto his
 Majesty to be too great a forcing of time and nature, and
 too great a distrust of the mercy and goodnesse of God, of the
 health and life of his Majesty, and of the fruitfulnessse of the
 Queen his Wife, to move such a question at this present, and
 after to go about to decide it by force of Arms. For instead
 of freeing and curing this Kingdome of the evil which they
 pretend to fear may one day come to passe for that cause, they
 go directly about to hasten the paines and mortal effects of it,
 by beginning a War now upon that occasion; it being cer-
 tain that by means thereof the Kingdome will be quickly fil-
 led with forreign Forces, with Factions and endlesse discords,
 with blood, slaughter, and infinite murthers and robberies.
 And see now how the Catholick Religion will be established,
 how the Clergy man will be disburthened of Tenth, how
 the Gentleman will live in quiet and security in his own house,
 and how he will enjoy his Rights and Priviledges, how Cities
 and the Inhabitants in them will be exempt from Garisons,
 and how the poor people will be free from the Taxes and Im-
 positions that lye upon them. His Majestie exhorts and ad-
 monishes his Subjects to open their eyes here, and not to per-
 swade themselves that this War will end so easily as they give
 out; but to comprehend, and maturely consider the inevi-
 table consequences of it, and not to suffer their reputation to
 be blemished, and their Arms to serve for instruments of their
 Countries ruine, and the greatnesse of those that are enemies
 of it*. For whilest blinded to our own good we shall fight
 against one another, succoured in appearance, but in effect
 by their assistance, they will reign happily, and esta-
 blish their own power. They complain also of the distribu-
 tion of Offices and Honours in this Kingdom; saying that
 those are deprived of them who have deserved best in his Ma-
 jesties service: a weak and dishonourable foundation to build
 the ruine and subversion of so flourishing a Kingdom, whose

* Who onely
 will triumph
 and make ad-
 vantage of the
 publick mis-
 eries and cala-
 mities. Adm.
 de la Ligue.

546
1585

The History of the Civil Warres

Kings were never constrained, to make use of one more than of another, for there is no Law obliges them to do so, but that of the good of their own service. Yet hath his Majesty alwaies honoured and favoured the Princes of his Blood, as much as any of his Predecessors, and hath shewed a desire to advance others in credit, honour, and reputation, by employing them in his service: for every time His Majesty hath raised Armies, or drawn Forces together, he hath committed the charge and conduct unto them, preferring them before all others; and if it be considered who those are that even now hold the greatest and most honourable Offices in the Kingdom, it will be found that they who are said to be the authors of those complaints, have more cause to acknowledge the goodnesse and favour of his Majesty, then to murmur against him, and depart from him. But they say, they have only the name of them, and that in effect they are deprived of the priviledges which belong unto their said Offices, which are usurped by others. Now before we judge of the justnesse of such a complaint, it would be necessary to see and touch the ground of the rights and preeminences attributed to every Office, and to consider how, and by what persons they have been used in the times of the Kings his Predecessors; a thing often propounded by His Majesty, desirous to regulate the Offices of every one, and which long ago would have been cleared and decided, if his good intention had been seconded and assisted, as it ought to have been, by those very men that have interests in them. But shall it be said at this present, and left unto posterity, that private interests and discontents were the occasions of overturning a whole State, and of filling it with blood and desolation? This is not the way that ought to be taken for the regulating of those abuses whereof they so much complain, having to deal with a most pious Prince, who will ever oppose that mischief, and readily embrace those fitting convenient remedies which shall be proposed unto him to provide against them.

Wherefore let Arms be laid down, let forreign Forces be sent home to their own Countries, and let this Kingdom be free from that danger that it incurreth by this Insurrection and taking up of arms; and in stead of following that way, full of difficulties, and both publick and private miseries and calamities, let that of reason and duty be sought out, laid hold

on, and followed, by means whereof the holy Church of God, as enemy to all violence, will be more easily restored to its vigour and splendour, and the Nobility satisfied and contented as it ought to be. For which of the Kings, His Majesties Predecessours hath shewed more love and favour to that Order then his Majestie hath done? not having been contented to prefer it to the ancient and principal honours and dignities of the Kingdom; but hath also purposely erected and founded new ones, which he hath dedicated to the honour of the true Nobility, having excluded all other kindes of persons from them. His Majestie will also at the same time provide for the ease of his people, as he hath already very well begun to do, and desireth to continue to the uttermost of his power. And although the Heads of this War do promise that their Forces shall live in so good discipline, that every one shall commend them for it; and do also admonish the Inhabitants of Cities not to receive any Garrisons into them; yet it is already seen how the Souldiers which they have gathered together do commit infinite outrages and villanies, and that they themselves have put Forces into those Cities and Places which they have taken, to govern and keep them at their own devotion. Besides that, it is most certain, that many Vagabonds, which can do nothing but mischief, will rise up, as the custome is, who under the name and protection of either side, will commit infinite Robberies, Murthers and Sacriledges: so that instead of putting an end to that danger which threatens the ruine of Gods Service, and of good men, as they promise to do by this War, it will fill this Kingdom with all impiety and * dissoluteness. They also publish that their persons and lives are in danger of Treachery, and that that is one of the causes that moves them to take up arms. None can believe such an imputation can at all concern his Majesty * by nature so far from any kind of Revenge, that the man is yet unborn, who can with reason make any such complaint against him, notwithstanding any offence whatsoever he hath received: There may easily be many found of this kinde, who have proved the gentleness of his nature, and will serve for memorials of it to posterity. Wherefore his Majestie prays and exhorts the Heads of the said Tumults and Commotions, presently to disband their Forces, to send back strangers, to separate themselves from all Leagues, and laying aside all enterprises, as his Kinsmen and Servants;

* Desolation.
Mem. de la
Ligue.

* (As well by
reason of the
good and gra-
cious usage
which they
have ever re-
ceived from
him as because
his said Maje-
stie is.) &c.
Mem. de la
Ligue.

1585

to take a perfect assurance of his friendship and good will; which if they shall so do, he offers to continue to them, honouring them with his favour, and making them partakers of those dignities which he is wont to confer upon those of their quality; to reconcile and reunite themselves with him, to provide duely and effectually for the restauration of Gods Service, and the publike good of his Subjects by those means which shall be thought most proper and convenient, which his Majestie hath an infinite desire to put in practice. He doth likewise admonish the Clergy and Gentry, his Subjects, maturely to weigh the consequence of these Commotions, sincerely to embrace his intention, and to believe that his chief aim hath ever been, and ever shall be to do good to all, but neither harm nor displeasure to any; commanding them most strictly, as also all his other Subjects, to separate and withdraw themselves from all Leagues and Associations, and to reunite themselves with him, as nature, their duty, and their own good and safetie doth oblige them; to the end that if these civil broiles must passe further (which he beseeches Gods divine Goodness not to permit) he may be accompanied and supplied with their Counsel, Arms, and Assistance for the preservation of the Kingdom, to which is joyned that of the Romane Catholick Apostolick Church; of their honour and reputation, as likewise of their Persons, Families and Estates: offering and promising them if they shall so do, both the continuation of his favour, and reward of their service and fidelity.

This was the Kings Declaration, published to answer that of the League; wherein he thinking it convenient for the gravity of his Person to sum up busineses in a few words, without descending to more particulars, endeavoured afterward to have the reasons of the *Guises* punctuallie answered by persons of great wisdom, and no lesse eloquence, who having replied largely in writing, kindled matters in such sort, that it was much more necessarie to come at last to action, then to multiplie words any longer. The King endeavoured therefore not onely to draw his Forces together in all parts to resist the attempts, and oppose the Army of the League that was so near; but also to disunite, and fetch over some of those which he thought most fit from the body of that Union: and because the Citie of *Lions* was wonderfully necessary for his

designes,

designes, that he might bring his Swisses in that way, who were excluded from *Bourgogne* and *Champagne*; Provinces held by the League, he began to tempt the *Sieur de Mandelot*, to draw him over to his party, and had neetly engaged Secretary *Villeroy* in the businesse; for *Mandelot* having a Daughter both noble and very rich, there was a treaty of marriage begun between her and *Charles* Lord of *Alincourt* Son to *Villeroy*, the King promising *Mandelot* the power of putting his Son-in-law into the Government of the City of *Lyon* after him; by which alliance he being freed from the suspicion of being put out of his place by the Duke of *Espernon* to bring his Brother into it, and the demolishing of the Cittadel already destroyed being authorised and approved by the King, *Mandelot* seemed not to have any more occasion to adhere unto the League, being removed from those jealousies which had made him consent unto it: nor was this treaty vain; for *Mandelot* a man of a milde nature, and very desirous to have the alliance of one so powerful, consented to the match, and promised to give free passage to the Swisses, who were raised by the *Sieur de Fleury*, Uncle to the new Bride. The Kings perswasions prevailed also with *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, who failing of his hopes of the Government of *Provence* by the unsuccessful event of the businesse at *Marseilles*, but (as he said himself) seeing the Pope did not conclude to approve and protect the League, began to lend an ear to the perswasions of *Francisco Nuvo-loni* a Mantuan very conversant with him, who by *Pietro Abbot del Bene* (one very much trusted by the King) being moved with reason, and filled by his patron with plentiful hopes, at last he resolved to write to the Duke of *Guise* and Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to renounce and take his leave of the League, alledging that he never saw the expresse consent and approbation of the Pope, and for all the treating that had been at *Rome* by means of *Father Mattei*, he had never been cleared in that scruple, that it was lawful in this businesse to take Arms against the King, who was a Catholike, legitimate, and natural: by whose example many others being moved began to fall away, and particularly the *Sieur de Villers*, who having consented to the League chiefly for the veneration which he had ever born to the Catholike Religion, was unsatisfied to see that the principal aim of the Confederates was at the Kings own person; where-

1585 wherefore laying aside his distaste about the Castle of *Cat*, and being made amends by the Kings pardon, which he granted to him for the death of *Monsieur de Lizores*, slain by him in a single duel, he returned to the Kings obedience, and served him afterward constantly as long as he lived: but this was no more then the taking of a drop of water from the sea; for the fury of the people was so headlong, and the concourse of the Clergy so great in favour of the League, that by continual proceedings it was more strengthened every hour. Nor were the Kings preparations of Arms very fortunate; for the Catholick Cantons of the Swisses, though at first they had consented to those Levies which were made there in the Kings name, yet some of their Burgo-masters being corrupted with money by the League, and the rest being perswaded by the authority of *Spain*, had refused that the Levies should go forward: nay more, they had given leave to the Duke of *Guise* to raise six thousand Foot amongst them: and though the other Cantons had promised the *Sieur de Fleury* to make up the number of the ten thousand which were raising for the King, yet they desired to add this expresse condition, That they should only serve in their own defence, and not offend any body, being so perswaded by the rest that favoured the partie of the Confederates, whereby the King foresaw, that with great expence and many difficulties he should receive but small fruit from the Levies of the Swisses, because they were restrained by those Commissions, and fought against others of the same Nation, which by so many proofs of former times he knew was alwaies hazardous, and many times ruinous. The Forces also of the Kingdom that took his part, were very weak, because he had not that time that was requisite to effect his designs by leisure and dissimulation, and had been prevented by the sagacitie and quickness of the *Guise*, wherefore, except his own dependents, and those of his Mitions, all the rest were joyned some to one Faction, some to the other, and those that did follow the Royal Authority, shewed themselves very slow and cold, their mindes being amazed and affrighted by the bold attempt of the Confederates: nay, even some of those in whom the King confided, and that had been favoured and advanced by him, were (as we have already noted,) revolted to the League, as the *Sieur de Entraques*, *St. Luc*, young *Lansac*, and many others; every

ons being displeased at the eminent favour and singular authority of *Espernon*. But that which more then any thing held him in suspence and trouble, was the fear of the City of *Paris*, the Head indreed of the Kingdom, but so great and so powerful an one, that which way soever it inclined, it had always pulled down the scale. This City was not only united with the Confederates, but in it there was also a particular League practised by the *Sieur de Meneville*, President *Nully*, *Chapelle Martell*, the *Sieur de Buffi*, *Hanteman*, and other Heads of the Citizens, whereby they had secretly armed the people, buying up arms with great diligence from all parts, at any price, that the City might be able to revolt upon any occasion, and moreover, if it were necessary, to take or stay the Kings own Person, till the coming of the Army of the Confederates toward the raising and maintaining whereof, particular men of the City contributed three hundred thousand Crowns to the Duke of *Guise*. These things being told the King by *Nicholas Poulain*, Lieutenant to the Provost of the Isle of *France*, one of the Confederates, had put the King in very great perplexity of minde; for staying in *Paris*, hee was in great danger of receiuing some affront by the inconsiderate rashnesse of the people, who were possessed with a belief that hee favoured and protected the King of *Nazur* and the *Hugonots*; and on the other side, going away from the City, he was certain of the revolt of it, which was hindred only by his presence, and by the remedies which he applied every hour; wherefore though he had called all the Souldiers of his Guards unto their colours, and chosen five and forty trusty Gentlemen, to each of which he allowed an hundred Crowns by the month, and their diet in the Court, who were alwayes to be about his Person, yet lived he in very great doubt, fear, and trouble, seeing himself upon such an unbridled horse as could not possibly be governed.

These so weighty difficulties which on all sides seemed impossible to be overcome, and the hope of drawing over many to the League in time unto his party, and of loosening by his wonted arts that bond which then seemed invincible by strength, made the King resolve to take the Councel of the Queen his Mother, and of *Bellicure*, and *Villeroy*, which was to procure delayes as much as possibly he could; and in the end to give the League such satisfaction as was necessary to divert

1585

divert the violence and force of the Confederates, and to endeavour by art and time to disunite their Combination; experience having so often given certain proofs, that by fighting and resistance, the forces and dangers both at home and abroad were increased; but that by yeelding and complying those hazzards might be deferred, and those imminent calamities and miseries ayoided. To this end the Queen undertook the charge of treating with the Duke of *Guise*, and the other Princes of the League; and being attended by the Marechal de *Retz*, Monsieur de *Brulart* Secretary of State, and Monsieur de *Lansac*, shee went to *Espernay* in *Champagne*, ten Leagues from *Chalons*, to confer with the Lords of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. Thither came also the Confederate Lords, and without further delay they began to treat of the means of an Accommodation. But the intentions of the parties were so different, that they could hardly come to any conclusion; for the Queen minded onely the gaining of time, as well to give the King leisure to arm and prepare himself, and the *Swisses* to draw neer to *Paris*, as to give opportunity to those engines which were secretly set on work to disunite the League; whereas on the other side, the *Guises* taking very good heed to each of those particulars, pressed for speedy expedition, either of an advantagious Agreement, or of a resolute Warre: wherefore though the Queen laboured very much both by her authority and perswasions, yet could she obtain no more but a truce for four dayes, in which space shee dispatcht Monsieur *Myron* her chief Physitian to the King, to bring back his resolution touching the Accommodation. The time of truce being expired, the Queen drew neerer, and advanced as far as *Charry*, a place belonging to the Bishop of *Chalons*, whither the Confederate Lords came also to meet her: she let them know, that the King by *Myron* the Physician, had sent her order to assure them, that in matters of Religion he was of the same minde with them, and that he desired the security of the Catholick Faith, the extirpation of Heresie, and one onely Religion and Belief in his Kingdom no lesse then they; but that to attain unto that end, he neither had sufficient Forces, nor money enough to maintain the War in so many places; and that therefore they that shewed themselves so zealous of it, ought to propound the means of gathering Armies together, and of providing for their pay and maintenance. The

King

King hoped by this proposition to put the Confederates in as great confusion as he had done the Deputies at *Blois* in the same manner; for there was no doubt but the charges would necessarily fall on the Clergy, and upon the Commons, a thing contrary to the Proposition of the League, which was to ease the grievances of the Kingdom; and in these Armies that were to be raised in several parts, it was necessary to employ all the Nobility, to the burthen and obligation as well of their Estates as Persons: wherefore it was not very easie for the Duke of *Guise* & the other Lords to resolve this doubt, and thereupon to the great contentment of the Queen they took three dayes time to give their answer. After many consultations, they determined at last to shun the encounter of those means and advertisements which the King required, lest they should discover expresse falshood in those promises which they made at the propounding of the League, and draw upon themselves the hatred of those burthens and grievances which at that present lay upon the Kings own person; and therefore making use of both Force and Authority, they answered the Queen resolutely, that it concerned not them to provide those means; but that the King, who was conscious to himself of his own Forces, ought to find them, and that without further delay they would presently have a Declaration and an Edict against the Hugonots, security for themselves, and a certainty that the War should not be deferred; towards which they proffered those Forces they had then in readinesse; or else they would make their Army to march whither they thought most convenient for the end of their enterprise: and indeed they dispatched the Duke of *Mayenne* at that very instant with part of their Forces, and with Commission to meet the King's Swisses, and if he thought fit, to fight with them presently. At this resolute determination the Queen demanded eight dayes time to give the King notice of it, and to know his pleasure; and the Duke of *Guise*, who had need to meet his German Souldiers, which (as he was informed) were neer *Verdun*, was easily perswaded to consent unto it. But whilest he goes to meet them, and to take order for their comming in, the Queen watching all opportunities, employed * *Luigi Davila* a Cyprian, who was a neer attendant of hers, to work with *Francisco Circarssi* a Gentleman of the same Country, belonging to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to try if she could by that means remove and separate him from the combination of

* *Luigi Davila* the Authors elder Brother was favoured by the Queen Mother, and esteemed by the King, who made use of him in the managing of affairs, and of the Warre in those times.

1585

the Lords of *Guise*; which businesse being followed and redoubled many times whilest the Treaty lasted, the old *Sieur de Lansac* chief of the Queens Gentlemen was cunningly engaged in it; and on the Cardinals part, the *Sieur de Rubempré* himself, who being of a haughty mind, and not having the authority in the League, which he thought he deserved, began to apply his mind to a reconciliation with the King and his Party; and in the end Monsieur de *Lansac* conferred with the Cardinal himself, under colour of a complemental visit. They urged many reasons to him; in substance, that he might take notice that he was not Head of the League, as befitted the quality of his Person, and the honour of his Bloud, but a Subject and Vassal to the passions and affections of the Duke of *Guise* and the other Lords of his Family: that the businesse was not any interest at all of Religion, since the King having offered to give them all manner of satisfaction in matters of Faith, his offer was not accepted; but that it was now manifest and publick to all the world, that under colour of Religion they prosecuted their private ends and interests: that it was not fit for a man, of so great zeale and integrity, and one that was placed in the most eminent dignities of the holy Church, to serve for a stile to the pretensions of the Lords of *Lorain*, and to give colour to a most open Rebellion against the Person of a King that was as well a Catholick, as legitimate and natural. But that it was much more unfit for him, being first Prince of the Blood, to be the instrument whereby the ancient Enemies of his House should extinguish the remainder of the Royal Family: that he should consider that he being old, and of an age not likely to have children, the House of *Bourbon* would be quite extinct by the suppression of his Nephews; that it seemed very strange to every good man, that he who all the rest of his life-time had been an Author of peace and concord; how having as it were one foot in the grave, should make himself the Author of War, Blood, Discord and Insurrection: that it would be much more acceptable to God, and much more commendable among men, that he being united with the King to the same holy end, should endeavour to withdraw his Nephews from the way of perdition, and rather to reconcile them peaceably to the Church, then to suppress and bury them in the total ruine and destruction of the Kingdom: That he should not doubt nor suspect the reality of the King's intentions, who

both openly and privately was always a Catholick, and affectionate unto Religion; for as concerning the Hugonots, he would send him a blank to write what he would; so for his own particular, he would always honour and respect him as a Father, being wont to say, that amongst all that great multitude of the Confederates there was not one honest man, but the Cardinal of *Bourbon*. These Reasons alledged and resolved in a minde full of right intentions, and uncorrupted ends, were not far from effecting what they aimed at, nor from bringing him to a thought of reuniting and reconciling himself to the King, by means of the Queen, whom he held in the highest veneration: but while he was in doubt, having as a man of no great reach nor policy, given some suspicion of it to the Cardinal of *Guise*, in the discourses and consultations that passed, the Duke of *Guise* was presently recalled, whose spirit did animate the whole Body, and move every member of that Union; and though by his authority he settled the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* resolution; yet seeing that the *Swisses* advanced daily, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* had but small Forces to oppose them, and considering that to make up the Pay of his German Souldiers great store of Money was necessary, to the furnishing whereof, the Spaniards concurred not with that readinesse that he imagined; for being involved in the War of *Flanders*, they could hardly supply so vast an expence; and having found at last, that the dissuniting of the League was attempted by secret practices, the members whereof were already wavering, he judged that delay was his mortal Enemy as he had ever thought, and therefore desiring to put a fair gloss upon his taking up of Arms to justify his ends, and to take away those scruples which had been sowed in the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* minde, and which already were not onely divulged, but also had taken deep impression in many others, he took a resolution to propound a very plausible offer, That he desired nothing but an Edict against the Hugonots, that no other Religion but the Catholick should be permitted in the Kingdome, that they should be incapable of all Offices and Dignities of what kinde soever; and that there might be an assurance they should be persecuted with Arms, renouncing all other security and conditions; and offering also himself to lay down all Offices and Governments possessed by him or any of his, to take a-

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1585

Whilest the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Head of the League, stands wavering to reconcile himself to the King, the Duke of *Guise* makes a specious Proposition of Agreement.

556
1585

way all suspicion of cavillous interests. This Proposition wrought two wonderful effects to his advantage; one that it confirm'd the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, whose loss would have taken away the greatest foundation of the League; the other, that it brought the King to a necessity of accepting the Proposition, lest he should manifestly put himself on the wrong side, and absolutely alienate also the remaining part of the Catholicks, who were already something mistrustful of him; and as concerning other securities and advantages of his Family, he knew very well, if the King made war with the Hugonots, he must of necessity re-unite himself with the Catholicks, and with the House of *Guise*, that had all the Forces in their hands; and that he must be so far from consenting that they should lay down their Offices and Governments, that he should be forced to give them yet others, and confer the chief Commands of the Armies upon them; and in conclusion, he saw that the whole perfection of his designs would necessarily follow upon the War with the Hugonots; and it was so true, that the War with the Hugonots and his Greatness were firmly linked together, that he was always able with marvellous opportunities to advance his own Enterprizes, in such manner as no other interest should appear outwardly, save that of Religion. So this last determination being set down in writing, they presented it to the Queen the ninth day of June, subscribed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Duke of *Guise*: the Queen was not much astonished at it, having long ago foreseen that the Heads of the League could not take a more expedient resolution: but she dispatched away the aforesaid *Myron* to the King with the same Declaration, giving him to understand, that it was necessary for him to consent unto it in matter of Religion, to avoid the present danger, and to disunite the Forces of the Confederates, for that in the execution there would afterwards be so many difficulties interposed, that time it self would bring sufficient opposition: but that by not consenting to it, he should assure himself, besides the universal hatred and detestation, to be quickly oppressed and forced to harder conditions, since that the Duke of *Mayenne* was already gone to hinder the entry of the Swisses, and while they were retarded, the Duke of *Guise* making haste to joyn with his Germans, would be upon his march towards *Paris* with 30000 fighting men, where nothing else was to be

be expected, but the manifest Rebellion of the City, and the general Revolt of the whole Kingdom, which would constrain him to fly to those places that were possessed by the Hugonots, of whose good will and Forces he could not assure himself. Thus the doubt of retarding the Swisses troubled both Parties; for on the one side the Queen feared the Duke of Mayenne would be able to stop them; and on the other, the Duke of Guise feared lest he should not be strong enough to oppose them; which reciprocal fear perswaded both Parties to consent unto a Peace. The King having received the Declaration, and the Council of the Queen, sent Secretary Villeroy presently unto her, and a little while after the Duke d'Espernon, to the end that the Agreement might be received and established with the best conditions that could be. Wherefore the Queen being come to Nemours with the Princes of the League, they concluded upon these Conditions the seventh day of July.

That the King should prohibit any other Religion in his Kingdom, except the Roman Catholick; that he should banish all the Heretick Preachers out of his Confines; that hee should ordain that Hugonots should be punished with confiscation of their Estates during life; that he should with all speed denounce a War against them, wherein such men should be made Commanders as the League could confide in; that he should abolish those Courts instituted in the Parliaments and established in favour of the Hugonots; and should not permit that any should be capable of any Place or publick Office, till he had first made profession of his Faith, conformable to the Roman Religion; That the Duke of Guise, Mayenne, Aumale, Mercure, and Elbeuf, besides their ordinary Government, should keep the Cities of Chalons, Thoul, Verdun, S. Desire, Reims, Soissons, Dijon, Beaune, Rne in Picardy, Dinan, and Coneg in Bretagne. That a certain number of

* Harquebuzers on horseback should be paid, to be Guards for the Cardinals of Bourbon and Guise, and for the Dukes of Guise, Mercure, Mayenne, Aumale, and Elbeuf; that the Duke of Guise should have a hundred thousand Crowns paid unto him, to build a Cittadel in Verdun; and that two Regiments of Infantry should be paid which belonged to the League, under the commands of Sacramoro Brago and S. Paul. That two hundred thousand Crowns should be disbursed to

pay

* These which the Author calls Harquebuzie s on horseback, differed from our Dragoons, in that they did serve both on foot and on horseback; and it is conceived by men experienced in war that they were the same with those which they call Argolettiers.

1585 pay the German Forces raised by the League, with which they should presently be sent away; and that they should be forgiven and remitted one hundred and ten thousand Duckets which they had taken of the King's Revenue, and spent for the advancement of the Union; By which Capitulations it appeared plainly to those that had any knowledge of the affairs that passed, that not compassion of the people to ease them of their Grievances had contracted the League, but the care the great ones had of their own security, and their desire to see the party of their Enemies suppressed and extinguished; though the respect and colour of Religion was always strictly joyned with them; for that number of Cities and strong places obtained for the security of the *Guises*, shewed plainly they had discovered the King's secret intentions; and seeing that the Hugonots had their places of security, which hindred their destruction, they thought to obtain the like for their Party, to the end that it might be no less difficult to abase and suppress them, then it proved to be to bring the King of *Navar* and the rest of his party into subjection; and the War which they made to be resolved on against the Hugonots, though it were chiefly procured to root out the Divisions in Religion, did nevertheless contain also at the same time the ruine of the Princes of *Bourbon*, and of their Friends and Adherents.

The Agreement being concluded and established, the Duke of *Guise*, with the Cardinal his Brother, and with the Cardinal of *Bourbon* went to the King to *S. More* near *Paris*, and the Conditions being confirmed, the Duke of *Guise*, after many Demonstrations of confidence, returned to his Governments.

Whilest the Peace was negotiating between the King and the League, the King of *Navar* was brought into a great perplexity, foreseeing the certainty of that Accommodation, and that all the Forces of the Catholics would be united together against him, to suppress and destroy his Party: He had from the first by means of the *Sieurs de Clermont* and *Chastin-court* his Agents at the Court, proffered his Forces to assist the King, exhorting him to joyn himself sincerely with him, and to try the fidelity and readinesse of the Hugonots; and in the end had protested, that he could not stand lingring on that manner, to expect that thunderbolt of ruine which he foresaw was provided

provided against him: But the King by Letters under his own hand, and by many very effectual perswasions used to his Agents, had exhorted him to continue quiet, and not to make a greater disturbance, assuring him, that he would never consent to any thing that should violate that Peace, or that could cause his ruine: and indeed, such was the Kings intention at the first; but after necessity had brought him to seek for peace with the Confederates, the King of Navar, who was no unskilful Judge of businesses, easily perceived that all that storm would fall upon his Person and upon his Party: wherefore desiring to make his cause plausible, and his reasons known for the furthering his other designs, he published a Declaration at Bergerac upon the tenth of June, wherein bitterly complaining that he was called a relapsed Heretick, a persecutor of the Church, a disturber of the State, and a capital enemy of the Catholicks, to exclude him by those names from the succession of the Kingdome, he shewed he was constrained to satisfy the world, and particularly the Princes of Christendom, but above all the King his Sovereign, and the people of France, that these were calumnies thrown upon him by his enemies, who out of an ambition to exalt themselves, had under pretence of taking Arms against him and the rest of the reformed Religion, prosecuted the way of bringing the State to miserable confusion, having in effect taken Arms against the King himself, and against the Crown, and contrary to the order of nature, and the Lawes of the Kingdom of France, declared one to be first Prince of the Blood, and Successor to the Crown, arrogating that authority to themselves, which belonged to the States General of the Kingdom. That he could be no wayes accounted a Relapsor, having never changed his opinion; for although out of a just fear (which may fall into the breast of the stoutest man) and being forced by manifest violence, he had sent an Ambassadour to the Pope; yet as soon as ever he recovered his liberty, he had also declared that he had not changed his Religion; neither could he be called an Heretick, holding (by the example of many others) opinions not yet decided, and having ever offered, as he did likewise at the present, to submit himself to the instructions of learned men, and to the determination of a Council lawfully assembled; that he was falsely slandered to have persecuted the Catholicks, having alwaies cherished many of them,

1585

The King of Navars Declaration.

them ; not onely keeping them neer his own Person, but making use of them in the principal Offices of his Estate and Family, and that he had left the Clergy-men in his own States, and in every other place where he commanded, in the peaceable enjoyment of their Revenues, and exercise of the Roman Religion. That if at several times he had taken Arms, he had done it without intention to disturb the State, and alwayes in a defensive way, which nature teacheth every body to do, having seen how inhumanely they were handled who had embraced the reformed Religion. That to oppose the persecutions which were continually made ready against him, and not to treat a League against the King, hee had sent into *England, Denmark and Germany*, with no other aim, but to draw from thence some relief for the preservation of his own liberty: That the resolution not to give up the Fortresses (as they had lately been denyed to the Duke of *Espernon*) was taken with the universal consent of all his Party, because not onely those suspicions for which they were granted, were not taken away, but were at that time much increased, as well by the great preparations for War which were made by those of the League, as by their particular earnestnesse wherewith they demanded other strong places of the King, besides those which they already held ; not as they alledged to secure themselves against those of the contrary Religion, who would never have offended nor injured them, and could scarce defend themselves from their evil usage, not having so many places in their hands as those of the House of *Guise* had Provinces under their Government, who sharing all the Kings favours and graces among themselves, had commanded Armies, besieged Cities, given Battels, distributed Offices at their pleasure, and by that means had gained followers, revenged their own injuries, and managed their own interest at the charges of the Crown, and not with a pretext of Religion would attempt against the Kings Person, and govern the State; That every one might plainly know how unfitly they demanded new Fortresses for their security ; yet to take away that pretence also from them, he and the Prince of *Conde* his Cousen, though they ought rather to endeavour to strengthen, then go about to weaken themselves, did both offer at that ptesent to leave those that were in their hands, as likewise the Governments which either of them held ; provided the Lords of *Guise* would do the like

like by those that they had taken, and also by their Govern-
ments, whereby he said the opinion of that danger would be ta-
ken away, which his enemies scattered abroad, that he with those
of the Religion would disturb the State: but every one might
easily judge whether it were more likely that servants of the
Family, or those of the Blood should have ends to disturb it;
and which of them were like to be more affectionate to their
Prince; and whether Strangers could be better affected to the
Kingdome of *France* then natural Frenchmen; that who-
ever would know the difference which had ever been between
his Family and that of *Guise*, touching the general good of
the people, should call to memory the things which each of
them had done, and he should find those of the House of *Bour-*
bon had never been inventers of new *Gabelles*, had never in-
jured the Nobility, nor wrested and violated Justice, as the
Predecessors of the Heads of the League had continually done,
and with new taxes, with the sale of Places, and with the con-
fusion of Offices, many whereof had been transferred into
their own House, others sold in the time of *Henry* the Se-
cond, and *Francis* the Second; and with bringing in the alie-
nation of the Temporal Revenues of Churches, had laboured
to fulfil their own desires under colour of making War for
Religion. That he had never stirred up Warrs as his Enemies
had done; but had barely defended himself, and upon all
occasions had accepted such conditions of Peace as the King
had been pleased to give him; but that it was a thing worthy
of more consideration, that he had offered himself to follow
the King in his important affairs, and particularly when
he had been called to the Dominion of the States of *Flanders*;
whereas the Heads of the League quite contrary had oppo-
sed the businesse, and had made an occasion of so great glory
be overslpt, and an acquisition of so great consequence to be
neglected. That though he could not with reason think of
the Succession of the Crown, because of the Kings youth, to
whom he wished issue; yet could he not chuse but be much
troubled to see himself so unworthily dealt withal by his E-
nemies, who having molested him in his Governments, and
seised upon Cities and Fortresses in the midst of them, now
turning themselves against his Life and Honour, ceased not
to persecute him with malicious practises, to make an impres-
sion in the minds of those that were unexperienced, that he

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1585

was unworthy and incapable to succeed in the Crown, and to draw their designs to a conclusion, would (without taking any notice of the Kings youth) make unseasonable provision against those accidents which they imagined might come to pass after his death. At last he demanded leave of the King with all respect and submission, to give the *Lye* (as he did) to all those that had injured and slandered him in their Declarations, excepting the Cardinal his Uncle, and offered himself to decide the quarrel with the Duke of *Guise*, he being the Head of that Party, by fighting with him single, or two, ten, or twenty of a side, with more or lesse number, as the Duke of *Guise* himself pleased, offering, if they were to be more then one, that his Cousin the Prince of *Conde* should be with him, not desiring in that case to stand upon any disproportion between their qualities, since they were neither moved to that resolution by Ambition, nor Hatred, but onely for the service of God, and to free their Lord the King and the People of *France* from those miseries which War doth necessarily produce, and by deciding that difference at once, to leave the Kingdom in peace, and the Kings mind in quiet, without disturbing it any further. Wherefore he beseeched the King to name the Field in any part of his Kingdom; and if the Duke of *Guise* should think all the Kingdome suspected, he offered to go out of it into any place that might be secure to both parties, which the Duke himself might make choice of, and to end that controversy with those Weapons that were commonly used among Gentlemen of honour.

The King of *Navar* endeavoured by this Declaration not onely to justifie his Cause, and to blemish that of the Confederates; but also finding himself inferiour in strength, though not at all in courage, he sought to reduce the Warre to a private Duel; which if it took effect, he was ready to put himself upon the encounter, thereby reducing his fortune now half desperate, by the opposition of so mighty Adversaries, unto some equality: and if the offer was not accepted, he knew it would be but small reputation for the Duke of *Guise* and the Forces of the League, and a means to draw the Peoples inclination very much to him, who would praise his Generosity in exposing his own life to danger, to divert the general distractions of a War. But the Duke of *Guise* knowing the arts of his Enemies, and aspiring to destroy him by so much advantage

advantage of strength, without being obliged to endanger his
 own life, would not answer the declaration, lest he should
 be fain to accept or refuse the *Duel*, but made some third
 persons answer in many little Pamphlets, that no Lord of the
 Catholick party did professe enmity to the King of *Navar* for
 private occasions; but that what they did was for the safety of
 Religion, and their own consciences; wherefore it was not
 fit to reduce the publick Cause to a particular *Duel*, an effect
 very contrary to the end they had propounded to themselves;
 and with other such like reasons they opposed those alledged
 by the King of *Navar*; who being advertised of the conclu-
 sion of peace between the King and the Lords of the League,
 writ letters to the King, which were published in print; grie-
 vously complaining, that whilst he to obey his Majesties com-
 mand, laid upon him by letters under his own hand, had for-
 born to take arms, or to undertake any new enterprise, an
 Agreement was established with his enemies, with condition to
 break the Edicts of peace already published, and (contrary to
 promise already made) again to begin the War against the
 reformed Religion. That hee earnestly exhorted and be-
 sought the King to consider, that to comply with the passions
 of those that rebelled against him; he took arms against his
 good and faithful Subjects and Vassals, and that he should
 foresee how the destruction of his whole Kingdome was con-
 tained in that War which was preparing against him: but that
 if he did persist to contrive his ruine, he could do no lesse by
 the Law of Nature then defend himself, and he hoped that
 God for the justnesse of his Cause would deliver and preserve
 him from the persecutions of men, and one day make his in-
 nocence manifest to the whole world. Besides this, he writ o-
 ther letters to the Nobility, others to the People, and others
 to the Parliaments, excusing himself, blaming the League,
 and labouring to make appear, that he having punctually
 observed the conditions of Peace, was now contrary to them
 unjustly assaulted; After which Declarations, having called
 unto him the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marechal d' *Anville*,
 whom he knew to be no lesse persecuted then the Hugonots;
 they established with common consent all that was to be done
 for their own Defence, and the maintenance of those places
 which they held of their party; and because they already
 knew by so many proofs, that nothing was more available for

1585

their defence, then the supplies of men out of *Germany*, which diverted the power and forces of their enemies into very remote places, they presently made a dispatch to the Protestant Princes, to treat and conclude a strong League; and that charge was undertaken by the Duke of *Bouillon* (who as in his own inheritance derived from his Ancestours, had settled himself in *Sedan*, an exceeding strong place upon the Confines of *Champagne* and *Lorain*) and by Monsieur de *Chastillon*, son to the Admiral de *Coligny*, who was Governour of *Montpellier* for the Hugonots, and was now secretly gone out of *Languedoc* disguised unto *Geneva*.

In the mean time the King in private with his Mother, and the Cabinet-Councel, consulted about the manner of executing the Agreement with the League; Secretary *Villeroy*, with whom *Bellicre* and *Villequier* concurred, was of opinion that the King had no better nor surer way to extinguish the combustions of his Kingdom, and frustrate the Designs of the *Guises*, then sincerely to imbrace the War with the Hugonots, to manifest to all the world his zeal toward the Catholick Religion, and the ill will he bore to the Calvinists; to put Offices into the hands of the most flourishing Nobility of his Kingdom; to settle the form of Petitions, of granting favours, and of the disposal of Moneys after the old way observed by his Predecessors; and to satisfy their designs in particular, who were alienated from him out of discontent, because they were not able to do any thing at Court: they shewed, that this was the way to disfurnish the League of all pretences, to draw the applause and love of the people to himself; who because they saw him averse from those ends, did now adore and follow the Lords of *Guise* as Defenders of Religion, and restorers of an indifferent equality, and of the general quietnesse; that it was necessary at last to take away that worst Schism of discords, sowed first and principally by the Hugonots, and to re-unite unto himself all his Subjects and Vassals in the same charity, in the same Religion, for the same unanimous universal end; and in conclusion, that he could neither more honourably, nor more easily ruine the League, then by doing well, carrying himself sincerely, and shewing himself altogether contrary to what the Heads thereof had divulged of him: for by that upright manner of proceeding he might cross more designs, and take away more followers from the *Guises* in
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one day, then he could do by cunning dissimulation and pollick inventions in the whole course of his life, though it should last a hundred years. The Queen-Mother inclined, though warily, to this advice; for knowing her self to be already reported a favourer of the Guises, and a persecuter of the King of Navar, for her Daughters sake, shee would not shew her self partial on the Catholick side; and being angry, though secretly, that the King, as it were not trusting her absolutely, had sent the Duke of *Espernon* to *Nemours*, for the conclusion of the business negotiated with the League, she was very reserved in shewing her opinion, perhaps doubting shee should lose her authority with her Son, or as some said, desiring to see him intangled in those troubles, that hee might once again acknowledge the helpful hand, wherewith she assisting in the Government with prudence and moderation, had so often withheld the imminent ruine of the Crown.

But the King was otherwise inclined, and utterly averse from the opinion of his Councillors. The reasons that perswaded him to the contrary were two; one, that being to make War in good earnest against the Hugonots, it could not chuse but be both long and difficult, it was necessary to put Offices into the hands of the *Guises*, which would increase their power, and gather them Dependents; besides the glory of the Victory would be attributed to them, it being evident that they had constrained him by force to consent unto the War; the other, that the Hugonot party being destroyed, which bridled their power, and hindred the excessive strength of the *Guises*, he should be left a prey unto their Force, which would then have no restraint; nor would they ever be without pretences to take up arms, though that of Religion were taken away; it not being likely that such ready wits, and such daring spirits should want other inventions. These were the reasons alledged by the King; but to them were secretly joyn'd his most bitter hatred, nourished a long time, and now much more incensed against the House of *Guise*, his inclination to his *Minions*, whose grace and power his heart would not suffer him to abase; his covetous desire of disposing the wealth and revenues of the Kingdome his own way, to satisfie the prodigality of his mind; and the continuation of his old resolution to destroy both Factions in the end, by keeping them up against one another. Nor, to say the truth, was he
much

1585

much to be blamed; for having seen the boldness of the Guises, and of so many others their Abbettors and Followers, he could not bring his minde to encrease their Authority, and augment their Power again: and on the other side, to deprive himself of the use of those he had bred up for his purpose, and of the assistance of his greatest Confidants, with evident danger to be exposed to their discretion, since they might easily finde out other occasions to prosecute the course of their designs already begun. Wherefore after some uncertainty, he leaned to the opinion of the Duke d'Espernon, the Marshall de Retz, and the Abbot del Bene (who being a Florentine by extraction, and Son to the Nurse of Charles the Ninth, was by the quicknesse of his wit risen to very great trust and favour) resolved in appearance to satisfie the capitulations made with the League, but cunningly to interrupt and hinder the execution of them; for though he had formerly endeavoured to suppress the Hugonots, nor could their preservation please him; yet now hee would not seem to make War against them at the request of others, and constrained by his own Vassals; nor suffer the honour and glory thereof to redound wholly to the Lords of Guise.

There ariseth
such a discord
between the D.
d'Espernon
and Secretary
Villeroy, as in
proceeds of time
produced ma-
ny evil effects.

This Counsel had not onely an unfortunate event (as for the most part those actions use to have, which go in the new deceitfull paths of subtile inventions out of the beaten road) but it had also a difficult and unlucky beginning; for from it there presently arose a difference and distrust even amongst the Kings Counsellours themselves; the Duke of Espernon jealous of his Masters favours, and desirous to hold fast his own greatnesse, beginning to hate and persecute Monsieur de Villeroy, by whom he had his first beginnings and instructions in the Court, and with whom hee had till then lived in very great friendship; taxing him to have been corrupted with money and promises by the Duke of Guise, and that he held secret intelligence with him, and therefore was author of that advice, which perswaded the King to extirpate the Hugonots, to reduce matters of Government to their ancient form, and to re-unite himself sincerely with the Catholicks of the League; which signified nothing else but the abusing of the Greatnesse and Authority of the Favourites. And that distaste indeed took birth from the time that the Duke had hindred the marriage of Alincourt, Villeroy's son, to Madamoi-
selle

Selle de Maure, a very rich heir of that Family, to match her with a kinsman of his own called *Monsieur de Bellegarde*, Son to *Monsieur de Termes*; for which cause *Alincourt* being offended, sided with the *Duke de Joyeuse*, and by him was made Cornet of his Company of *Gens d'Armes*; and afterwards that discontent was continued in the *Duke of Espernon*, by having seen the King approve of the demolishing of the Citadel at *Lions*, at the persuasions of *Villeroy* (as he said) though indeed it was to draw the *Sieur de Mandelot* to his Party: Yet these reciprocal distasts had been but secret, and some hope there was they might wear away, till upon occasion of this advice they began to discover themselves, and it passed so far, that the *Duke of Espernon* not onely began to hate the High-Chancellor *Chyverny*, and the *Sieur de Ville-quier*, the Kings old Favourites, and well deserving servants; but hee began also to sow suspicions of the Queen-Mother, as though by ancient inclination shee were affectionate to the Lords of the House of *Guise*, and sought by fomenting the Commotions of Civill War, to keep the liberty of her Son in a perpetual Wardship, that being forced by such streights and difficulties, he might make use of her for the Government and maintenance of his Kingdom. These jealousies and that discord breaking forth in that conjuncture which required union and concord, in proceſſe of time made the King lose a great part of his best and wisest Servants, and necessitated a great many others to incline to favour the *Duke of Guise*, by reason of their hatred to *Espernon*, and their desire to see him abased; and which imported most of all, they were the cause that the King gave not so much credit as hee was wont to the Counsels of his Mother; and that made her often to hold her peace, and often to comply against her own opinion, lest she should alienate her Son utterly from her.

But the King spinning on the thred of his designe, appeared solemnly on the nineteenth of July in the Parliament, and caused a decree to be published, wherein revoking all other Edicts made at several times in favour of the Hugonots, he prohibited any other Religion except the Roman Catholick in all Towns and places of his Kingdom; hee banished all the Preachers and Ministers of the pretended reformed Religion out of his confines within a month after the publication, and commanded that all his Vassals should within the term of six months

The Kings Edict against the Hugonots.

1585

months conform themselves to live according to the Rites of the holy Church; and to make publick profession of the Catholick Faith; or if they would not do so, they should depart the Kingdom, and be effectually gone out of his Confinies within the said term; which six months being expired, the Hugonots should be proceeded against with capital punishments and confiscation of their estates, as Hereticks and Enemies to the publick Peace; and those of the aforesaid Religion should be declared incapable to attain to, or hold any Degree, Office, or Dignity in the Kingdom; that all *Chambres mi-parties* and *tri-parties* should be taken away, which had been established by the Edicts of Peace in their favour; and that they should restore all places granted to them for their security, and give them up without dispute or delay into the Kings obedience; that all Princes, Peers, Officers of the Crown, Parliaments, Governours, and other Ministers should be obliged to swear to the performance of this Decree, which should be irrevocable, and perpetually to be observed. At the Kings coming out from the Parliament, hee was received by the people with joyful cries, to shew their satisfaction and contentment at the Edict which had been published; but hee with a troubled countenance seemed to take small delight in those Acclamations, which were made to flatter him out of season; and it was observed by many, that contrary to his ordinary affability, he neither daigned to return any salutation to the *Provost des Merchands*, nor to the other Heads and Officers of the People of *Paris*; which hee doing to shew he cared little for their volubility and inconstancy, and because he would do nothing to comply with others, gave matter to the *Guisards* to exclaim, that inwardly he favoured the Hugonots, and that by meer force hee was drawn against his own *Genius*, by the zeal and industry of the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, to denounce Warre against them.

The Hugonots
Answer to the
Kings Edict.

The King of *Navar*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marschal d' *Anville* being met together at *St. Paul*, answered the Kings Edict with a new protestation; and shewed that this was an unjust persecution caused by them who had so often disturbed the Peace; and that it was neither the sincere will of the King, nor of the Queen his Mother, whose clemencie and upright intentions were known to all; and that the King having

having formerly declared all those to be Rebels who took up Arms without his Commission; the Lords of *Grije* were fallen into that offence, having taken cities, and done acts of hostility, not only against the Orders, but even against the Person of the King himself; and that therefore they knowing them to be, and using them as Rebels, had taken arms against them, their Adherents, and Accomplishes, for the defence of their lawful King, and of the Crown, for the safety of their own lives, and liberty of their consciences, receiving all those into their protection who would stay peaceably at their own houses without lending any consent to that Conspiracy, although they were of the Roman Religion.

I remember that when this Protestation was brought unto the King, and divulged in *Paris*, *Louis Sieur de Lansac*, an old Cavalier, full of experience of things past, discoursing in the *Louvre* of those present affairs, with his wonted eloquence and the curiosity of his hearers, said openly without any respect unto the League, That the Hugonots had at last gained the Victory; for whereas at first they were cried out upon for disturbers of the Kingdom, surprizers of Cities, stirrers up of the people, and enemies of the supreme Prince; now they with reason did object the same things to the Catholicks, and convince them of the same crimes; which were so much the less excusable in the League, by how much they were wont more than all others to exclaim and make a noise about the Insurrections and Conspiracies of the Hugonots; and if they deserved to be blamed for having contracted a League with the English, the perpetual enemies of *France*; the Catholicks did not deserve to be praised for having made a Confederacy with the Spaniards: That the King of *Navar* was a better Pen-man then was necessary for a Souldier; but that if to his present reasons he had added the declaring of himself a Catholick, he would have made the League be utterly condemned as rebellious and seditious.

But neither the King of *Navar's* Reasons, nor the opinions of the wisest men did cool the universal ardor of the people, and particularly of the *Parisiens*, who were set upon the ruine of the Hugonots: rather they began to blame the King, saying, that the term of six months was too long and favourable, desiring to see the War kindled, and begun without delay; which being known unto the King, who was desirous

1586
The King calling the Heads of the City of Paris together demands monies for the War which the Catholikes laboured for against the Hugonots,

ferious to put them out of that fantastical humour, and make them see they labour'd for their own disadvantage; upon the eleventh day of August he sent for the *Prezost des Merchants*, the two first Presidents of the Parliament, and the Dean of the Cathedral of Paris into the *Louvre*, and particularly desired the Cardinal of *Guise* to be there present. As soon as they were come together, he began openly to expresse great joy and satisfaction that he was so well advised; and that after having had patience so long time, at last moved by the counsel of his servants, especially of those that were there present, he had recalled the Edict of Peace formerly established with the Hugonots, but if he had been a great while resolving, it had not been for want of affection toward the Catholick Religion; but because having so often proved the difficulties of War, he could not at the very first imagine that this last resolution could be more easily executed then the rest; that that consideration had so long withheld him, and did so fill, foreseeing the great inconveniencies this Warre would bring to the State in general, and to every one in particular: yet neverthelesse seeing himself favoured and accompanied by so many persons of whose fidelity he was assured, and knowing they persevered so cheerfully to the execution of that work, he rejoyced at it, and also gave them thanks, praying them to examine with him the best means of bringing that advice which they themselves had given him unto a happy issue; that therefore he had represented unto them what Forces he did intend to raise, and with what foundation that War ought to be begun; that he would have three Armies, one in *Guienne*, another near his own Person, and the third to hinder forreign Forces from entring into the Kingdom, which (whatsoever some would perswade him) he knew certainly were already prepared to march; that it would not be time to think of the War when the enemies were upon them, nor to make peace when they had made themselves the strongest; that he had alwaies had great difficulties in breaking the Edicts of Peace, but he found greater difficulties in beginning the Warre; and therefore that every one should think well what they had to do, and that it would be too late to cry out for Peace when the Mills of Paris were on fire; that for his own part, though he had received the Counsel of others against his own opinion, yet was he resolved to spare nothing that

among

belong'd

belong'd to him, and that he was ready to strip himself to the very shirt for the maintenance of that War; that since they were not content with the Agreement of Peace, it was needful they should assist him in the expences of the War; that he would not ruine himself alone, and that it was fit every private person should bear his part of those incommodities which before he had felt alone; and turning toward the first President, he commended him very much for his great affection toward the Catholick Religion, which he had well observed in a long eloquent Speech he made when the Edict was revoked, but that it was reasonable he and all his Company should consider the necessity of affairs, which were such, as being forced to extraordinary courses, he must be fain to leave the ordinary ones; and therefore intreated them, there might be no more mention made to him of their pensions, which he should not be able to pay as long as the War continued: then turning towards the *Prevost des Merchands*, he told him, that the people of his City of *Paris* had shewed him great demonstrations of joy for the breaking of the Edict of Peace, that therefore it was fit they should assist him in the execution of that which they had made him to approve of; and commanded him to call a Councel of the Citizens the next day after, and there to tell the people that they were not to expect the Revenues of the Town should be paid any more whilst the War lasted, (that was a kinde of Bank which had been erected by the King in the late occurrences, to have money at the rate of ten in the Hundred); and more, that he should lay an imposition upon the Citie of two hundred thousand Crowns, which he said he stood in need of to begin the first month; for the maintenance of the War would amount to four hundred thousand Crowns a month. In the end he turned toward the Cardinal of *Guise*, saying with something an angrie countenance, that for the first month he hoped he should be able to do well enough without the help of the Clergie, searching to the bottom of all particular mens purses; but for the other months, as long as the War endured, he purposed to raise moneys upon the Church; and that in so doing he thought he should not do any thing at all against his conscience, nor would stand upon any leave or authority from *Rome*, for they were the Heads of the Clergie who had put him upon that business; wherefore it was reasonable they should bear part of

* This particular is not in the French Original of the Kings Speech, which is in a Book called *Memoires de la Ligue*.

1585

A saying of
Hen. the third.*The Hugonot
Sermons.

the charge; in conclusion, that he was resolved every one should bear his share, the Nobility and the Kings Revenues having already been sufficiently burthened. There he held his peace to hear their answers; and when he found they made some difficulty, he cryed out with an angry voice, *It had been better then to have believed me, and to have enjoyed the benefits of peace and quietnesse, then standing in a Shop or in a Quire to determine Councels of War: I am very much afraid, that going about to destroy the *Presche, we shall put the Masse in great danger: But howsoever deeds are more needful here then words.* And in that manner he retired into his chamber, leaving them all in trouble for fear of their purses, who had been promoters of that Warre.

But neither did this take off the edge of the people, stirred up continually by their Preachers; and the Guises being a far off, murmured that the War would never be begun, to recover those places which were possessed by the Hugonots: wherefore the King, lest he should destroy all that was built up, and be brought again to those difficulties which he had overcome already, began to think of drawing an Army together to be sent into *Guienne*. He was exceedingly vexed and troubled in his mind, that he must be faine to chuse Commanders for that enterprize at the pleasure of the League; considering that, besides putting his own Forces into other hands, all the good successe of it would be publickly attributed to the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, who without doubt desired to be Generals of those Armies themselves: but as a Prince who by the sharpnesse of his wit would alwaies finde an evasion in the hardest and most difficult businesses, after he had for many dayes turned the matter on every side, he sent *Guy Sieur de Lansac* to the Duke of *Guise* to know his intention about those that were to command the Armies; who after long consultation, resolved that the Duke of *Muyenne* his Brother should command the Army that was to march into *Guienne* against the King of *Navar*; and he reserved to himself the charge of keeping the Confines, and hindring the passage of the Protestant Forces of *Germany*, thinking that to be the more difficult enterprize, and it concerning him very much to be neer the Court, to frame his resolutions according to those occurrences which are often wont to happen unexpectedly.

The King having had this advised, resolved that the Maréchal de Matignon, of whose fidelity he might confidently assure himself, should command in *Catenne* as Lieutenant of that Province, under the Duke of Mayenne; that the Maréchal de Byron should go with Forces to make War in *Xaintonge*; and that the Duke of Joyeuse with an Army should march into *Gascogne*, Provinces so neer, that the Duke of Mayenne would be encompassed on every side by those Armies; and because about that very time happened the death of Monsieur d'Angoulême Grand Prior of *France*, the Kings Bastard Brother, who was Governour of *Provence*, he conferred that Government upon the Duke of Espernon, and resolved to send an Army thither with him against the Hugonots; designing by that means not onely to have many Armies on foot commanded by his Confidants and Favourites; but also retarding the Duke of Mayenne's progresse, by making him want Money, Ammunition, and Victual, that the honor of those actions might fall upon them that were neerest to him. But not to give occasion of new complaints and murmurings, the Duke of Mayenne's Army was prepared first of all; and yet to delay the proceedings of it, he first sent three Ambassadors to the King of Navar to endeavour his conversion, which were the Cardinal de Lenon-Court, one anciently bred up in his Family, the Sieur de Poigny Knight of the *St. Esprit*, and President Brulart, who went but a few days before the Duke of Mayenne's Army; whereupon the Dutchesse of Uzès, a Lady of an excellent wit, taking occasion to jest, told the King that the state of the King of Navar was now at the very last gasp, and that he would certainly be converted now for fear of dying without repentance, since that after the Ghostly Fathers, the Minister of justice went to put the Sentence in execution.

Monsieur Angoulême Grand Prior of France being dead, the King confers the Government of Provence upon the Duke of Espernon.

The Ambassadors had Commission to excuse the breach of the Edict of Peace with many specious reasons, to exhort the King of Navar to return to the obedience of the Catholick Church, to move the restoring of those places they held into the Kings hand, to come and live neer his Person, and remove all occasions of the present War; and all this onely to seek occasions to delay the beginning of the Warre. The King of Navar more resolute then e-

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1585

ver not to return to the Prison of the Court (as he called it) whilst the Lords of the House of Guise had more Forces and Adherents then he had: and seeing himself in so weak a condition, that it was necessary for his defence to make shew of not being afraid, after having with great submission given the King thanks for the care he had of his salvation, and after having modestly complained of the breach of the Edict in a time when he in all reason should have beleevved that Arms would rather have been imployed against the seditious Abettors of the League, then against him who was most observant of the Kings commands, and of the Articles of Peace; he began very gravely not onely to condemn the perverse Ambition of the Heads of the League, in contending about the Kings Succession during his life, but also the poornesse of the Duke of Guise in not accepting his Challenge, which might have ended the differences and enmities between them hand to hand, without troubling the King, and disturbing the whole Kingdome: and concluded finally, that as he would ever willingly submit himself unto a lawful Councel, and the instructions which should be sincerely given him by learned men; so neither did it stand with his conscience, nor with his honor to be brought to Masse by force, hoping that God would protect his innocence, as he had miraculously done in former times.

Gregory XIII
dyes. in 1585.
Sixtus Quintus
succeedeth.

At the departure of the Ambassadors the Army advanced to enter *Guienne*, the War beginning to grow hot in every place; for the Heads of the League desiring to see the destruction of the Hugonots, especially of the Princes of *Bourbon*, made spiritual Arms be joyned with temporal ones, thinking by that means to hasten their utter suppression. Pope Gregory the XIIIth dyed this yeer, who of a gentle nature, and averse from violent courses, had never consented either to the open protection of the League, or to the condemning of the King of *Navar* and Prince of *Conde*: But being succeeded by *Felici Peretti*, a Frier of the Order of *S. Francis*, Cardinal of *Montalto*, called afterward *Sixtus Quintus*, a man of a fierce violent nature; the Cardinal of *Pelleve*, Father *Mattei*, and the other Agents of the League ceased not to sollicite and perswade him to take the Confederates into open protection, and to excommunicate

cate the Princes of *Bourbon*; to which incitements he consented easily through his own inclinations, as one who having been an Inquisitor a great part of his time, was by custome grown a bitter enemy to those that were of different opinions from the Church of *Rome*; wherefore in a Consistory held this year on the ninth day of *September*, he declared the King of *Navar* and the Prince of *Conde* to be relapsed into Heresie, excommunicated and made incapable of any Succession, especially that of the Kingdom of *France*, and deprived them of the States they possessed, absolving their Vassals from their Oath, and excommunicating those that should obey them for the time to come. As this Declaration caused great joy in those of the League, perswading themselves that it had wholly excluded those Princes from the Crown; so did it pierce the King very deeply, without whose privity it had been propounded in the Consistory, subscribed by many Cardinals, posted up and published. But most part of the French very much troubled at this unexpected Declaration, calling to minde what had been done by *Charles* the Ninth, when the *Monitory* was made to the Queen of *Navar*, and doubting that the Priviledges of the Gallique Church would be violated and trod under foot, stood expecting what the King would do; who being tied up by the condition of present affairs, lest he should confirm that suspicion which was conceived of him, that he favoured the Hugonots, and give new occasions and new pretences to the Lords of *Guise*, resolved to dissemble the businesse, although all the Parliament together presenting themselves unto his Majesty, were very earnest to have the *Bull* torne in pieces, and those punished who had solicited and procured it; to which request the King answering that he would think upon it, the matter was past over in silence, and the *Bull* was neither accepted nor published in the Parliament, but only divulged in many places of the Kingdom by the Adherents of the League and the Catholick Preachers.

The King of *Navar* being advertised of the Popes Declaration, did not only procure his Appeal to be posted up in *Rome* it self, as it was upon the sixth of *November* in the night; but writ to all the States of the Kingdom of *France*, complain-

Sixtus Quintus on the ninth of *Septemb.* 1585 excommunicates the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde*, declaring them incapable of succession.

The King of *Navar* makes the Bull of *Sixtus Quintus* to be answered and the Answer set up in *Rome*.

1585

complaining to every one of them in particular of the injury which he reputed to have been done unto him, and exhorting them not to suffer the rights of the succession of the Crown of *France* to be decided in the Consistory of Rome. Many Volumes were written against, and in favour of the *Bull* by the chiefeſt wits of *Europe*; the reasons wherof would be too long to insert into the compendious Narration of the History; and so much the rather, because the noyse that arose from the thundering of these spiritual Weapons, within a few dayes were drowned by the loud clashings of temporal Arms.

The End of the Seventh Book.



THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
CIVIL WARRES
OF
France.

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA
The Eighth B O O K.

The ARGUMENT.

IN the Eighth Book is described the Warre against the Hugonots in Guienne; the defeat of the Prince of Conde; the weak proceedings of the Duke of Mayenne General of the Kings Army; the King of Navar's defence; the Marefchall de Byron's advancing into Xaintonge with another Army; the siege of Maran. The King sets forth two other Armies, one under the Duke of Joyeuse in Auvergne, the other under the Duke of Espernon in Provence; hee himself goes to Lyons. The Protestant Princes of Germany raise a mighty Army to relieve the Hugonots; they send an Embassie before unto the King of France, which increases their discontents, and hastens the taking up of Armes. The King resolves again to try if he can perswade the King of Navar to turn Catholick and come to Court; he sends the Queen-Mother into Poictou to treat with him about it: they of the League are displeased thereat and murmur highly, and from that occasion the union of the Parisians is fomented, who provide and arm themselves

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secret.

secretly; they plot to surprise Boulogne in Picardy, but the business is discovered, and the Town saved, they think to seise upon the King himself, but dare not venture to do it; and he being informed of it looks to himself, they run for assistance to the Duke of Mayenne at his return to Paris, but he refuseth to consent to it, and departs. In the mean time the Duke of Guise being up in Arms in Bourgongne and Champagne, takes Ausonne, and Rocroy, and besieges Sedan. The Queen-Mother meets with the King of Navar, but without effect; whereupon she returns to Paris. The King seeing the obstinacy of that Prince, makes a new Protestation not to tolerate the Hugonots any longer: He unites himself with the Catholike League to oppose the German Army: He sends the Duke of Joyeuse into Poitou against the King of Navar, who coming unexpectedly, cuts off two Regiments of the Hugonot Infantry. The Duke of Guise draws his Army together to advance against the Germans in Lorain; the King levies Swisses, and raises mighty forces for the same purpose. The Count of Soissons and the Prince of Conty go over to the King of Navar's party. The Duke of Lorain united with the Duke of Guise, opposeth the Entry of the Germans into his Countrey; they meet at Pont S. Vincent, but give not battel: the Germans passe on into France, the Duke of Guise followeth them; and the King with his Army comes forward to hinder them from joyning with the King of Navar, who advancing in the mean time to meet the Duke of Joyeuse, passes the River Drongne; the Armies face one another at Coutras, and fight with all their Forces; the Duke of Joyeuse loseth the Battel and his life. On the other side the Duke of Guise fights with the Germans at Villemory and Auneau, and makes a great slaughter of them; the King following the Victory comes up close to the Enemies Army; the Swisses yield themselves unto him, and the remainder of the Germans disband, and betake themselves to flight; They are followed and defeated in many places. The Duke of Guise in revenge destroys the County of Mombelliart: the Sienr de la Valette, and Colonel Alfonso Ornano do great execution upon the Hugonots in Dauphine.



Great was the hope the Lords of *Guise* conceived, that the Princes of *Bourbon* prosecuted with so many plots, and so streightly beset on every side, would at last sink under the persecution of the League; and that the Hugonot party being destroyed and brought to nothing, the Catholike Religion would be left alone in the Kingdom, and their old wonted power alone in the Court: but no lesse was the constancy wherewith the King of *Navar*, (unanimously followed by the other Lords of his party) stood upon his defence; and his condition which before was wont to be hard and dejected, as it were gathering strength from the assaults of the enemies, seemed in a manner to rise again, to correspond at last with the greatnesse of his courage, and the establishment of his designs. For his generous resolution of challenging the head of the League to a duell, and of proffering with the danger of himself, to end the miseries of the Kingdom, had won him the general favour, and applause; and the excommunication at *Rome*, though in some sort it had confirmed, and approved the League which had never been openly received into Protection by Pope *Gregory*, and though it had encreased the scruples of many mindes; yet on the other side, it had wrought a resentment in the Parliaments; and in many men of the *long Robe*: and which imported most, had alienated and displeased the minds of many Prelats; those as jealous of the greatnesse of the Crown, the succession whereof they held ought to be decided by the Assembly of the States General of the Kingdom, and not to depend upon the arbitrement of the Court of *Rome*; these as defenders of those priviledges which they pretend do belong unto the *Gallique Church*, preserved (as they said) with great constancy, by the care and diligence of their predecessors; so that the persons of the Princes of *Bourbon*, were become more acceptable to many, and their reasons lesse disfavoured, which in former times were wont bitterly to be hated, and universally abhorred. To these was added the favour of the Kings *Minions*, who being sharply persecuted by the League, and open Enemies to the *Guises*, were forced by necessity to take part with the King of *Navar*, and with their advice, counsel, and assistance, to withstand his danger as much as they were able,

1585 and contrive many means to strengthen and uphold him; Nor did he fail either by writings to justify his reasons to all the several *Orders*, or by actions to prepare for his defence; but with an unwearied mind, and body, drew forces from all parts, fortified his strong places, and stored them plentifully with victual, provided artillery by all possible means, furnished himself with ammunition, gathered money, solicited the Nobility, armed, and exercised the Infantry, and without taking any rest, had his eye still intent upon all those things which were needful to sustaine the encounter of so great a power.

The Duke of *Mayenne* marched towards the River *Loire* with his Army, consisting of 500 *Gens d'Arms*, 1500 *Reiters*, 400 light Horse, and 5000 Foot: the *Mareschal de Byron* moved also towards those parts, (but by several wayes) with his forces, which were appointed to make Warre about *Rochelle*; and *Claude Sieur de la Chastre*, with the *Souldiers* raised in *Berry*, and *Sologne*, came along the bankes of the *Loire* to joyn with the Duke of *Mayenne*; but *Emanuel Duke de Mercœur* Governour of *Bretaign* was advanced before them all with 800 Horse, and 1500 Foot of that Province, and entred already into those parts which were held by the *Hugonots* in *Poitou*.

The war is begun again between the Catholics and Hugonots.

On the other side the King of *Navar*, after he had consulted with the Prince of *Conde*, and the *Mareschal d'Anville*, at *St. Paul de Cade-jous*, having drawn those forces that followed him into one body, had settled himself to defend *Guienne*, where the greatest weight of affairs was like to fall, and had sent the Prince of *Conde* into *Xaintonge*, that by means of his adherents in that Country, and the help of the *Rochelers*, he might endeavour to fortifie as many places as was possible, and take as many others as he could, to make the greater resistance, and give the greater hinderance to the proceedings of the Enemy. With the Prince of *Conde* were the Duke de la *Trémonille*, who of a voluble nature was newly turned to the Religion, and party of the *Hugonots*, the *Sieur de Rohan* a Lord of great note in *Bretaigne*, and a neer kinsman to the King of *Navar*; the Count de la *Roche-fan-cault*, the *Sieur de Clermont* of *Ambois*, *Monsieur de St. Gelais*, who was Camp Master General; and many other Lords, and Gentlemen of those parts, with whom he was scarce gone

gone from *S. Jehan d' Angely*, to visit the places in *Poitou*, when he received intelligence that the Duke of *Mercœur* was already past *Fountenay*, and came on towards him plundering and burning the Country; wherefore desirous in the first encounters of the War to shew his face to the enemy, and to give a bold prosperous beginning to future things, he advanced presently whither he was guided by the cry and flight of the poor Country people. But the Duke of *Mercœur* being advertised from many places of the Prince's coming, and knowing himself too weak to venture further into the enemies Country, which was all up in arms against him, resolved to retire to *Fountenay*, a place belonging to the Catholics, and there as in a secure station to stay for the Kings Armies, which were marching that way. But that intent of his was frustrated; for they that commanded *Fountenay* being ill-affected to the League, excusing themselves that they had no Order from the King to receive him into the Town, shut the Gates against him at his arrival, and he with great danger and incommodity was forced to quarter in the Suburbs called *les Loges*, receiving no other relief from the Townsmen, but a very small quantity of victual. Not many hours after the Prince came up, resolved to fight, and ready to fall upon the enemy; presently they began to skirmish furiously, the Catholics having the advantage of the place, and the Hugonots of number; but the fight having lasted till night, successfully redoubled by the Hugonots, and no lesse constantly sustained by the Catholics; and the Duke *de Mercœur* considering, that not being assured of those within the Town, he was in great danger of being defeated the next day, determined to save himself with expedition, and raising his Camp in the most silent time of the night, without giving any notice of it by Drum or Trumpet, began to march with all speed toward the *Loire*, and that with such a general diligence, that they would not allow themselves time to eat that day, marching on still in order to recover some secure place: and yet being pursued by the Prince with his Cavalry, he was fain to leave many of his Souldiers behind him, and not onely to abandon the booty they had taken, but also most part of their Carriages a prey unto the Enemy.

The Duke of *Mercœur* being chased away, as the Prince returned to those places that were of his party; he had notice that

1585

that many Catholick Gentlemen united together, and not yet advertised of the successe, were coming up to joyn with the Duke; wherefore without loosing time, or giving them leasure to be informed of it, he hastened toward them with so great speed, that being suddenly overtaken, they were not able to make much resistance, but some of them were killed upon the place, and some being taken prisoners, freed themselves afterwards with a promise not to bear arms against the Princes for a certain time. The Prince encouraged with this happy successe, purposed to assault the Isles and Castles neer Rochel, to reduce all that quarter to his devotion, and have more field room to sustain the War; wherein he had so prosperous a fortune, that having every where routed those (with great slaughter) that came to oppose him, seising upon all the Forts that were neer, and taking all the passes thereabouts, he was so much increased in courage, that he resolved to besiege *Brouage*, wherein was the *Sieur de St. Luc*, one of the League, (with no contemptible number of Infantry) and some other Gentlemen of the Country. The Rochellers consented to this Enterprize, both for the profit, and reputation which redounded by it; and having sent a great many Ships thither, besieged the Fortresse by Sea, whilst the Prince having possessed that passage which is the onely way to *Brouages* by land, and having shut up the Defendants within the circuit of their walls, streightned the Siege very closely on that side.

The Castle of
Angiers taken
suddenly by
the Hugonots.

But whilst fixing his minde wholly upon that business he neglects no opportunity of blocking and incommodating the Town, & a new accident happened that invited him to a more important deliberation: for the *Sieur de la Roche-morte*, Captain *du Halot*, and Captain *le Fresne*, secret Adherents to the King of *Navar*, and enemies to the Count *de Brissac* Governour of *Angiers*, having found means to enter as friends into the Castle of that City, one of the strongest and chiefest Fortresses in all *France*; suddenly killed the Governour of it with those few souldiers that were there in Garison, and seised upon it without much difficulty; but whilst they sought also to make the Town revolt, they were besieged by the people, who taking arms, had with trenches cut off the passage to the Castle; and they beginning to write to all parts, demanded present relief from the Prince of *Conde*, who was much neerer then the King of *Navar*. *Angiers* is a City on

this side the *Loire*, seated in a sweet, fertile, plentiful Country very well peopled, famous for the study of the Law, and commodiously situated to fall into all the Provinces of *Gallia Celtica*, which invirons it on every side with a large spacious compasse: wherefore the Prince accounting it a very great and an opportune occasion which offered it self unto him, not onely to take so principal a City, but also to remove the War beyond the River *Loire* (a thing alwaies desired, and thought very advantageous for the Hugonots) applied his minde to carry such speedy relief, that he might seise upon the Town by the help and inlet of the Castle, before it were streightned and shut up by the Catholicks. Indeed this was a very great and hopeful designe, but opposed with no lesse difficulties; for to go over so broad a River without having any passe in his hands that could be maintained, to enter into the heart of those Provinces which held (without division) of the Catholick party, and put himself between two powerful Armies, which marched into those parts to meet him, considering his Forces, seemed rather a rash, then a generous attempt; and to quit the Siege of *Bronage*, which was reduced to an hard condition, and almost to a certainty of being taken, to venture upon so doubtful, so hazzardous an enterprize (for in the Castle of *Angiers* there were not above sixteen Souldiers, besides the Captains, and it was doubted whether they could hold out till relief came) seemed an unprofitable, dangerous resolution. Yet the Prince's minde inclined to hope for the revolt of *Angiers*, and it being of so great consequence, that more uncertain, more perillous hazards were not to be refused for the gaining of it, he resolved to follow the course of his fortune, the prosperity whereof did with wonderful beginnings in a manner assure him of a most happy conclusion: Wherefore leaving Monsieur *de St. Mesmes* with the Infantry and Artillery at the Siege of *Bronage*, and giving order that the Fleet should continue to block it up by Sea, he departed upon the eighth of *October* to relieve the Castle of *Angiers* with 800 Gentlemen, and 1400 Harquebuziers on Horseback. Nor was this enterprize (esteemed so rash by Souldiers of great experience) lesse prosperous in the beginning then his other actions; for though he neither had any *Passe* that held of his party, nor boats ready to crosse the River, he got over neverthelesse happily, and without much difficulty at
Rosiers,

1585

Rosiers, having found certain Boats there, which (laden with Wines) were rowing along the River, and accidentally came to that side of the Bank: Having passed the River, they found the *Sieur de Clermont* with about seven hundred Horse, who having gone before into the Countrey of *Maine* and the parts adjacent, to draw their friends together, being afterward informed of the businesse of *Angiers*, was come with great expedition to unite himself with the Prince for the same design; or missing of him there, to passe the River, and joyn with him at the siege which was laid before *Brouage*. Their Forces being met with exceeding gladnesse, and the *Sieur de S. Gelais* marching before with two Troops of Horse, to discover the Country, and provide victual for the Army, upon the twentieth of *October* they quartered at *Beaufort* a place not far from *Angiers*, where they intended to rest themselves the day following, that they might come more fresh to the attempt of so great an enterprize.

The Castle of *Angiers* is recovered by the Catholicks before it is relieved.

But the Castle was recovered by the Catholicks two dayes before; for the Townsmen having at first taken Captain *du Halet* prisoner, who was gone out to parley, and to perswade them to turn unto his party, and having the next day killed Captain *le Fresne*, whilst he treated at the Bridge of the Castle with certain Deputies about the present affaires, had generally set themselves to besiege the place; where on the one side, the Count *de Brissac* Governour of the City being arrived; and on the other, *Henry de Joyeuse*, Count *de Bonchase* Governour of the Province; and not many days after the Duke of *Joyeuse* himself, who came up with some number of Gentlemen to assist his brother; and Monsieur *de la Roche-morte* being at last slain with two shots, whereof one took off his tongue, and the other went through his throat; the sixteen souldiers being left without a Captain to command them, and not agreeing very well among themselves, some of them being Catholicks, and some Hugonots, had in the end capitulated to yield upon certain conditions, wherewith upon the 18 of *October* being Sunday, they delivered up the Castle into the power of the Governour.

But the Prince of *Conde* believing that the Castle held still for his party, having divided his forces into divers Squadrons, on the 21 in the morning about break of day, advanced towards *Angiers*, not by the great road which leadeth straight to

to the gate of the Town; but by that way on the field side, which led to the Trenches made by the Catholikes to besiege the Castle. Those of the Citie having notice from all parts of the Princes coming, and finding themselves already Masters of the Fortresse, retired into the Suburbs of the Town, and there with Trenches, and Barricadoes, stood upon their Defence, to receive the assault of the Hugonots with more security. At their first arrival it was easily known that the Castle held no longer of the Princes party; for instead of shewing signs of joy for the coming of that relief, which they had called for, they played with their Artillery very fiercely against the first Troops of the Army, who under the *Sieur de St. Gelais* were come within Canon shot, by which token though the Commanders knew that the Castle was already yeelded, yet in the heat of their first fury they sel most gallantly into the neere suburbs of the Town, and fought stoutly for many houres, not without much blood on both sides. This was one of the accustomed effects of a first onset; but their spirits cooling, and the Prince, with the other Lords and Captains, knowing that to perish obstinately in that skirmish, was but to lose men, time, and their labour; and that it was necessary to take another resolution, they sounded a retreat, the Sun not being yet neer setting, and marched off to rest their Souldiers in a village hard by. There the consideration of their present condition, changing their late gallantrie into a great and reasonable fear, they began to think what was then to be done for the safetie of every one; wherein those difficulties appearing impossible to be overcome, which the hope and desire of getting the Citie of *Angiers*, had at first made to seem very light and easie, and not having any time to spare, lest they should give the Catholikes leasure to fall upon them, they drew away without any determinate resolution, and as it were leaving themselves to fortune, began to march toward the *River Loire*, which they were necessitated to passe, if they would save themselves. But all the Countrie already beginning to rise at the ringing of the *Toquesaint*, and being informed that the people had with great diligence taken away the boats everie where from the River side; that *Monsieur de la Chastre* marched along the bank to meet them; that the Duke of *Mayenne* having passed over at *Orleans* with all the Armie, advanced towards them with all expedition; that on the o-

1585

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ther side the Marechal de Byron came up with his forces, that the Count Bon-chage who was sallied out of Angiers, drew together the gentry and common people, made trees to be cut down, spoyling the wayes every-where, and that the Duke de Joyeuse with a great power was at their backes; they were forced to take a course very contrary to their first intention, and dividing their men into three squadrons, one commanded by St Gelais, another by the Prince, and the third by the Sieur de Rohan, they thought best to deceive the Enemy, by turning from the river, and marching out of the great high-wayes, to get between the Armyes, into the most woody parts of that Province, and with a long compasse striking speedily into the higher parts of Beaufse, to passe the River suddainly in some place where the favour of fortune, and their unexpected arrival might open the way for them, and give them opportunity. In this manner, (the Commanders with exceeding care, and the Souldiers with wonderful terror) they marched all that night, and the day following; but the event shewed how hard that resolution was to be effected; for the whole Province being up round about them, they had neither leasure to rest, meanes to feed, nor way to get through those strange difficult passages, and the cry and concourse of the Country-people, and the ringing of the *Toquesaint* wheresoever they came, gave the Catholicks sufficient notice of the place where they were, and guided the Armyes directly to encompass them, just like the tracing and hunting of wilde beasts through the woods. Wherfore the Sieur de Rohan, who was neerer his own Countie then the rest, the Confines of *Bretaigne* not being far off, gave the Prince to understand, that to continue still together would be the losse of all their men, and therefore advised him to divide his Forces into many small Troops to delude the enemy, who would be called sometimes this way, sometimes that way by the tumult of the people, and by stealing secretly through the most remote hidden places, to endeavour the saving part of that whole, which being united could not possibly escape so great a danger. But the Prince standing in suspence because his courage would not suffer him to come to that resolution; the Sieur de Rohan saying that hee would not perish for anothers obstinacy and want of experience, departed from him with his men; and having divided his Souldiers and Gentlemen

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into little parties of about ten or fifteen a piece, hiding themselves, and throwing away their arms, at last (though after many dayes) with infinite trouble and danger, thorow woods, and diverse several waies, he recovered *Bretaigne*, and thence by other passages he got in the end to *Rochelle*. The Prince after he had marched with his forces in one body another day, seeing that he could resist no longer, nor keep them together, took the same course, and disbanding all his men every one to his own industry, and the protection of Heaven, he himself with the Sieurs d' *Avantigny*, *de la Tremouille*, and some eight or ten more in company, took that way by chance which fortune presented to them. This division of the Army into so many several parcels, made the Catholikes lose their way, for being called to several places, by the tumults and advertisements of the People, they could not follow the trace of the Prince and his Commanders; and it so fell out that having surrounded, and took certain small parties of private Souldiers, they could never light upon any person of note; so that the Prince crossing unknown as a Traveller through the Country of *Maine*, and being come to the uttermost parts of Lower *Normandy*, went to the Sea-side, and there finding by chance certain Ships laden with Merchandize, he embarked neer *Aurannehes*, and passed first into the Isle of *Garnsey*, and after into *England*, where being honourably received by the Queen, he was not many months after conducted to *Rochel* with certain men of War. The Sieur de *St. Gelais* being got into the Forrest of *Orleans*, and having made an uncertain intricate Voyage, coming at last neer to *Gyen*, passed the River *Loire* in little boats belonging to certain Mills, leaving his Horses to the Enemy, and having hired others, went like a Traveller to those places that were of his party. The Sieur de la *Tiffardiere*, *Aubigny*, and others had hid themselves in the houses of their friends and kindred, which some of them had in one place, some in another; many changing their clothes saved themselves on foot, many also fell into the hands of the Catholicks, and were by the Country people cruelly cut in pieces. This was the issue of the Prince of *Conde's* enterprize, wherein all his Army was dispersed and scattered without fighting, exceedingly weakning the Forces of the Hugonots in a time of so great need.

Whilst the Prince and his Souldiers ran so adverse a fortune,

1585

tune, the *Sieur de St. Mesmes*, who had been left at the Siege of *Bronage* was forced about the same time to retire with very little better successe; for the *Mareschal de Matignon* drawing neer with great strength to relieve it, he seeing himself with the Infantry alone, and they frightened and discouraged with the news of the Prince's ill-fortune, thought it the best way to retreat, and not obstinately to hazard the remainder of the Army, which was so necessary for the defence of their own places; yet the report of the Prince's defeat being spread in the Camp, was so great a terrour to every one, and that no lesse to the Commanders and Gentlemen, then to the common Souldiers, that each man purposed to provide for his own safety; so that *St. Luc* sallying out of *Bronage*, and following those that were scattered several wayes, made a great slaughter of them in many places; whereupon the Commanders despairing to rally the Army any more, got away as well as they could possibly, to secure their own strong holds. The same did *Henry de la Tour Viscount of Turenne*; for being entred very hopefully into *Limoges*, and having already struck a terrour into the people of those parts, the news of the Prince's overthrow coming to him, he judged it a safer way to retire, then alone to oppose the violence of so many Armies, which were marching into those Quarters to destroy those of his party.

But the *Sieur de Lesdiquiers* head of the Hugonots in *Dauphine*, having raised Foot and Horse, and begun a sharp War against *Monsieur de Mangiron* Lieutenant of that Province, and against *Colonel Alfonso Corso*, whereby raising all the Country (the sagacity and readinesse of the Commander supplying the inequality of Forces) the affairs of the Hugonots were brought into a very good condition: having taken many such Towns and Castles, which though not very strong, were very commodious; and with the hopes of booty drawn together a great number of old Souldiers, such as were wont to live among the troubles of War.

In the mean time the Heads of the League being augmented in hopes and courage by the Prince of *Conde's* ill successe, and the defeat of his Army, were exceeding earnest with the King to shorten the term of six months prefixed by the late Edict, for the banishment of the Hugonots; urging, that since they had declared they would resist his will by force, they were

were no longer to be suffered, but that their totall extirpation was to be endeavoured with the greatest speed that might be; which thing the King knowing to conduce but little to the end of his designs, resolved yet to satisfie them, and with a new Edict reduced the term of six months which had been granted to them, to the space of but fifteen dayes; after which time, the othe other Provinces being quiet by reason of the small number of Hugonots that were in them, they prosecuted the War as well in *Poitou* and *Guienne*, as in the Province of *Dauphine*. The other request made to the King by a great many Prelates at the suggestion of the League, took not the same effect, being to publish and observe the Decrees of the Councell of *Trent*; for not being willing to oblige or engage himself further in the League then he had already done, alledging that the demand was unseasonable, and excusing himself by the troubles that encompassed him on every side, he referred a business of so great weight to a more quiet season, wherein hee might maturely deliberate and resolve upon it.

With this face of things, all tending to the distractions of an obstinate Warr, began the year 1586, full (contrary to the common belief) of exceeding great machinations, but of very few and weak executions touching the War. The Duke of *Mayenne* in the end of the yeer before was come with his Army to *Chasteau-neuf* in the confines of *Guienne*, whither the Mareschall *de Matignon* Lieutenant of that Province was also come to consult about the finishing of the War; who being privie to the Kings intentions and designs wherewith he desired those affairs should be managed, demonstrated the terrible sharpnesse of the season, and the condition of the Country, not onely afflicted with a great dearth and want of victuall, but also with the violence of the Plague, which had already for many months been wonderfully spread in divers places: and considering that the chief Towns were so diligently mann'd and fortified by the King of *Navar*, that it was vain to attempt them in that extremity of weather, and scarcity of provisions, hee counselled to assault the lesser places, and the more open parts of the Province, to reduce those unto obedience, which not being strengthened with any principal fortification, were yet rich and fertill, and from which the Hugonots by ordinary contributions drew means sufficient to maintain

1586

maintain themselves. The D. of *Mayenne*, though for his own honour, and for the credit and strengthening of the League he desired to make himself remarkable by some eminent enterprise, yet not suffering himself to be transported by the violence of his passion, or the winde of hopes to think of impossibilities, easily concurred in the same opinion; fearing he should lose much reputation, if attempting any principall Fortresse he should not be able to carry it; whereof he was the more doubtful (besides the reasons alledged by *Matignon*) because he had but a small train of Artillery, consisting of but four pieces of Canon, and two Culverins, with a very small quantity of Ammunition: wherefore passing by *S. Jehan d'Angely* (where neverthelesse the Hugonots were in very great streights and fears, as also all other places of the like condition) they resolved with a joint consent, though for divers ends, to divide the Army between them, and to busie themselves about taking in weaker places whilest the sharpnesse of the Winter lasted; and then re-uniting their Forces, to apply themselves to that enterprize which time and opportunity should present unto them. So the Marechal being returned to *Bordeaux*, and *Metropolis* of that Province, with a part of the Army, and having commodiously, or rather dilatorily refreshed his men, and put them in order, laid siege to *Castels*, a place of small consideration, and with various successes consumed all the Winter in that expedition; in which time the Duke of *Mayenne* with the greater part of those Forces attacking the weakest places, took *Montignac*, *Beaulieu*, *Gaignac*, and other places of small importance, and which only served to keep the reputation of his Army alive. But in the budding of the Spring time, advancing to joyn their Forces together, he felt such bitter windes and extraordinary rains for many dayes that the sufferings of lying in the field all the Winter, being increased by those of the dearth of victuall, and contagion of the plague, which grew daily more rise in all those parts, the Army began to be exceedingly infected, not only all the principal Lords and Commanders being sick, but a very great number of the souldiers dying continuallie, yet all these difficulties being overcome with infinite patience, he joyned at last with *Matignon* in the beginning of April. At his coming, first *Castels*, and then *S. Bazeile* yeelded themselves, and with some difficulty the Fort of *Momsegur*, and they

they would probably have proceeded further, and perchance have begun some more important enterprise, if the diseases which annoyed the Army had not at last assailed the General: for the Duke of Mayenne being dangerously sick of a Fever, was forced to leave the Camp and retire to Bourdeaux. So the weight of all business being left to the Marechal, the expeditions of Arms went on but slowly; for the Kings intention (though secret) was, that the Clergy being wearied with the length of the War by contributions, the Nobility by toyles, and troubles, and the people by the oppressions of Souldiers and their multiplyed grievances, should all return with greater desire to ask and long for peace, which by the instigation of the Heads of the League they had caused to be broken, so that things coming about again to their former condition, the plots of his enemies might be deluded, and the way might lie open to himself for the continuation of his designs.

But the Duke of Mayenne being (though late) recovered of his sickness, and returned unto the Army, valiantly took Chastillon, a place of some moment held by the Baron de Salignac, and then Puis Normand another of no lesse importance, of which actions knowing that his Army was wonderfully weakned by many sufferings, and divers accidents, that he had but small store of ammunition, and other necessaries for the taking in of places; and (which troubled him most) that he was not furnished with money from Court to maintain his Army, so that his Souldiers were many payes behinde, he dispatched the Sieur de Sessaval to inform the King of the state of his affairs, and to demand new supplies of men, and money, foreseeing that if matters continued as they had begun, his Army (to his small reputation) would be dissolved of it self, within a few months: for the King of Navar knowing he had not strength enough to resist and keep the field, having discreetly fortified all his places, and stored them with abundance of all things, reserved onely two thousand small shot, and three hundred light Horse, with a few Gentlemen that followed his name in the Province, with which forces, expert, ready, quick upon all occasions, and not troubled with Artillery, or Carriages, he ran up and down with great expedition, now this way, now that, providing all things necessarie, relieving places that were in distresse, and never

1586

never suffering the enemy to have any opportunity to fight with him; for by his skilfulnesse in the wayes, and by the unwearied patience of his Souldiers, he appeared, and vanished like lightning, being far off in the morning from those parts where he had been seen the night before; by which Conduct and speed that was almost incredible, he made War against a great Army, though languishing by continual sicknesse that distressed the Camp; and having to do with a Commander, who, grave and wary in his resolutions, proceeded alwaies with very great deliberation, he opportunely furnished and relieved the chiefest places, surprised many scattering Troops of the Army, cut off their passages of their victuals, and kept the Army in continual motion, and very great suspicion; whereby the Duke of Mayenne perceived that his Forces continually wasting and decaying, and wanting money and ammunition, if he were not speedily succoured with fresh men, and other necessities, he should come off with dishonour from that war, wherein never seeing the face of the enemy, he should be faine to consume his Armie in assaulting, not the weakest places, for they were all taken already; but strong Towns excellently fortified and provided with all things, which though he should take at last, yet would it be with the lessening and destroying of his own Forces, and that afterwards he should be exposed to the King of Navarre's valour and celerity, wherewith he (though invincibly armed with a thousand difficulties) knew very well how to lay hold of his opportunities.

While the War is managed in this manner, the Prince of Conde having got together a good Body of men in the quarters about Rochel, had taken and sacked the Castle of Dompierre, made himself Master of Sombrie and Mornac, and kept in awe the whole Country; for the quieting whereof the Sieur de St. Luc being issued out of Brionne with a like number, they met neer the Isle of Oleron, where they fought with various successe a whole day, though with some interruptions, and with almost equal losse on both sides; for though the Catholicks lost the Regiment of Colonel Turcelin with about 500 Fire-locks; yet on the Hugonots side almost all the Lords and chief Commanders were killed or wounded, particularly Rienz and Snilly (the Sons of Ardelot already deceased) who died both within a while after; nor was it long before they were followed by Guy de Laval their

their elder Brother, who in the flower of his age, wasted by continual toyl and action, died of a burning feaver about that very time, as also Monsieur de Rohan, who died at Rochel of the same disease.

Yet did not the heat and troubles of the War take off the Prince of Conde from other thoughts: for being desirous by a particular bond to tie and engage the Duke de la Tremouille to himself, who was newly come over to his party; and besides that, to make some additions to his own fortune, and it may be also desirous of issue, he about that time took to Wife Charlotte Catherine the Dukes sister, who with her excellent Beauty had also a considerable Dowry, as being a sharer in the inheritance of the ancient and once most flourishing House of la Tremouille. But neither the pleasures of Marriage, nor the delights of his new wife did at all slacken the Prince's warlike fierceness, who full of courage, and a despiser of the most evident dangers, did valiantly embrace all occasions of fighting, nor would at all yeeld to the violence of his Enemies, notwithstanding the tenderness of his own Forces.

In this condition were the affairs of War when the Marschal de Byron arrived in Xaintonge with another Army, who desiring to do some exploit, not so much to damnifie the Hugonots, as out of an emulation to the Duke of Mayenne, resolved to lay siege to Maran, a place very convenient to block up Rochel by land, and to cut off the Traffick and Commerce of the Inhabitants with the Isles and Cities adjacent, for which the Rochellers and all the Hugonot party were very much perplexed: wherefore the King of Navar seeing the Forces of the Duke of Mayenne's Army weakned, and the sharpness of their first fury abated, left the Viscount of Turenne in Guienne, to follow the War in the same manner as he had done, and went suddenly with 300 Horse to Rochel, doubting that the Prince's too much boldness might run into some great error in those parts; for being a prudent Judge of his own strength he resolved with himself, and had given absolute Order to his Commanders, that managing their affairs with wisdom and celerity, and possessing themselves alwayes of secure advantageous places, they should spin the War out in length, and not give their enemies any new occasion of prosperity; which not futing well with the Prince's nature, who since the death of Monsieur de Rohan, remained sole Head

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in *Xaintonge*, the King of *Navar* intended by his presence to establish that resolution, and to order the Government and managery of the War himself. But being come to *Rochel*, and finding the Citizens there in great confusion by reason of the *Mareschal de Byron's* design of besieging *Maran*, he stayed no longer then while he was informed of the present state of things, but knowing his arrival to be very opportune, because the *Rochellers* durst not lessen their Garison to strengthen that of *Maran*, he went personally thither, and the same day having considered the situation of it on every side, he began without delay to make Trenches, and to raise redoubts and batteries for the defence of it, and that with so much diligence, that assisting in the work unweariedly his own self, not in the space of many dayes, but hours, he brought it to perfection.

Maran is a great Town, and of great importance, seated by the Ocean Sea, in a low fenney place, as it were in a *Peninsula*, and so encompassed on every side with Moorish watry grounds, that there is no access to the works thereof but by very few, and those narrow passages. These the King of *Navar* made to be shut up with Trenches, raising a Fort at the end of every *Avenue*, which full of small Artillery, and defended by a competent number of Musketiers, might hinder the Enemies approaches, having in the rest of the fenne that was not very deep, caused many planks to be sunk, which stuck full of great nails, and other instruments proper to do mischief, might do harm to those that should have the boldnesse to enter and pass over to the dry land.

Maran besieged
by the Catho-
licks.

On the other side, the *Mareschal de Byron* having drawn his Forces together, and made a review of them at *Niort*, about the midst of *June* marched towards *Maran*, where having by their Sallyes proved the courage of the Defenders, who trusting to the advantage of their Situation, issued out boldly to skirmish, and fell so hotly upon his first Squadrons, that he himself was engaged in the action, whence he came off lightly wounded in the left hand; he took a resolution to proceed warily in the businesse, and raising certain Forts against those of the Defendants, as the quality of the ground required; all his hopes of gaining that place were reduced only to the length of the Siege.

In the mean time the Court was busied in setting forth

new Armies; and making new warlike preparations; for the King not willing to suffer that the increase of strength, reputation and adherents, should redound unto the Lords of the House of Lorain, and the followers of their League; was resolved to put other Armies into the hands of his trusty Favourites, and to keep up their reputation with new Expeditions, and new Governments of Provinces; which he knew would succeed to his own greatness and advantage against the power of the Lords of Guise. By this advice he obtained also another end, which was to tyre out the Catholic party by the maintenance of so many several Armies, and bring them all again to intercede for peace; which was so necessary for the effecting of his designs. Wherefore besides a million and two hundred thousand Crowns which he had gotten by Tithes from the Clergie, he urged at Rome for licence to alienate one hundred thousand Crowns *per annum* of Church Revenues; and the people oppressed in so many places, and almost in every Province by the insolence of Soldiers, though they were far from the places possessed by the Hugonots, felt nevertheless the calamities and miseries of War. Two several Armies were making ready, one under the Duke of Joyeuse, to go into Auvergne, and thence into Languedoc to recover places which the Hugonots held in those parts; the other under the Duke of Espernon, to go into Provence, and take possession of that Country, which the King since the death of the Grand Prior had conferred upon him. The preparations of these Armies to the disadvantage and open displeasure of the Guises, kept all the Nobility and Martial men of the Kingdome in employment; for every one desiring to gain the favour and protection of the Kings Minions, who in the disposing of gifts and honours carryed all things at their own pleasure, ran all voluntarily to their Colours, and with great trains and costly preparations of warlike ornaments endeavoured to win the affections, some of the one, some of the other of these Lords, who through the Kings secret instigations, were intent to draw all men by their liberality and ostentation of rewards, to follow the course of their fortunes; so that not onely such as were Neuters came from all parts to serve them; but also such as had been resolved to follow the Duke of Mayenne, and the other Heads in the War of Guise, leaving their first intentions, determined to follow the

1586

fortune of those that had most power. To this was added, that the King to moderate by his presence, and with his own counsels the Warres managed by his Favourites, and to augment their reputation, was resolved to go to Lyons, both Armies being to march the same way, so that by the moving of his own person he drew after him great numbers of men of eminent quality, and the expences were still increased without end. Whereby with new impositions, with erecting new Magistrates, with inventions of new Taxes, and with the disposing of new Offices, the people was every where wonderfully burthened and oppressed; the King being still constant to his own opinion, that by how much the greater, were the miseries and oppressions of Warre, by so much the sooner would they extort an universal consent to the necessity of Peace, and make the authors of those discords odious and detestable, rendring disfavoured unto all the formerly so much favoured endeavours of the League; wherein his inclination agreeing with the splendor and subtilty of his design, it was impossible by any reasons in the world to alter that determination.

But whilst the King is infinite busie, and the Courtiers most ardently studious in ordering these affairs, a most powerful army was preparing in Germany for the relief of the Hugonots; for the King of Navar having long foreseen, that the King would easily be brought to an agreement with the League to his disadvantage, and having learned by former experience that all the hopes of his party, consisting in the aid of the Germans, which the union of the Protestant Princes was wont to afford unto the Hugonots, had sent the *Sieur de Pardaillan* thither (a wise man, and by long travel versed in their several customes) who treating confidently, and particularly with every Prince, and every *Hanftowne*, might shew them the danger of their common Religion, aggravate the hatred of the *Guises* to the Protestant party, and exhort them to continue the assistance formerly lent unto the Hugonots against the persecutions of their Enemies; which businesse being excellently managed by *Pardaillan*, had not only stirred up the mindes of those Princes in favour of the Hugonots, but had also much raised the hopes of the King of Navar, so that having turned his thoughts that way, at the beginning of the Warre, he had dispatched the *Sieur de Clermont* into

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Germany, to ripen the fruits of that seed, which had before
 been opportunely sown by *Pardaillon*. And because both
 the Princes and people of those parts (very great honourers of
 that Religion, which they hold to be the true one, and also of
 an easie minde, and flexible nature to the urgency of entrea-
 ties, and efficacy of reasons) might more easily be moved to
 consent unto it; *Theodore Beza* a most elequent Preacher of
 the Hugonots, went to the same effect from *Geneva*, into
Germany and *Swisserland*, who by his authority and dis-
 courses stirred up every one of the chief men, to imbrace the
 enterprise in favour of those, who were of the same, or at least
 a very little different Religion. The Queen of *England* en-
 deavoured the same, not onely by countenancing it, and by
 words, but also by her actions, for keeping in prison *Mary*
 Queen of *Scotland* Cousen to the *Guises*, who was obstinat-
 ly linked to their faction, she desired that the League, and
 the House of *Lorraine*, should be utterly suppressed, or at least
 so busied in *France*, that she might have free power to dispose
 of her life, and of the affaires of *Scotland* and *England*:
 Wherefore she not onely assisted the King of *Navar* with her
 authority which was very great in *Germany*, but had also de-
 posited a good sum of money, to be laid out in raising of
 Souldiers there. To the Negotiation of *Cleuant*, to the ex-
 hortation of *Beza*; and to the money of *England*, the Duke
 of *Bonillon* added also his assistance, who holding *Sedan*, a
 very strong place, and other Towns and Castles about the
 confines of *France* and *Germany*, that were of the Hugonots
 Religion, and in their Counsels united the King of *Navar*,
 was a fit instrument for the expedition, and leavyes of the
 German Souldiers; for the *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, the Duke
 of *Wutembergh*, and the Protestant Cantons of the *Swisses*
 consenting; and the King of *Denmark* concurring; but a-
 bove all the Count *de Mombelliard* a Lord bordering upon
Bourgongne labouring in the businesse, there began to be raised
 the most powerful Army, that ever had come out of that Coun-
 try to relieve the Hugonots. But because the Princes knew
 they had no occasion at all to offend the King of *France*, and
 to enter in a hostil manner into his Country, they resolved,
 before the Army (which was preparing against the next
 spring) to send this year, for a colour, a numerous Embassy,
 to complaine in the Names of them all, of the breach of that
 Peace,

1586
 Great Forces
 are prepared in
 Germany in
 favour of the
 Hugonots.

*Mary Queen of
 Scots* Cousen
 to the *Guise*
 imprisoned by
Elizabeth Qu.
 of *England*.

1586

Peace, and violation of that Faith which had been given unto the Hugonots, with whom they were interessed and united in Religion, and to demand of the King a cessation of Armes and a confirmation of those Edicts so often granted to his Subjects for the liberty of conscience: foreseeing well that if the King consented to their demands, the Hugonots would be relieved without further noise of Armes, and if he should persist, and deny them, they might thereby make a faire pretence for the Warr, and take an occasion, not altogether unreasonable, to raise those forces they intended.

This determination of the Germans did very much disquiet the King of France, being not onely displeased that others should presume to meddle with the affairs of his Kingdome, but also terrified with the fear of forain forces; who with perillous Commotions used to destroy Provinces, ruine the people, disturbe all things both divine and Humane, and to put the state of the Crown into extreme danger. But as a Prince accustomed to govern himself by the subtilty of his wit, to whom (though oftentimes very unsuccessfully) probable appearances of cunning inventions, did alwayes represent themselves; he began to think with himself, that from that evill he might draw another good, and might use the coming of the Germans for the speedy execution of his designs: for seeing the King of Navar reduced to such a weakness, that though he made feareless resistance, he was yet brought to the last extremity of his fortune; and being himself every day more out of hope to have issue, since by a continued incurable *Gonorrhea*, and by infinite other proofs he knew himself unable to get children, he thought it best to unite himself by all means, streightly and sincerely with the King of Navar, as the lawful Successor of the Crown, to draw him to the Court neer unto his own Person, to make him partaker in matter of Government, and by his means to make use of that forreign Army, for the utter suppression of the *Guises* and the factions of the League, which being unexpectedly overwhelmed between his Forces and the approaching storme of the German Souldiers, could not possibly be able to make resistance, but would presently be quite extinguished and dissipated. Two things amongst the rest were principal hindrances of this intention; one, the King of Navar's Religion, being resolved (for the satisfaction of his own conscience, and

Hen the Third
despairing of
issue, resolves
to further the
King of Na-
var's right to
the Crown, and
to unite him-
self with him
for the destru-
ction of the
Guises.

to avoid the scandal that would arise from thence) not to reconcile himself unto him, unless he would first return into the bosome of the Church; the other was that of his Sister Queen Margaret, Wife to the King of Navar, who having given her self over to a licentious life, for fear of her Husbands anger was fled from him; but being taken by his order, and the Commission of the King her Brother, she was put as a prisoner into the Castle of Carlat in Auvergne, and from thence a while after removed to Usson in the same Province, under the custody of the Marquess de Canillac, who (as it was reported) being become captive to his Prisoner, had set her at liberty; so she passing her time in certain houses of her own (yet in Auvergne) & continuing the same manner of life, was a very great obstacle to those agreements which might have been concluded between her Husband and her Brother. To overcome these important difficulties, having imparted his design to the Queen his mother, who was wont to ripen businesses of greatest consequence, and to find out remedies for all the hardest impediments, they determined at last, that the person of the Lady Margaret was no more to be regarded, and that having made her self unworthy to be acknowledged by them either for a Sister or a Daughter since the dispensation obtained from the Pope at the time of their marriage being defective, did afford a colour and pretence for the breaking of it) they would make a divorce; and give *Christienne* (Daughter to the Duke of Loraine by *Claudia* the Kings Sister) to wife to the King of Navar, who of a very pleasing behaviour, and of an age already marriageable, was brought up in the degree and quality of a Daughter by the Queen-Mother: and as for the King of Navars Religion, they resolved to endeavour by urging the great good that would result from it, and by so important benefit as the assuring himself of the succession of the Crown of France (which was brought in question) to soften and bend his minde to turn Catholick, giving him such securities and satisfactions which should be thought most fit to settle and confirm him. But because all others were either suspected, or unable to manage a business of so great difficulty and importance, the King intreated the Queen his Mother that she would take the pains to go into *Perigou* and *Xaintonge* to confer with the King of Navar, making her self for the present, as she had even been

By reason of the licentious life of Margaret wife to the King of Navar the K. and Q. Mother resolve to break the Match, and to give Christienne the daughter of the Duke of Lorain, who after married *Ferdinando de Medici* great Duke of Tuscany.

1586

in times past, the Author and mediatrix of the good and quiet of the Kingdom.

An accommo-
dation treated
with the Hu-
gonots by the
Queen-Mo-
ther, and much
disliked by
those of the
League.

The Queen takes upon her the charge of this business, though much burthened with years, and exceedingly torment-
ed with the Gout; and therefore the Abbot Guievan-Baptista
Guadagni was dispatched to the Mareschal de Byron, to give
order for a cessation of Arms on that side, and to appoint a
meeting between the Queen and the King of Navar. The
Mareschal following the instinct of his old inclination, and
being neer the King of Navar at the siege which he had newly
laid to Maran, obeyed the Kings command without delay,
and they came to this agreement, That Maran should stand
neuter, and that both parts should have free commerce thither;
yet that the Governour should be put in by the King of Na-
var, and that the Garison should equally protect the Catholicks
as well as the Hugonots; that the Mareschal should with-
draw his Forces beyond the Charente (a River in those parts)
and that the King of Navar, after having furnished all things
necessary for Rochel, should go to meet the Queen-Mother
in Poictou.

This Treaty did much displease the Guises and all those
that adhered sincerely to the League; so that on the one side,
the Pope's Nuncio made grievous complaint thereof unto the
King himself; and on the other side, the Duke of Guise, who
was at his Government in Champagne, made it be spoken of
to the Queen-Mother by his agents, and the people of Paris
began commonly to murmur, that the cause of Religion was
betrayed, that the Hugonots were openly favoured, that the
course of the War was interrupted, which was like to come
presently to an happy conclusion, that the King shew'd openly
that his minde was averse to the Catholick party, and that
he desired by all means to cherish and maintain heresie: for
though the Kings design and intention was yet unknown to
every one, the very name of Peace had wrought a jealousy
in the quick apprehension of the Duke of Guise, and gave
occasion of talk to the common people. The King answered
the Nuncio resentingly, that the backwardness which the
Clergy shewed in submitting themselves to the vast expenses
of the War, and the difficulty which the Pope had made in
granting licence to alienate the hundred thousand Crowns per
annum of the Church Revenue, had made him incline to the

Cour-

counsels of Peace; and that he thought he neither did any thing against his conscience, nor against the Office of a Christian Prince, if he laboured to restore peace and tranquillity to the people of his Kingdom, already wasted and undone by the calamities of War: That it was a fine thing to stand afar off and intermeddle in the Government of others with words and Paper-expeditions; but that a good Father of the Family ought to have more regard to the evident good of his own house, then to any discourses of strangers. Yet the Nuncio having replied, that the true way to give his Kingdom Peace, was to extirpate the very roots of Heresie, that the safety of the soul was to be preferred before temporal respects; that the last end and aim of the War begun with the Hugonots, was quietnesse and tranquillity, which, by reason of the weaknesse of the excommunicate Princes, was not very hard to be compassed by perseverance; that the Prelates of France had never withdrawn themselves from the equal burden of expences, nor would they at all refuse it for the time to come; and finally, that he had certain hopes from Rome of the grant of that license which his Majesty desired: the King moderating his discourse, began to shew him the great danger and evil consequences which the inundation of Forreigners that was preparing, would bring along with it; for the diverting whereof, it was necessary to feign and dissemble many things; and that he should assure the Pope he would never conclude any thing which could prejudice the Catholik Religion, or the good and honour of the holy Church.

The same things in substance were urged to the Duke of Guise from the Queen-Mother: but he more particularly was moved to consider, that this being done to hinder, and by delay to divert the coming of the Germans, did all redound to the particular service of the League, and his own private benefit: for he that was placed in the confines of the Kingdom on that side by which they thought to enter, was more liable then any other to the danger of their incursions: That he knew the weaknesse of the King's Forces, the want of Money, and on the contrary, the great strength of the Army which was raising in Germany; and therefore it was necessary he should suffer the counsels that were begun to be managed with dexterity, which did all result at last unto the same end.

It was needful by means of their Confidants to instill the

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same

1586 same things into the people of *Paris*, which already began unbridledly to mutiny: and it was necessary to affirm them with so much efficacy, that being gathered up in divers places by those that favoured the Hugonots, (which secretly were many) and told unto the King of *Navar*, filled his minde with great jealousie and suspicion, to the exceeding prejudice of the Treaty undertaken by the Queen, who being gone to *Chinon-ceaux*, a place of pleasure built by *Madame Valentine*, and at that time in her possession, expected till the Abbot *Guadagni* and the *Sieur de Rambouillet*, who were gone to treat about it, had appointed the place of interview between her and the King of *Navar*, about which there arose many difficulties, by reason of the deep suspicion he was fallen into that they sought to deceive him; whereupon he refused to go beyond those places which were held by his party, and without being accompanied by such Forces as were needfull for the Guard and security of his own person. On the other side, it was very unfit and very unsafe for the Queen to put her self into the power and Forces of the Hugonots; and the businesse was such as could not in a few hours be treated and resolved on in the Field. But the King's Letters and Messages were so frequent, and his desire was so great to have that Interview brought about, that though the King of *Navar*, being raised by the neer approach of the German Ambassadors, and by the hope of forreign Forces, either cared little for that Meeting with the Queen, or would make it with his own perfect security and entire reputation, and therefore would not consent to go out of the confines of the Country possessed by him; yet she at last resolved to satisfie him, and to go into the farthest parts of *Poitou*, bordering upon *Xaintonge*; and having caused the *Mareschal de Byron's* Army to draw backward, she agreed to come as far as *St. Bris*, a place very neer the King of *Navar's* Garisons, and encompassed with the Forces of the Hugonots.

In the mean time the King, to give leasure to this Meeting, and to defer the Audience of the German Ambassadors till he knew the issue of that Treaty, began his journey towards *Lions*, as he had appointed, leaving order that the Ambassadors should be received and entertained with great Honours and Feastings till his return to *Paris*.

The Dukes of *Espernon* and *Joyeuse* began to move with their Forces at the same time, upon occasion of the King's departure;

parture; yet they marched divers ways, and with divers intentions: For the Duke of *Espernon* neerly united to the King's designs, distrustful of the League, an enemy to the *Guises*, and inclined to favour and uphold the King of *Navar*, proceeded in *Provence* with a desire to reunite it, and reduce it wholly to his obedience, but neither to foment the designs of the League, nor to persecute the party of the Hugonots. But the Duke of *Joyeuse* transported with hopes, and spurred on by the emulation of *Espernon*, had partly forgot the interests of the King, the author of his greatnesse, and onely root of his so sudden growth, and being allied unto the House of *Lo- rain* by his marriage with the King's sister-in-law, began partly to second the counsels of the *Guises*; and desirous of glory, was ready to employ his Arms vigorously against the Hugonots: for which cause, being departed from the Baths in *Bourbonois*, (where he had stayed a few days, to cure some indisposition that troubled him) he drove the Lord of *Chastillon* from the siege of *Compierre*, which he had beleaguered with certain Forces drawn together in the quarters about *Langue- doc*, took *Malaises*, *la Pierre*, *Marvegoes*, and *Salvagnac*, all places of consideration in that Province; and entering *Langue- doc*, no lesse full of pride then warlike boasting, would make the greatnesse of his fortune appear distinctly to his own father, and draw his Army to a *Rendezvous* within sight of the City of *Thoulonse*, where (his father commanding as the King's Lieutenant) he had been bred up in the first yeers of his infancy. But the Duke of *Espernon* with a great Army, and Forces better ordered, accompanied by the *Sieur de la Valette* his brother, who was appointed his Lieutenant in *Provence*, entered there to make himself be received Governour by the Parliament, just at the very time when *Lefdiguieres*, being come thither from *Dauphine*, had with a great slaughter routed *Monsieur de Vins*, the chief adherent of the League in those parts, and had reduced the Catholike affairs to a hard condition. This conjuncture was not unfavourable to *Espernon*, for the followers of the League did already plot how to exclude him from the Government; and *Monsieur de Vins* had laboured to make some places refuse to accept him. But he being arrived in a time when they were yet dismayed by the defeat they had newly received, though *Lefdiguieres* was forced to retire again into *Dauphine*, yet *Vins* had neither

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strength

strength nor occasion to oppose him openly; and the Duke having taken *Seine*, commonly called *La Grande-Tour*, and many other lesser places, in a few weeks brought the whole Province under the obedience of his government; there having left his brother with the charge of the Army, he returned speedily to Court; his interests of ruling the King's *Genius*, and moderating his deliberations, not suffering him to be far from thence.

At the same time the Germane Embassie arrived at Paris, wherein besides a select number of honourable personages were the Count *de Mombelliard* and the Count of *Isenbourg* in person, Lords for the noblenesse of their blood and the quality of their power, of every high estimation, and who ardently favoured and managed the Germane Levies. These being entertained at the King's charge, and with all the highest sorts of Honours, seemed yet unsatisfied at his so far distance, and the delay which was interpoled of their negotiating with him, interpreting that to French pride and disdain, which depended upon more secret and remote occasions: so that the two Counts thinking they should take off from their own reputation by staying longer to wait for him, full of hidden anger, and of so much greater favour to the Hugonots, returned home, leaving the charge of the businesse to the other Ambassadors. The King having by redoubled messengers received the news of their departure, and the distaste which the rest shewed openly, began to return with small dayes journeys towards Paris, expecting still to hear that the Queen having overcome all difficulties, had at last conferred with the King of Navar; But all delayes being already spent, and the businesse of that interview proceeding extraordinary slowly, he was in the end necessitated to stay at *St. Germans*, and give audience to the Ambassadors, but with a countenance no lesse doubtful and uncertain then his mind was perplexed and unresolved; which yet nevertheless became presently free and resolute: for Prince *Casimir* Ambassadour having spoken in the name of all the rest with bold terms and high words, no lesse full of tacite threatenings then open contempt, the King, as a Prince of a tender sense, offended at that proud manner of proceeding with him, was kindled with so great indignation, that, contrary to his wonted custom and first design, he answered the Ambassadors of himself, with so much sharpnesse and resentment, that instantly

The Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes of Germany being come to Paris to treat in favour of the Hugonots, having spoken highly to the King, are sharply answered, and departed unsatisfied from the Court.

stantly they were wonderfully dashed, and the next day after, without other audience, with small honour, and as little satisfaction, they were dismissed. The discourse of the Ambassadors in substance contained a long complaint, That the King, to satisfy the unjust desire and perverse ambition of the Pope, and of certain Princes and communalities of his Kingdom, had broken his word with those of the Reformed Religion, and taken away that liberty of conscience which he had formerly granted and established by so many Decrees: That therefore the Princes of *Germany*, who were interested and united in the same Religion, intreated him to put an end to the War and disturbance of Arms, granting both Temporal and Spiritual peace to all his Subjects, whereby he might escape the just wrath of God due to such as break their word, and might also give them occasion to preserve their ancient friendship with the Crown; notwithstanding which, they were straightly obliged to provide for the safety of those who (without fault of theirs) being in distresse, did implore the aid of those Princes that agreed with them in the confession of the same Faith. On the other side, the King's Answer continued, That having been called and chosen by God to the just possession of his Crown, he had also authority not depending upon any body, to establish Laws, publish Decrees, grant Licenses, and make fitting Provisions, according to the qualities of times, and the need of his Subjects, and therefore might also revoke, change, alter and retract them at his pleasure, as he was best directed by his Divine Majesty: wherefore he did give the lye to whosoever went about to tax him to be a breaker of his word, if for the interest of his Subjects and good of his Kingdom he had revoked a liberty granted conditionally, and but for a time; and that as he had formerly done, so he would raige freely for the future, marvelling that any should presume to interpose and meddle in the Government of his People, and in the Authority of his Person: That this was his last resolution, neither was it needful for them to stay any longer, to hear any other particulars from him. The Ambassadors urging to have that Answer given them in writing, he angerly refused to do it; and giving order that they should be conducted to lodge at *Poissy*, went the next day after (being the ninth of *September*) to the City of *Paris*.

There

1586

There notwithstanding the resolute answer given to the Protestant Princes already divulged every where, and the progresse of the War against the Hugonots, already kindled in so many places, the mindes of the common people were more then ever enflamed against his person and proceedings, which were publicly inveighed against in Pulpits, and particularly slandered in private meetings; for it being already spread abroad by the Preachers and Heads of the League, and rooted in the minds of the Parisians, that the King favoured the King of Navar and the Hugonot party, and sought by under-hand means at the sute of his *Minions* to bring him to the succession of the Crown, and to establish them in the free profession of their Faith; the hatred conceived upon this occasion was afterwards increased by the frequency of Taxes and *Impositions*, and the continued exalting of the Duke d' *Epernon* and the other Favourites, who not only were highly suspected, but extremely hated by the greatest part of the Citizens. Wherefore, besides the suggestions of the Duke of Guise, who kept the *Sieur de Meneville* perpetually in the City for that purpose, the chief of the people being (in favour of the League) kindled of themselves to conspire both against the Actions and Person of the King, had framed a Council of such as were most interested, consisting of sixteen persons (because the chief Wards, or as they call them, the *Quarters* of the City were so many) which was to rule and moderate the progresse of that businesse, and the mindes of the common people. *La Chapelle Martel*, *Jehan le Clerc* *Sieur de Bully*, *President Nully*, and *Charles Hotman* were from the beginning as Heads and Presidents of this Council, and all ** Trades* were brought into it, by means of certain men chosen by them, one of each profession, who being admitted to this Council, made their relations and received their orders concerning whatsoever was resolved by the *Sixteen*, as well for the defence of the City, as the service of the League, and to oppose themselves against the designs of the King and his Favourites. The meetings of this Council was at first in the Colledge of *Fortet*, commonly called the ** Cradle of the League*, afterward they assembled themselves in the Covent of the Dominicans, or Jacobines; and at last, for fear of being suspected and discovered, they met not any more together in any certain determinate place; but sometimes in one private

The Parisians by the suggestions of the Heads of the League, being set against the King, frame a Council of 16 principal persons, by whom they were governed, receiving their orders and resolutions.

* Or Companies.

* *Le berceau de la Ligue.*

private house, sometimes in another, with wonderful secrecy.

1586

But nevertheless all these things were known unto the King by the relation of *Nicholas Poulain*, who (as we have said before) moved either by hope of reward, or by the sting of conscience, made the King acquainted with every particular by means of Monsieur d'O and the High-Chancellour; for as a chief instrument in the Union of the Parisians, he knew the most hidden counsels that were plotted in that congregation. But they of the League not yet finding that their practices were discovered, and being fomented and swelled with promises by the Duke of Guise, and Don Bernardino Mendoza the Spanish Lieger at Paris, their boldness passed so far, that besides having possessed the whole scope of the City, listed secretly those men that were fit to bear arms, and made great provisions to arm them; they had also begun to communicate with other principal Cities of the Kingdom to raise and unite them in the same Conspiracy, which being by inveterate use and custome grown to an unbounded liberty, they began already to think not onely of seising upon strong Towns and Fortresses, but went so far as to dare conspire against the King's own Person, that they might be able afterwards to order the affairs of the Kingdom at their pleasure, and as the League should think fit.

Nicholas Poulain discovers all the plots of the League unto the King.

It happened that this council of the League being held one day in the Jesuites Colledge, a Proposition was made by the Confederates in the name of the Spanish Ambassadour, to surprise the Town of *Boulogne*, a Fortres in Picardy seated upon the Shore of the * Ocean Sea, then under the Government of the Duke of Espernon, and in his name kept by the *Sieur de Bernay* with the authority of Governour. The Proposers alledged that the Catholick King being about to set forth a mighty Fleet to go for *England*, was content that (using his Forces in favour of that League) they should land in *France* at their first arrival, provided they might be furnished with a strong, large, and convenient Harbour, where they might securely enter; that there was no place more fit then *Boulogne*, seated in those parts which were nearest the City of Paris, placed right against *England*, hard by *Flanders* to receive supplies from thence; the Duke of Parma being there raising a very great Army to join with the Forces of the

They of the League plot to surprise *Boulogne* by the Spanish Fleet, which is revealed by *Poulain*. * The Author in many places calls that the Ocean Sea which we call the British Sea.

1586 the Fleet: They shewed that the Enterprise was not difficult for the Provost *Vetus*, a faithful instrument of the League; sending every three months to ride his circuit, and visit those parts with fifty of his * Archers, which were commonly wont to go along with him, might surprise one of the Gates of the Town at his entry, and keep it till he were relieved by the Duke of *Aumale* with the Forces of the Province, at whose coming those few Souldiers which were there in the Canon being cut off, it was most easie to make themselves Masters of the place; which being a very principal one, was greatly desired also by the Duke of *Aumale* himself, who never having been able to attain to the absolute Government of *Picardy*, tried all ways and plots, though bold and dangerous, to compass it. This attempt of *Boulogne* did very much please the Confederates, hoping that all the Spanish Forces would turn unexpectedly in favour of their designs; but it was no less hopeful to the intents of the Ambassadour *Mendoza*; considering the great benefit the Navy would receive by so important a place, and so large, so commodious an Harbour, as well in the prosecution of the Enterprise upon *England*, as if it should be employed in the affairs of *France*: wherefore the common opinion concurring to the same end, it was resolved in the Council, that the business should be attempted, and the Provost being informed thereof, who was most ready to undertake it, the fitting assignation was given to the Duke of *Aumale*, who by reason of his wonderful inclination to the affairs of the League, and his desire to make himself absolute in the Government of *Picardy*, did with as much readiness put himself in order for the design. But Lieutenant *Poulain* was no less sollicitous then they to give the King intelligence of all the business by means of the High Chancellor: so that Mounseigneur *de Bernay* being advertised, and carefully prepared, received the Provost in so dextrous a manner, that in the entry of the Gate, between the Draw-bridge and the Percullise, he was taken Prisoner with the greatest part of his men: and the Duke of *Aumale* appearing a while after under the Walls, was by the fury of the Canon-shot forced to retire.

Yet for all the failing of this Enterprise, did not the Confederates finde that their secret Consultations were laid open to the Kings knowledge; but ascribing the succesless event of that

* Attendants, or guard; so called because in old time they went with bowes and arrows.

that attempt to chance, and to the wonted diligence of the 1586
Sieur de Bernay; they continued their accustomed inclinati-
 ons with so much ardour, that they consulted of taking the
 King himself returning with a slender Guard, (as he was wont
 to do) from the *Boys de Vincennes*, whither he retiring himself
 from time to time to the exercise of his devotions, (or as his
 detractors said, of his debauches) at his return entred by the
Porte S. Antoine, the farthest part of all the City from the
Louvre, where his Guards were, and about which the Court
 was lodged. But they themselves had not courage to prose-
 cute that attempt, not having any Head of the Confederate
 Princes there present, and the King having notice of it by the
 same means, began to take better heed to himself, and to go
 with more caution thorow the Citie and the places about it,
 causing himself alwaies to be attended by the Captains of his
 Guards, and by a good number of his most trusty Gentlemen,
 not suffering the five and forty appointed for that service par-
 ticularly, to stir far from his Person. He was oftentimes think-
 ing to chastise their temerity, and to revenge himself as well
 of the contempt which the Preachers shewed, speaking pub-
 licly against him, as of the conspiracies of those stirrers up
 of the people, which had caused the greatest and most im-
 portant City of his Kingdom to revolt against him; but ma-
 ny things withheld him from it; the Treaty begun with the
 King of *Navar*, the end whereof he desired to see before he
 gave any new disturbance to the League; the neer coming in
 of the foreign Army, to oppose the violence whereof, if he
 should not agree with the King of *Navar*, he was necessitated
 to make use of the Forces of the League, and keep united with
 the Lords of the House of *Lorain*; much lesse was that a fit con-
 juncture to break out into open war with them by punishing
 the Parisians, the so numerous Forces of such a populous City
 alone requiring many preparations to subdue them, and the ab-
 sence of the Queen his Mother, without whose advice he was not
 wont to take any resolutions of such consequence as concern-
 ed the whole sum of his affairs. To these weighty respects,
 and the unsittesse of the time, was added the Office also of
 Monsieur de *Villequier*, who being Governour of *Paris*, either
 out of a certain propension which men have to defend and ex-
 cuse those that are under their command, or out of a belief
 that they conspired not immediately against the King, but

They of the
 League consult
 about taking
 the King as he
 returned from
 hunting.

1586 only for the good of the Catholike party, and against the Duke d'Espernon, or else disdaining that in his Government others should know more of the secret affairs of that people then he himself, and should in a manner tax him of negligence, laboured to make them appear lyers, and satisfied the King by assuring him that the people did not bear him ill will, and that they plotted not any thing at all against him, and finally endeavoured by several means to perswade him to dissemble and bear with some indiscretions of the people who were jealous of their Religion. In which opinion Secretary *Villeroy* did also often concur; being intent by all wayes possible to hinder the further greatnesse of *Espernon*.

Thus the King by dissembling increased the popular boldnesse and temerity; so that the Duke of *Mayenne* being about this time returned to *Paris*, (who seeing his Army destroyed by toil and sicknesse in *Guienne*, and not having been able to obtain from the King either recruits of men or supplies of money, was come personally to Court after the taking of *Chastillon*) the Heads of the Parisians were ready to make their addresses to him, aspiring to bring their designs about under the protection and conduct of his authority. *Hon-man*, *Bussy*, *la Chapelle Mortel*, President *Nully*, *Prevost* the Curate of *S. Severine*, and the Preacher *Vincestre*, went secretly by night unto him, and made him acquainted with their Forces,

The Design of taking the Bastille, Arsenal, Paris and the Louvre, and to cut in pieces the Minions and the King's adherents, and to take the King himself prisoner, revealed, and not effected.

the union of the people, the Arms already gathered, and with the intention they had, not only to reduce the City under the power of the League, but also to seize upon the King's Person, and put his Favourites to death, who gave him such wicked counsel in favour of the Hugonots. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who because he had ever been of a contrary opinion to his Brothers, was not fully informed of these particular practices managed by the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal, and who by nature was averse from too bold precipitate counsels, stood a while in doubt, and took time to resolve till the night following: which being come, and the same Deputies of the Union being come unto him, he desired them to inform him more distinctly of their intentions, of their Forces, and of the Plots to which they trusted, being not disposed to undertake any thing which was not sure to be effected. The Deputies presently did so, and related to him, That first of all they meant to make themselves masters of all the chief places of the City, and that they

they had laid the Design in this manner : That to get the *Bastille*, they would go by night to the house of the *Chevalier du*
**Guet*, who dwelt in *St. Catherine's* a very remote place, and
 by one of the Archers which are wont to wait upon him, who
 was privie to the plot, cause him to be told that the King asked
 for him ; at which he opening his house to go out, an hundred
 armed men should enter, and having taken him, should force
 him to open the gate of the *Bastille* : That at the same time
 certain Archers and Serjeants with whom they had agreed,
 should cause the **Chastelet* to be opened, under pretence of
 bringing certain prisoners thither, as it often happened, and
 rushing in, armed men should make themselves Masters of it :
 That the gate of the **Arcenal* where there was no Guard,
 should be opened unto them by the two Founders of Ord-
 nance, whom they had dealt withal, and who dwelling within
 there, had promised to open it when they pleased : Which
 things being performed, they would presently run to the hou-
 ses of the High Chancellour, of the first President of the Par-
 liament, of *La Guesle* the **Procureur-General*, and of the King's
 Councillors, who being taken unexpectedly in their beds,
 might easily be cut in pieces without resistance. Which things
 being done, they would barricado all the streets with barrells
 full of earth and dirt, and with Chains, Bars, and other things,
 to the end that none might be able to relieve the City, or draw
 men in Arms together, every Ward standing upon the defence
 of their own quarter ; and eight thousand armed men chosen
 amongst them all, under the command of some expert Leader,
 or of the Duke of *Mayenne* himself, if he pleased to be there,
 should beset the *Louvre*, where there being only the ordinary
 Guards, and the retinue of Courtiers, it would be easie to
 enter it by force, or constrain all those that were there to yield
 by Famine, having no provision of victuals within it : which
 being done, all the Kings *Minions* and other Counsellours
 should be cut in pieces, and the King himself put in a Mo-
 nastery, till the Princes of the League had resolved of a future
 Forme of Government : the Duke of *Mayenne* being to go
 presently with new Forces into *Guienne*, and the Catholike
 King sending in a mighty Army over the Pirenean mountains,
 to destroy the King of *Nawar* and the Hugonot party. At these
 propofals the Duke of *Mayenne*, a stayed man, was in much
 greater suspence then before, both for the cruelty of the fact,

1586

* Captain of
the ordinary
Watch of Paris

* A Court of
Justice in Paris
as Guildhall in
London, where
also many are
imprisoned.

* The Maga-
zine of Arms.

* Attorney
General.

1586

and because he thought it not secure to attempt such things upon the onely foundation of the common people, who for the most part are deceitful; and therefore answered the Deputies, That they should think better of the ordering that enterprize, and that he also would think upon it: and provide Commanders and other necessary means for the execution, if he resolved to meddle in it: And indeed, either doubtful in minde, or to have more convenience to think upon a businesse of so great consequence, he fained himself not well, and neither stirred abroad, nor admitted any to visit him.

But in the mean time *Poulain*, who knew all the businesse, was not slow in going to the High Chancellor the next morning betimes, to make him acquainted with the whole designe; but he found him going out of his lodging sooner then ordinary to counsel, wherefore seeing much company with him, he was resolved to defer the discovery till the after-noon. It happened that he being very much in debt, some Creditors of his having got leave to arrest him, lighted upon him that morning, and caused him to be led prisoner to the *Chastelet*, where seeing himself shut up, he by a private note let the High-Chancellor know of the disaster that had befallen him, and how necessary it was that he should speak with him about things of infinite importance: whereupon the Chancellor causing him to be brought bound before him, took him into his closet, pretending to examine the occasion why he was imprisoned, and there he was fully informed by him of all that had been proposed to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and of all the designs and attempts of the Parisians; but to deceive the standers by, seeming to be very angry with him, and that he would have him sell his Office to satisfy his Creditors, he sent him bound to Secretary *Villeroy*, who set down his whole relation in writing; and to cover the businesse, so that those of the *Whit* might not have the least suspicion, he with an angry countenance, and more angry words commanded him to be carried back to prison, from whence by a feigned security, which the King himself caused him to give, he was set at liberty a few dayes after. But the King being informed of the conspiracy of the Parisians (though Monsieur de *Villequier* continued to assure him, and to cry out they were but lies and inventions, *Poulain* being often rebuked and villified by him, as one who brought to despair by his own evil life, tryed by this calumny

to make his profit) commanded nevertheless that the Chevalier du Guet should remove and lodge in the Bastile; caused the founders of Ordnance to be put out of the Arcenal, and put in the Provost Papin with his Archers for a Guard; strengthened the guards at the entry of the Louvre, and drew some of the Duke of Espernon's Horse and Foot within a mile of the Town, which in time of need might be brought in by the Garden of the * Tuilleries, at a back gate opening into the fields. * The Garden of the Louvre.

They of the Union were much astonished, finding all their secrets were discovered, but they knew not upon whom to lay the fault, nor could they mistrust Poulain, because the accident of his imprisonment had excellently disguised his intelligence. But the Duke of Mayenne was much more discontented at it; who having never consented absolutely to the conspiracy of the Parisians, saw himself yet included in their error, and as it were engaged within the King's power, by whom he might very easily have been taken, had it not been for those respects which made him proceed warily, and dissemble all things to attain to the end of his designs: wherefore if he had before feigned himself sick, that he might have more conveniencie to ripen his determination; now he was necessitated to do the same for fear of being taken and put to death by the King if he should go to the Louvre. But when after the space of many days it was known that the King made no greater preparations, being satisfied with having secured himself; the Duke of Mayenne recovering courage, resolved to leave the Citie, and retire to his Government of Bourgogne; whereupon going to the Louvre, he made as if it had been necessary for him to go into the Countty by reason of his want of health, and asked the King leave; who for all his dissimulation could not forbear to say, *How now Duke? will you forsake your League?* whereat the Duke feigning not to understand him, and saying, That he knew not what his Majesty meant, departed without further delay; the King rejoicing no lesse to see him go, and leave the Parisians without a Head, and without any settled resolution; then he to be out of that danger, and to have escaped the King's forces without hazard of his life or reputation.

The Duke of Guise took it very ill, that the Parisians had revealed their designs to his Brother, as well because know-

1586

knowing himself to have a freer courage and a more subtil sprightly wit, he desired in all things to be the man that should give the first motion and beginning, and that should order the course of all enterprises; as because he knew the nature and actions of the Duke of *Mayenne* were not altogether conformable to the aims of his intents: but the Parisians excused themselves, that they suspected their counsels were already discovered; whereupon their fear lest the King should prevent them, had caused the determination of imparting it to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that they might execute the businesse without delay, having also believed, that the having recourse to one Brother more then to another was of no great importance, since one was present, and the other far off, and imployed in other affairs: Wherefore the Duke of *Guise*, not to be idle in the midst of so many businesses, and not to let his reputation grow stale and decay, had upon slight occasions begun a War voluntarily with the Duke of *Bonillon*, who possessing *Sedan* and *Jamets*, very strong and important Towns, with other lesser places upon the Confines of *Lorain* and *Champagne*, did by them keep open the passage for the German Army which came in favour of the Hugonots to enter France, wherefore the Duke of *Guise*, who desired to shut up that way by trying to drive the Duke of *Bonillon* from thence, having made a great complaint, that the Garisons placed in those Towns which were under *Sedan* (where great store of Hugonots were gathered together) did much harm to the villages joyning upon *Champagne*, he assaulted suddenly and took *Donzy*, a place in that territory very commodious to block up the principal City, as he presently would have done, if another enterprise had not diverted him.

* Master of
the Horse.]

The Governour of *Aussone*, a very principal Town in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, denied to yeeld it up to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to whom it had been particularly assigned, being encouraged by his so far distance, and his having been imployed so long with the Army in *Guienne*; and the * *Grand Esquier* Lieutenant of that Province, a man meerly depending upon the King, though he made shew of desiring to force that place, did yet cunningly defer to do so, nor could he finde the way to bring him to his due obedience: Wherefore the Duke of *Guise*, who would endure no such affronts in the Provinces held and governed by his Family, and particularly in *Bourgogne*,

Bourgogne, closely united with *Champagne*, and standing upon the Confines of the Kingdome, and jealous of his Brothers reputation, and of his own, laying aside the enterprize of *Sedan*, came suddenly into *Bourgogne* with all the Forces of the League, and without other leave from the King, unexpectedly besieged *Aussone*, which having a sufficient Garrison; the defendants shewed themselves so couragious, that in their first sally they defeated Colonel *St. Paul's* Regiment of Foot, killing six Captains and three hundred souldiers, and in the following assaults which were fiercely given unto the wall, beat back the assailants oftentimes with much losse; but being streightned by the continual battery of three and twenty Canon, the greatest part borrowed from the Duke of *Lorain*, and distressed with mines, escalodoes, and redoubled assaults, and expecting no relief from any place, because som few Foot and Horse raised in *Mombelliard*, (which State borders upon *Bourgogne*) and in *Geneva* by Monsieur *de Clerwant*, were defeated by Monsieur *de Rhosne* Camp-Master to the Duke of *Guise*, they capitulated in the end to yield themselves, and having leave from the Duke to go to *Sedan* and *Jamets*, upon the eighteenth of *August* they delivered up the place to the Duke of *Guise*, who having made the Baron *de Senesay* Governor, returned presently to the Government of *Champagne*, and from thence went to *Soissons*, where in a Diet of the principal Heads of the League, it was resolved, that the War with the Duke of *Bouillon* should be continued; wherefore as he was resolute in his determinations, and most quick in the execution, having in a few dayes put his Army in order, he attacked *Rocroy*, a place fortified after the modern way, and constantly defended by the *Sieur de Monmore*. But in that multiplicity of assaults and variety of attempts, wherein the art of the Duke of *Guise* was admirable, and his valour no lesse, the having no hope of relief constrained the Defendants to yield at last; amongst which, one called *Persevalle*, and two other Captains corrupted with money and promises by the Duke, fained to retire to *Sedan*, and *Jamets*, giving him assurance they would deliver up a gate of each of those Cities, when it should be their turn to have the guard of them; upon which hopes, though with forces inferiour to what was requisite for the besieging a place of so great moment, he quartered at *Moncon*, a Town near *Sedan*, and resolved under

Aussone a strong place in the Duchy of *Bourgogne* besieged and taken by the D. of *Guise*.

1586

under colour of streightning it, to expect the performance of those promises.

But while the Duke of Guise does these things in Champagne, the Queen-Mother (the place of interview with the King of Navar being appointed) was come to Cognac, attended by Ludovico Gonzaga Duke of Nevers (who having left the League, had put himself wholly under her protection,) by the Marechal de Retz, the Sieurs d'Abin, and de Rambouillet, by the Abbot Guadagni, Secretary Pinart, Monsieur de Lanoue, and divers other personages, who for quality and wisdom were of great esteem.

On the other side, the King of Navar was come to Jarnac, with the Viscount de Turenne, the Sieur de la Force, and Montguydon, the Baron de Salignac, and many other Lords of his party; but with so great a strength (having with him eight hundred Horse, and few lesse then two thousand Foot) as at the first notice of them, put the Queen-Mother into very great suspicion, there not wanting those who doubted, and who spread abroad a report, that she was come with an intention to take her, and carry her away by force to Rochel. But after it was known that the King of Navar was come in that manner for his own security, as one who by reason of his own weakness, and the usage he had received at other times, was in doubt of being deceived; and that the ingenuity of his nature, and the absurdity of that business had taken away all jealousies,

The interview between the Queen-mother and the King of Navar at S. Bris, wherein nothing was concluded.

they met at last upon the eighteenth of October at S. Bris, equally distant from the places whence they came, there being on the Queens part besides her ordinary Court, only the Captain of her Guard with fifty Horse; and on the King of Navar's Captain Lomalle with as many. The gates were guarded by two Companies of Foot, one of the one party, and the other of the other; and in the field the Cavalry of both sides, in two several Squadrons; the King of Navar's commanded by the Count de la Vall, and Monsieur de la Noue; and the Queen-Mother's by the Sieur de Malicorne and other Gentlemen of the Country.

Their publick discourses passed in complaints on both sides; The King lamenting that the King of Navar's obstinacy not to change his Religion, and to keep so far from Court, put the King upon a necessity of making War: and on the other side, the King of Navar complained, that while

he stood still obedient to the King's commands, and most ob- 1586
servant of the Edicts, he to satisfie the Lords of Guise, and
other enemies to quietnesse, had broke the Peace. But being
come to secret conference, the Queen laid open the conditions
which the King propounded of the divorce of Queen Marga-
ret, and of the Marriage with the Princessse of Lorain, who was
there present, and being of an age already marriageable, shewed
tokens of most noble education and discreet modesty. To this
match the Queen told him, that a Manifest should be added
to declare him first Prince of the Blood, and lawful Successor
to the Crown; and alledged, that from thence would necessa-
rily result the disuniting of the Duke of Lorain Father to the
Princessse from the League, and from the Lords of Guise,
who losing so principal a foundation, either would become
quiet of their own accord, or if they did not submit themselvs
freely to the Kings will, they might with help of the German
Army, which was upon the point of entring the Confines, be
easily ruined and supressed. That to attain so great a good,
nothing else was required from the King of Navar, but onely
his conversion to the Catholick Religion, and his return to
Court; for as concerning the Excommunication of Rome,
and the Popes Declaration of his incapacity to succeed in the
Crown, as soon as he should be a real Catholick, the persecu-
tion of the Guises being taken away, and the League destroy-
ed, the revocation of it would without difficulty be obtained;
for the facilitating whereof, the King, who at first was dis-
pleased that Fabio Mirto a Neapolitan Arch-bishop of Nazaret
had been declared Nuncio for France in the place of Girolamo
Ragazzoni Bishop of Bergamo a Venetian, and had refused to
accept of him, was since perswaded to receive him, and be-
sides, Monsieur de S. Goart Marquesse of Pisani his ordinary
Ambassadour to the Pope, he had also appointed the Duke of
Luxembourg for extraordinary Ambassadour, both men of
such worth and prudence as would easily know how to o-
vercome the greatest difficulties they should finde in that
Court.

This indeed was the best resolution and the most powerful
to destroy the Lords of Guise, and the League; to restore the
first authority, and Majestie to the Kings person, and to put
the affairs of France into a secure quietnesse; and the King of
Navar himself was of opinion that it was so, whereupon he

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took

1586 took onely two dayes time to consider of it. But it was decreed that things should go in another manner, and that not peace, and accommodation, but warr, and ruine should make way for the King of *Navars* exaltation; for on the one side his thoughts represented such a fear of being caught againe, and deceived, by the bitter memory of *S. Bartholmew's* day; and on the other so weake hopes of his succession to the Crowne, by reason of the youth of the King, and Queen, and an infinite number of accidents which might crosse it in length of time, that the shame of forsaking the *Hugonot* party, from which he acknowledged his present condition, and of having (to the scandall of his name) changed his Religion so often, condemning himselfe not only of inconstancy, but even of *Atheisme*, if it should be known that he swayed his faith to the interest of State, he resolved not to consent to the *Queens* propositions, but to see if by another way there might be any means to obtaine the same ends.

With this determination he returned to the second Conference in the same place, where after the same complaints, to conceale what was treated of between them, they came to secret discourses, wherein he shewed that the forein forces, might altogether as well be united with the Kings, and turn with him to destroy the League, and easily to suppress the house of *Lorraine*, without his being obliged to change his Religion, or come to Court: that the King in former times had plainly known the ingenuitie of his Nature, and the desire he had, not only to obey him, but also to make him to be obeyed by those stiffnecked Rebels, against whom he would imploy not only the German Army but all his own forces, friends and adherents, and his very life: that he was ready to give the King all possible assurance, and hoped that in a short time, his actions would of themselves give testimony of his faith and sincerity: that therefore it was now superfluous, to treat of changing his Religion, a thing of so great moment, and to be resolved upon with very mature deliberation, and with those circumstances of counsels, instructions, and other particulars, which might satisfie his conscience, and give just pretences to his resolutions: that it was also out of season to presse his coming to Court, where he could not secure himself he should stay without danger, till the *Guises* were utterly suppressed, whose power would never suffer his minde to rest in quiet till he saw them made

made unable to practise their wonted machinations: and with what heart, with what courage could he return to live in *Paris*, where the power of the League was so mighty, and the mindes of the people so cruel, unlesse the incendiaries and stirrers up of tumultuous conspiracies were taken out of the World? that the King therefore should take what the nature of things would permit in that present condition, and become certain (with reason) that their common enemies being the same, and the same interests pleading for them both, he would labour with that candor and that efficacy which the exigency of the matter required.

To these reasons the Queen answered, that as his conversion was easie, so neither could it want just pretences; for if the King should make a League with him while he was disobedient to the Catholick Church, and openly excommunicated, besides the infamy which his name would incur (by mingling in a conjunction not onely abhorred, and never so much as in thought consented to by any other of the most Christian Kings; but also immediately contrary to the Vow and Oath taken solemnly at his Consecration) he should moreover give colour to the complaints, and justifie the practices of the League; and which was of very great consideration, he should stir up all other Catholick Princes of the World against him. That upon their agreement would presently ensue the revolt of the City of *Paris* (already in an uproar with but seeing that they treated with him) and the rebellion of many other chief Cities, as also the alienation of all the Catholick Nobility, and the greater part of the Kingdom: that this was the way to facilitate the King of *Spain's* assistance of the League, who would presently be forced to turn those preparations into *France* which were made against *England*. That at the first newes of it the Pope, of an angry hasty nature, would run precipitately to Excommunications and Interdictions, would presently dispatch great Supplies in favour of the League, and stir up all the Italian Princes to unite themselves with him for the defence of Religion. That the Duke of *Lorraine* would not consent the marriage of his Daughter should be consummate whilest he was an alien from the Church, nor would the States endure he should be declared the lawful Successor of the Crown whilest he held the Faith of the Hugonots. In conclusion, that his perseverance was

1586 accompanied with all manner of difficulties and impediments; but his conversion did wonderfully facilitate and lay open the way to all his hopes, neither doubtful nor uncertain, but well grounded and secure.

The King of *Navar* excused himself, sometimes with the indecency of changing, sometimes with his conscience, sometimes discovering his fear of being brought into the net again; but in his excuses the perplexity of his minde, and the force of the Queen's reasons appeared; whereupon new time was taken, and another Conference appointed within two or three dayes, wherein to facilitate the businesse, the Duke of *Nevers* was admitted on the Queen's side, and the Viscount de *Turenne* on the King of *Navar*'s; but they (contrary to expectation) did rather increase the difficulties, then open the way to any resolution: for the Duke of *Nevers* desiring to shew his Eloquence and Learning as he was wont to do, wrought greater doubts in the minde of the King of *Navar*, to whom the Italian arts were suspected; and the Viscount, a man no lesse wise and cunning, then stout and valiant, though he shewed a great inclination to favour the Queen's reasons, yet the common opinion was, that for fear of being abandoned with the Duke of *Momorancy* (so they called the Mareschal d'Anville after the death of his Brother) and of losing those great hopes which he had of power and command in the Hugonot party, neither desired Peace, nor the King of *Navar*'s Conversion; and that therefore he secretly dissuaded him from it wherefore neither in this third Conference could they conclude any thing; but at the very time the King of *Navar* had warning given him to take heed of the artifices of the King and Queen, who at the same instant while they treated with him did assure the Pope's Nuncio, the Duke of *Guise*, and the people of *Paris*, that whatsoever was done was in favour of the League; and that the end would justify, that this Treaty included such a design as would at last break forth for the good of Religion; whereby his jealousie increasing, not thinking it safe to trust either the King's inconstancy, or the Queen's too much cunning, he resolved in the end to follow the fortune of the Hugonots, and not to trust the Court; neither would he come to the Conference any more himself in person, but continued to send the Viscount of *Turenne*, who treating very dexterously with the Queen, would never come to any conclusion at all.

1587

The Solemn
Oath of Henry
the Third.

With these Negotiations began the year 1587; upon the first day whereof the King celebrating the Ceremonies of the Knights of the *S' Esprit* in *Paris*, swore solemnly not to suffer any other Religion then the Roman Catholike. This Oath of his, as it was sudden and inconsiderate, so both then, and many times after, it was blamed, as absurd, and contrary to his own designs: for, to treat of an Agreement with the King of *Navar*, and vow the extirpation of the Hugonots, did immediately contradict one another. But neither they that spake of it then, nor they that looking upon things afar off, reprehended it, did so afterwards, when they knew either the King's intention, or the contents of what was secretly treated with the King of *Navar*: for *Monsieur de Rambouillet* being come post from *Poitou*, and arrived already at Court upon the 27 of *December*, with Letters from the Queen, and with a Relation of all that had passed with the King of *Navar*, whereby the King was certified that it was impossible to conclude any thing, he standing averse from changing his Religion, and proposing an Agreement without speaking any thing about matters of Faith; the King, to take away that hope from the King of *Navar*, and to make him consent to be converted; or if he would not change his minde, being resolved, or rather necessitated to joyn with the League, to oppose the German Army, made this Protestation, very opportunely, whereby he at once beat down all the complaints and calumnies of the Heads of the League, and appeased in great part (at least for a time) the mindes of the Parisians, who (as the commotions of the people are wont) varied their thoughts and inclinations with the breath of every the slightest accident; whereupon he was afterward able to stir to gather an Army, and turn against the foreign Forces, without being molested by the Parisians; though the wonted Incendiaries did not fail to strive to raise them more then once. The Kings inclination was cleerly seen in this, That when the course of affairs did necessarily force him to treat of any thing in favour of the Hugonots, he consented to it very slowly, ambiguously, and after long consideration: But, if the businesse were to favour or unite himself to the Catholike party, he concurred in that with so much readinesse and resolution, that his motion to the benefit of the Catholike Faith plainly appeared to be natural, but the other produced by necessity, and violently constrained.

And

1587

And as for the King of *Navar*, the news of the Kings Pro-
testation being speedily come unto his ear, and he complain-
ing that the proceedings were contrary to what was treated
with him; The Duke of *Nevers* answered him opportunely,
that if he call'd to minde all the late Treaties, he should not
finde that ever the King had offered to tolerate or embrace the
Hugonot Religion, but that indeed he had tried all possible
means to make him forsake it, and turn to the Catholike, in
which the King was so fully resolved to live and die, that no ac-
cident, how averse soever it might be, could ever be able to draw
him from it. However it were, this is certain, that the Queen
having by Monsieur de *Rambouillet* given the King account of
the King of *Navar*'s last resolution, received Commission at
his return to change her discourse in that Treaty, and in stead
of the propounded League between them, to try if she could
procure a Truce for some few months, to gain time to make
preparations against the Army of the Germans. But neither
did this take effect: for though the Viscount of *Turenne* came
often to the Queen, and that the Duke of *Nevers* and the Ma-
reschal de *Byron* went often to the King of *Navar*; yet they
concluded nothing but a suspension of Arms for so few dayes,
that the King did not care to ratifie it, and the King of *Navar*,
not willing to retard the coming of the Germans, broke off
the Treaty, and went away to *Roche*; as also the Queen,
with the same speed, beyond her age, or the season of the year,
returned to *Paris*; where all the late Treaties being repeated
and discussed, chiefly by the counsel of Monsieur de *Villeroy*,
was concluded necessary for the King to unite himself to the
Heads of the League betimes, and with their Forces together
to oppose the German Army, so that the King of *Navar* might
not by any means possible be able to joyn with them, since
they saw his minde could not be brought by any composition
to an agreement with the King, and that the firmnesse of his
resolution could not be broken by any largenesse of Condi-
tions: wherefore nothing remained, but to follow the old
way, trodden by so many other Kings, till some other occa-
sion should make an overture of new resolutions, and to re-
sist the violence of the Hugonot Army, that the Kingdome
might not be left a prey to the fury of Strangers, that the
Royal Majestie might not utterly be abased and made con-
temptible, and that he might not be ruined while he was
unarmed,

unarmed, and an enemy to, or at least distrustful of both the
Factions.

1587

Monfieur de Villeroy argued, that ease and want of Arms had taken away the splendor and reputation from the Kings person: That the Taxes and Impositions excessively increased, had rendered it odious; and that therefore taking Arms again himself with a mighty Army, shewing his wonted valour and greatnesse of courage, and putting an end to the calamities of War by an absolute Victory, he might recover his former Majestie, make the shadows of so many contrived powers of his Subjects vanish with the sunshine of his greatnesse, and strike fear and terroure into those who thought to force him to consent to their own wills: He shew'd that this was the true way to dissipate and frustrate the strength of the League; for that when he should once command his own Armies, the Nobility and Souldiery would much more willingly follow his Standard then the Ensignes of the Lords of *Guise*, and that every one would rather draw water from the fountain (if they might) then from the brook. He also alledged that by his Declaration in favour of the Catholikes (which his actions would shew to be sincere) he might assure himself of the Popish and Spanish Forces, since neither of them would ever dare to stir against him, when the pretence of Religion was taken away: and that it was already known how the Pope, forc'd by the truth and evidence of reason, had answered Cardinal *Pelle-ve*, urging him for assistance in favour of the League, that he knew not how to take Arms against a lawful Catholike and religious King, unless first they could make it plainly appear that he favoured the establishment of the Hugonots; and the King of *Spain* not having the courage to declare himself openly, had gathered his Forces together under pretence of making War with *England*, waiting for an opportunity to turn against him, but not otherwise then the cloke of Religion might give him occasion. Moreover, he affirmed that all other counsels were but politick subtilties and inventions, new waies, difficult knots, impossible *Chimera's*, and deceitful shadows: That this onely was the great high-way and beaten road that led to victory and repose; after which, lightning the weight of their loads and burdens, he might give breath and quiet to the common people, and get the love and affection of all his Subjects. In sum, he concluded with his wonted *Maxime*, That the King could no way more easily destroy the
League,

League, then by carrying himself plainly and sincerely, as the other Kings his glorious Predecessours had done: for by taking away the foundation of pretences and complaints, the fabrick of all those plotted designs would fall to ruine of it self.

These reasons, or rather evident necessity, made the King resolve to unite himself with the League, and to oppose the Army of the Germans; and therefore he presently dispatched *Myron* the Physician to the Duke of *Guise*, to let him know that he had endeavoured by the Queen his Mother's late Interview, to draw the businesse out in length, and to procure a suspension of Arms with the King of *Navar*, thereby to divert the entry of the Germans, and make them fall asunder by delays, as he had prosperously done so many other times, without indangering the whole sum of affairs; but having found the King of *Navar*'s propositions were very hard, and the time of the coming of the Germans still drawing on, he was resolved to oppose them by force: That he would dispatch the *Sieur de Sancy* to the Cantons of the Swisses, to make strong Levies: That he was preparing an Army commanded by the Duke of *Joyeuse*, to be sent against the King of *Navar*, to the end that being kept in play, he might not be able to passe the *Loyre*, and come to joyn with the Germans: That he would make another ready to march where need should require, but that the Germans being first to come into *Lorain*, and then into *Champagne* and *Burgongne*, Provinces governed by him and the Duke of *Mayenne* his brother, it was also necessary that they should take Arms, and calling in all their friends and dependents, should make up a Body of an Army, able to wait upon and distresse that of the Hugonots in their entry. *Myron* the Physician found the Duke of *Guise* at *Moucon* neer *Sedan*, where, with the Forces he had, by slight inconsiderable enterprises, he endeavoured to streighten that place, expecting that *Perseval* and the others that went out of *Rocroy* being corrupted by money and his promises, should give him some opportunity to surprise either *Jamets* or *Sedan* it self: for one of them was in one City, and the other two in the other. *Myron* delivered what the King had given him in charge, adding the Queen-mother's exhortations, accompanied with kinde Letters, expressing a confidence in him; and without difficulty (because the necessity of opposing the Enemies was reciprocal) carried back word from the Duke of *Guise*, that

that he would obey his Majesties commands, and that drawing together the friends and dependents of his house, he would not fail of those endeavours which he had alwaies been wont to lend in the exigencies of the Crown; beseeching his Majestie that he would but once free himself of the stubbornnesse of the Hugonots, and give way that his Kingdom might be purged from the deadly poison of Heresie.

But this liberty of framing an Army to oppose the Germans being given to the Duke of Guise (which howsoever he would have taken of himself) the King was still in wonderful great difficulties which way he should carry himself, both to hold the King of Navar in play, and make war with so great an Army, as was ready to invade his Kingdom: for as when the wills of his Subjects were unanimous, and well united with him to the same end, the French Nation was so warlike, that it needed little to fear the force of any forreign Enemy: so now having not onely a very great number of Hugonots in every Province, but (which at the present raised greater difficulties) the intentions and Forces of the Catholikes being divided by several ends, the event of things was by that discord made very doubtful and uncertain: Nor did the victory of the Duke of Guise represent it self unto the King's minde with lesse terrour then that of the King of Navar and the Germans, not being able which way soever the event succeeded, to promise himself any thing but infinite dangers, and greater troubles then he had ever had in times past: which afflicted him so much the more, because, being a Prince of exceeding providence and quick foresight, he had all difficulties and future encounters as it were ever present before him; whereby he was not onely taken off from his wonted entertainments, but watching whole nights in most deep considerations, he went often out of his chamber in the most silent hours, and coming into the lodgings of the Queen his Mother, held long consultations there: to which were called (as more trusted then any others) sometimes the Marechal de Retz, sometimes the Abbot del Bene: for the Duke of Espernon, though most beloved by the King, and master of his favour, was yet an open enemy to the Guises; and Villiers on the other side, who for his wisdom and experience in matters of Government was highly in esteem, was yet suspected in this business, by reason of his enmitie with the Duke of Espernon, and all the men of greatest credit depended

1587

neerly upon one of these two, nor (though he fained the contrary) did the King much like or esteem the Duke of *Nevers*, because he thought with his wisdom to rule in all things as an Oracle. Thus all the secret consultations were reduced only to four persons, unlesse the widow Dutches of *Ver*, a Lady of great worth, and excellent wit, and who, as it is believed, had also in her younger dayes been very acceptable to the King, did participate in the counsels of some affairs, though not of the most secret and intimate ones. To these the *Sieur de Rambouillet* was often joyned, who, of a subtil nature, powerful eloquence, and profound learning, began to rise in credit neer the King and the Queen-mother; but he was never made a secure Confident, and therefore all secret business did not appear unmasked to him. Thus all the present difficulties and future doubts being exactly sifted among these, and the opinions of the other Cabinet-Counsellors being heard upon some particulars, the King's determination was shut up within these limits: That the Duke of *Joyeuse* with competent Forces should go against the King of *Nor*, but that *Jehan Sieur de Lavardin*, of whose endeavours the King was very confident, should go along with him as his Lieutenant and moderator, to the end that the King of *Nor* might be held in action, but not suppressed; it being sufficient to keep him so in play, that he might not get loose to joyn himself with the German Army. That the care of hindering the entry, and opposing the first violence of the forraign Army should be left to the Duke of *Guise*, and the other Lords of his Family, being certain that the Duke for the haughtiness of his minde, the defence of his own estate, and the encreasing of his reputation, a thing so necessary for the Heads of popular Factions, would passe by no occasion which should offer itself of fighting with the Germans, from which battle an equal joy and benefit would result which way soever the war succeeded; for the Conquerours and the conquered would be equally routed and destroyed; or rather, it was very probable, that the Duke of *Guise*, being much inferiour in strength, would either in one or many encounters be defeated, and by consequence the League broken to pieces; but that to prevent the Conquerours from having free passage to the King should make up a mighty Army with *Swisse* Infantry,

and with the greatest number of Nobility that he could, to be ready to withstand all dangers, and give the law as he pleased to both the Conquered and Conquerors; a thought for the speciousness of it so imprinted in the Kings mind, that as he walked alone he was often heard to break forth into these words;
DE INIMICIS MEIS VINDICABO INIMICOS MEOS.

A saying of Henry the third.

With this resolution he presently dispatched Monsieur de Sancy to the Swisses to raise 8000 Foot of that Nation, and the Army was begun to be prepared wherewith the Duke of Joyeuse was to march into Poitou and Xaintonge, where the King of Navar, since the Queen-Mothers departure, not losing a minute of time, had taken Chisay upon Composition, and Saffay by assault, stormed St. Messant, and forced Fontenay to yield, surpris'd Mouleon, and having made himself Master of all those Quarters, gathered all possible Forces, called in his dependents and adherents, raised new Infantry, and set all his endeavours on work to draw together a competent Army, wherewith he might march to receive his Germans, to perfect which business, it being necessary to return to Rachel to gather money, and furnish himself with ammunition, he left two Regiments of Foot to keep those places he had gotten under the command of de Bory, and Charboniere, Colonels, or as they are now commonly called, * Camp-Masters.

* Maistres de Camp.

But the fame of the King of Navar's Successes, and the complaints of the Catholicks, who exclaimed in a manner publicly, that the Countrey neer unto him had been left without an Army, purposely to give him opportunity to augment his Forces; constrained the King to hasten the dispatch of the Duke de Joyeuse, who with a great number of the Nobility (whose favour he had exceedingly won by his courtesie and liberality) and with between seven and eight thousand Foot and light Horse, was almost ready to begin his march. Before his departure the King calling to him in private Monsieur de Lavardin (chosen Lieutenant-General of that Army, a man by reason of his ancient dependencies not ill-affected to the King of Navar's party) informed him of his intentions, and how necessary it was for him to proceed with such moderation in that War, that the Hugonots might be kept in action without putting the whole sum of affairs in hazard; it not being

The King sends an Army against the King of Navar, and gives secret order to Lavardin to oppose, but not suppress him.

1587

being fit in the difficulty of that present conjuncture, to engage the Catholick Forces, nor venture them in such sort as might prejudice those busineses that were in agitation: then after long instructions, he filled him with great hopes and promises, if he could order matters according to the Informations he had received. But *Lavardin*, either not sufficiently informed in a short discourse or two, or perchance not being able for want of capacity to discern the Kings intention, which was, that affairs should be kept in equal balance; or else drawn by some interested dependants upon the King of *Navar*, was imprudently afterwards in a manner the instrument of ruining that Army, which was not taken notice of by the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who (full of high generous spirits, and puffed up with the great abundance of Nobility that served under him) having hastily passed the *Loire*, fell so unexpectedly, into the Hugonots quarters, that the Regiments of *de Bory* and *Charboniere*, which over-ran the Country everywhere, were not able to make their retreat, but being both surrounded in the Town of *St. Eloy*, thought they made very gallant resistance for many hours, yet were they at last taken by force, and cut in pieces to the very last man. The *Sieur de Bory* was left prisoner, and *Charboniere* saved himself by flight at *St. Messant*, which Town being besieged, and terribly battered, in the heat of that victory was fain to yeeld within a few dayes, and was unfortunately sacked by the violence of the Souldiers; and with the same fury the Abby of *Maillezais* and *Thonne-Carente* were also taken. But the *Sieur de Lavardin* not being able to resist the will of the Duke of *Joyeuse* (who desirous of glory, not averse from the designs of the League, and (as he said himself) desirous that the Preachers of *Paris* might have occasion to magnifie his actions, and make his name famous, aspired by his enterprises to confirm that greatnesse to which Fortune had raised him,) began to attempt that by policie, as he thought, which he could not openly bring to passe; and by slackening the discipline of his men, and by giving the common Souldiers frequent opportunity of spoil and plunder, was the occasion that many ran away (for most of them sought to get home and save what they had gotten) to which the sicknesses and diseases being added, in part caused by hard duty, but much more by ill government, the Army was strangely diminished in a short time; which

which being known and certified by their musters, the Commanders, and *Lavardine* among the first, began to advise the Duke not to proceed further till his Infantry were recruited; without which it was impossible for him either to take in any Towns, or to make War in the inclosed Fenny places of *Xaintonge*; this counsel, and the newes that came daily from Court of the Duke of *Espernon's* greatnesse and authority, which pierced the Duke of *Joyeuse* very deeply, made him resolve to take Post, and go to the Court in person, as well to keep himself fresh in the King's memory, as to obtain a new addition to his Forces. But his coming thither caused him more discontent then his absence had done before; for he found that the Wife of his Brother *Henry Count de Bouchage* was newly dead, who was sister to the Duke d' *Espernon*, and had maintained that friendship (at least in appearance) which by their emulation was wholly blotted out of their hearts: to which misfortune was added, that the Count either out of extreme sorrow for his Wives death, whom he most dearly loved, or out of a satiety of worldly things, or (as it was reported, because he had so promised his Lady in her life time; took the habit of a Capuchin, making himself be called *Friar Ange de Joyeuse*, to the infinite grief of his Brother: nor did the adversenesse of his affairs end there; but at the same time he saw the marriage concluded between the Duke of *Espernon*, and the Countesse of *Candale*, heir of that most noble, wealthy Family; which Wedding the King did not honour so much with the vanity of Poms and Ceremonies, as he had done that of the Duke de *Joyeuse*, but with presents of infinite value; and with the additions of inestimable riches, whereof the Duke of *Espernon* was a very careful manager. To these serious busineses the Courtiers added also light youthful discourses; for the Duke of *Espernon* loving *Mademoiselle Staway* one of the Queen's Gentlewomen, and the Duke of *Joyeuse* *Mademoiselle de Vitry*, another of the same Court, whom they were wont to present with very rich gifts: they said that the Duke of *Joyeuse* at his return found he had also quite lost the heart of *Mademoiselle de Vitry*; for being won by the Duke of *Espernon's* presents, or the hopes of marrying *Monsieur de S. Goart*, who depended upon him; with a womanish inconstancie she was turned to that side, which either for the love he bore her, or for envie and emulation, did wonderfully afflict him,

The Count de Bouchage Brother to the Duke of Joyeuse turns Capuchin after the death of his Wife, whom he dearly loved.

The Duke of Espernon marries the Countesse of Candale, a rich Heir; the King honours the Wedding with great presents.

him. These things striking deeply into the minde of Joyeuse, but much more the lessening of the Kings favour, which he knew to be much abated (having publickly told him that the Court reckoned of him as a *Poltron*, and that he was not able to wipe off that blemish) he returned to the Army with those few forces that were granted him, and (as the custome is) present passion having more power with him then former benefits, he resolved with himself to adhere wholly to the League, to wreak the hatred which he bore to his Corrivall, and presently to give battell to the King of Navar, hoping by a famous Victory to confirm his own fortune, and make himself equal to the Duke of Guise, both in the Catholick party, and in the air of the common people's applause.

But it was in vain for him to pretend at one flight to reach so high a pitch, to which the *Guises* by long patience and many yeers endeavour, had attained by little and little; and he by striving precipitately to force the nature of things, did hastily procure his own ruine; to which, whilest he runs on the one side with an unbridled fury, the King of Navar proceeding with more circumspection, was intent in gathering Forces from all parts to enable himself to move towards the *Loire*, and meet the German Army. To him were joyned the Prince of Conde, the Viscount de *Turenne*, the Duke de *la Trimonille*, the Count de *Montgomery*, and the Marquesse de *Gallerande*, the Baron de *Salignac*, and a good number of Horse and Foot under many Gentlemen of note, and old experienced Commanders; so that his Army was not so numerous as resolute and valiant. About this time, by the means of his ordinary Confidants, he had solicited *Charles* Count of *Soissons*, and *Francis* Prince of *Conty* Brother to the Prince of Conde, who till then had persevered in the Catholike Faith, and continued neer the King's person in the Court; urging to them, that the businesse now in hand did no longer concern Religion; but the defence of their Family, and the inheritance and succession of the Crown; to which not only He was called, but successively the whole House of *Bourbon*; and that it was therefore fit in that common cause and reciprocal interest, they should all unite themselves, to make the greater resistance against those who went about to exclude and ruine them; and that they should take example by their enemies, among which the Duke

Duke of *Mercur* and his brothers, though they were the King's brothers-in-law, and had from him received so much honour and so many benefits, yet because they were of the House of *Lorain* kept united with the Duke of *Guise* and the rest of their family, and stood out against their own sister and brother-in-law. That if it were lawful for them to do so for the execution of new, unjust designs, much more was it lawful for them of the house of *Bourbon* to unite themselves all together, for the defence of their most just, ancient Prerogatives, which were due unto them by the legal universal consent of the French Nation: that they need not fear they should suffer any violence in their consciences: for he that laboured for the liberty of others, would never take it away from those that were so near himself, but that they should take example by so many Catholike Lords and Gentlemen which followed the fortune of his party. By which reasons these two Princes being moved, as also because they saw themselves kept under, and little valued at the Court, resolved to go over to his party, and determined that the Prince of *Cony* should joyn with the Army of the *Reiters* as soon as they were come into France, and that the Count *de Solfons* should go to the Haguerot Camp in *Xaintonge*; which that he might securely do, the King of *Navar* gave order to the *Sieurs de Colombiere* and *S^r Mante de Mont*, who had raised some Forces in *Normandy* in favour of his party, that they should conduct him to the passage of the *Loire*, whither he had sent the Viscount of *Turenne* with eight hundred Horse to meet him; and it fell out so luckily, that the Count and the Norman Forces went close by the Duke of *Joyeuse* his Army without receiving any damage at all, and united themselves with very great joy to the Army of the King of *Navar* who highly incensed at the inhumanity used to his two Regiments which were cut in pieces in *Boislon*, being wary, yet resolved to take revenge, advanced still forward; while the Duke of *Joyeuse* as it were assured of the Victory, came on carelessly to meet him.

In the mean time the German Army was upon the point of marching towards *Lorain*: for the Protestant Princes Ambassadors being returned home with the angry answer of the King of France, the King of *Denmark*, Christian Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, Prince *Casimir*, the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*, with other Lords of the

The Protestant
Princes of Ger-
many, moved
at the King of
France his an-
swer to their
Ambassadors
raise an Army
under the con-
duct of P. Cas-
mir; which be-
ing come into
Alsacia, was
40000 men, led
by the Baron
d'Onaw Lieu-
tenant General
to Prince
Casimir.

the same Religion, at the importunity of the King of Navarre's Agents, but much more at the exhortations of Theodoric Berlay gave resolute order for the raising of that Army; toward which besides the money gathered publikely in the Protestant Churches, and put into the hands of Prince Casimir, there were also sixty thousand Duckets added by the Queen of England. With this money, and the consent and endeavour of all the Protestant Lords in Germany, it was easie to raise an Army in that populous warlike Nation; so that in the beginning of July there met in Alsacia, under the conduct of Prince Casimir, upon whom that charge had been conferred by the rest, twelve thousand Reiters, four thousand German Foot and sixteen thousand Swisses; for the other four thousand went into Dauphine apart. Fabian Baron d'Onaw, born in Prussia, commanded as Prince Casimir's Lieutenant General, a man of private condition, but risen to high esteem by the favour of the King of Denmark and of the Count Palatine, and accounted a man of very great boldnesse and courage, but of neither wisdom nor experience proportionable to an employment of so great weight; and though in the beginning of August, Guillianme de la Marke Duke of Bonillon came up with two thousand Foot and three hundred French Horse, and by Commission from the King of Navarre was to have been General of that Army; and though at his arrival he displayed the white Cornet (a mark due to the supreme Commander) yet retaining onely the name, he left the command wholly to the Baron d'Onaw, both for his age, and because he was of the Nation, as also out of respect to Prince Casimir. With the Duke of Bonillon were Robert Count de la Mark his brother, the Sieurs de Guiry, de Monluet, de la Noelle, and many other French Gentlemen, to whom the Sieurs de Monty and Cormons, with many other of their adherents, came from Geneva with two hundred Horse and eight hundred Foot; and every day the Army increased with the number of those who ran thither from Dauphine and the other confines of France: so that before it moved out of Alsacia, it amounted to the number of Forty thousand fighting men.

Before this Army marched, there came an Edict from the Emperour Rodolphus Secundus, sent to the Baron d'Onaw, which contained, That he having without his Liege, and without the Letters Patents of the Empire, caused that Army

to be raised to invade the Kingdom of France should presently disband it, and desist from the Enterprize, under pain of banishment out of the Empire, both to himself and those that should follow him. To which threatning the Baron d' Onaw answered in writing. That the Enterprize being neither his, nor against the Empire, nor against the Kingdom of France, but for the relief of the oppressed Confederates of the Protestant Princes: and the German Nation having ever had that liberty to enter themselves into pay under whom they pleased, so that it were not against the Emperour nor his Jurisdiction, he neither thought himself obliged to desist, nor to disband the Army, but that without offence to the Emperour he would continue the businesse begun by Commission from his Princes. Thus the Emperour making no reply, nor proceeding to any other new Prohibition, about the middle of August the Army was ready to begin to march. And to the end that busineses might prosper under the conduct of the Duke of Bouillon and the Baron d' Onaw, the Count de la Marck was appointed to lead the Van: the command of the German Cavalry was given to the Baron de Bouck an expert Souldier of that Nation; that of the Swisse Infantry, to Claude Anthony Sieur de Clerwant; to Momy the command of the French Foot; the Sieur de Guitry a French man, and Lodowick Romf a German, being Marshals of the Field.

1587
Rodolphus the second the Emperour commands the Baron d' Onaw by a publick Edict to disband the Army raised without his leave, and to desist from the business upon pain of the Imperial banishment: to which the Baron answers, with excuses that he ought not to desist.

Against all these preparations, the Duke of Lorain (who in all the other Wars had ever stood neuter, and now had declared himself in favour of the League, and of the Lords of his Family) being first at the Frontiers, was in a very great fear, finding he had not sufficient force to make resistance, and with Letters and Messages solicited the Duke of Guise, and all his Friends and Confederates, that since they had drawn him into so much danger, they would also be ready and speedy to help him out. He had raised two thousand Reiters out of the Territories of the Catholick Princes of Germany, under the command of the Baron of Swartzembourg; eight hundred other Horse, some Albanians, some Italians, and four thousand Foot of his own State; to which Forces the Prince of Parma Governour of the Low-Countries, in performance of the League with the Catholick King, had added eight hundred Bourguignon Horse, under the Command of the Marquess de Haeray, and two thousand Foot, all Walloons, under the

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1587

Command of the Marquess *de Varambone*. But it being necessary to put a Garison in *Nancy* the chief City of *Lorain*, and many other lesser Towns, he had neither Force enough left to hinder the passage of the Germans, nor to defend his Country from their incurfions; and therefore the Duke of *Guise*, the very soul and life of his party, and upon whom the foundation of all the affairs of the League was setled, drew Friends and Forces together from all parts to assist and defend the Duke of *Lorain*.

Nor did the King of *France* make less preparations then the rest; but being resolved to shew his face, and make himself Arbitratour of affairs, he drew all his Forces together: for besides eight thousand Swisse Foot raised under the publick Colour of the Catholick Cantons, he also levied fourteen thousand French Foot, summoned all the Souldiery, called all the Nobility to attend him, having determined to command his Army himself in person; wherein he received no other hinderance, but the unquietnesse of the Parisians; for the Preachers and the Councel of *Sixteen* ceased not to stir up the people, and to make frequent tumults in the City, insomuch as the Authority of the King and his Magistrates was despised and troden under Foot, with very great danger of an open change desired and procured by them. Nor durst the King in that present condition punish the authors of those tumults, for fear of causing an absolute revolt, and in a conjuncture of so great danger, deprive himself of that City, which had ever been the basis and foundation of his party; this encouraged them with more boldnesse to multiply their Designes, which would have produced the event aimed at by the Heads of the League, if first the imminent fear of the German Army, and then the King's Oath taken against the Hugonots, and the promise wherewith he took Arms for the common defence, had not restrained and withheld the people, who out of fear, and some certain respects of duty, were not very forward to embrace seditious counsels. But the King having with great celerity and patience often quieted those uproars raised without occasions, full of ill-will towards the Heads of Sedition, though cunningly dissembling it, having left the Queen-Mother as Regent in *Paris*, and Monsieur *de Villequier* as Governor, departed from the City about the end of July, and went to *Meaux* ten leagues from thence, about which place he had caused

caused Quarters to be taken up for his Army. Thither the Duke of *Guise* came unto him, *Meaux* being a Town under his command, and they met together with shews of exceeding kindnesse and respect, but thoughts very different from the outward appearance. The division of both Horse and Foot was made in the Duke of *Guise*'s presence, the King having appointed twenty Corners of Horse, and four Regiments of Foot for the Duke, reserving all the rest for the Army which he was to lead himself; but almost all the Horse were withheld afterward with several excuses, and the Duke of *Guise* had only those Foot left him, which were brought by his dependents; for in their meetings and discourses, suspicions being rather increased, then former hearts burning taken away, the King was so much the more firmly settled in his intention, to beware no lesse of the Duke of *Guise*, then of the foraign Army; and to leave him weak, that he might be the more easily cut off, since that whether his Forces were many or few, he could do no lesse then draw near the Enemy, and fall upon him either in the State of the Duke of *Lorain*, or in the Confines of his own Government.

After two dayes the Duke of *Guise* departed, and making his *Rendezvous* at *St. Florentine*, a place near *Troye*, with seven hundred Cuirassiers of Gentlemen that were his dependants, six hundred light Horse, part Albanians, part Italians, and part sent by the *Sieur de Balony* Governor of *Cambrai*, and with two thousand French Foot led by the *Sieurs de Joannes, de Clusseau, de Gies, and de St. Paul*, his old Colonels, he marched streight toward *Lorain*. All the Lords of that Family were met together at *Nancy*, where the Duke commonly resides, and there fell to consult which way they should oppose the German Army. The opinions were different, or rather oppositely contrary: for the French Lords, among which the Duke of *Guise* was the chief, would have made the seat of the War in the State of the Duke of *Lorain*, a streight narrow Country, and by reason of the abundance of Rivers, fit for some great enterprize, keeping the Germans buſied in a place where they could not hope to joyn with the King of *Navar*, and where being near their own Countrey, they would easily disband and run home upon every small occasion or disorder that might arise: nor did the greatnesse of the foraign Armie at all dismay the Duke of *Guise*, a man of a resolute undaunt-

1587

ed courage; but despising the number of raw untrained men newly raised in haste, he thought himself able to accomplish any thing with his old tried souldiers. But the Duke of Lorain was of a contrary opinion, who with the Marquesse du Pont his eldest Son, the Count de Saulme his principal Minister, the Count de Chaligny one of the King of France his Brothers in law, and with the Sieurs de Osonville, and Baisampierre, thought not fit to submit his Countrey to all the dangers and miseries of the War, and thought he had done too much, in declaring himself for the French Lords of his Family, and in being at so great charges, and in undergoing to many dangers to satisfy them: wherefore he desiring the Germans might not be hindred in their passage, but that keeping all the principal Towns well provided, and waiting upon them with a flying Army, to the end they might have less opportunity to hurt the Countrey, that impetuous torrent might be suffered to make an inundation in those parts to which it naturally tended: and by how much the more he saw the Duke of Guise ready and desirous to put the event of businesses opportunely to the hazard of a day, so much the more did he fear that danger. Wherefore because the opinions differed, he concluded freely, that he would not have them to play his State at that Game; and that if the Duke of Guise and the French Lords had an humour to fight, they should reserve themselves till the enemy were entered into France, it satisfying him to preserve his own with as little loss as possibly he could, considering the greatnesse of the enemies Army. With this resolution all the guards were recalled from the Confines, to quarter in strong places, and the Sieur de Osonville General of the Duke of Lorains Forces, rode thorow all the State, causing the Mills and Ovens to be destroyed, and the victuals to be carried away from all places, to the end that the German Army finding scarcity of provisions, might resolve to passe on without delay: and because the Duke of Guises forwardnesse made the Duke of Lorain suspect, that against his will, he would with inferiour Forces, and without necessity put it to a Battel, he himself, though far in years, would command the Army; and to honour the Duke of Guise, gave him only the charge of the Vanguard.

Care taken by the Duke of Lorain that the German Army might not stay in his countrey.

The same divisions were in the German Army; for the Duke of Bouillon and the Count de la Mark, desired to make the

the seat of that War in *Lorain*, not onely to have conveniency 1587
of victual, and to garison *Sedan* and *Jamets*, their own Towns,
which bordered upon that State, but also to ruine and undo
the Duke of *Loraine*, whose neighbourhood was suspected by
them, believing that he aspired to their possessions, the truth
whereof they had seen in the War made upon them by the
Duke of *Guise*, and knew much more evidently afterwards.
On the other side, Monsieur de *Monglos* the King of *Navar*'s
Agent lately come from him, and the Sieurs de *Muoy*, de *Cler-*
want, de *D'Anguiere*, and almost all the French pressed to
have them go forward, and entring into *France* without de-
lay, to take the shortest cut that might bring them to joyn
with the King of *Navar*, whom they affirmed to be upon his
march, to come as far as he could to meet them. There
wanted not some among the Germans who were much plea-
sed with the neernesse of their own Country, and with a War
that was like to be so easie, by reason of the inequality of
Force; but the Baron d'*Onaw*, intent to execute the Com-
missions he had received from Prince *Casimir*, resolved at last
to go into *France*, without making any longer stay in the State
of *Loraine* then what was necessarily requisite, yet purposing
to do as much mischief there as the brevity of the time would
permit, without going about to take in any Towns: with
this intention, but with little correspondence among the
Commanders, and as little government among the Souldiers
(there being no man whose authority and experience was pro-
portionable to so weighty a business) the German Army began
to move, and upon the 26 of *August* came in the Confines of
Loraine.

Already were the Guards withdrawn, which at first had
been placed at the principal passes of that State, and the
Forces being retreated into their walled Towns, had left all
the wayes free; wherefore the Germans began to plunder
all the Country without any resistance; not forbearing mur-
ders, firing of Towns, nor any kind of hostile act whatsoever;
though the harm were much the less, because the people had
had convenient time to absent themselves, to drive away their
cattel, and hide their goods in secret places, and what they
could not carry away they had spoyled and burned. But it
was not long before the Germans felt the Forces of the
League; for the Duke of *Guise* desirous to discover their
strength,

1587

The first assault given by those of the League to the Germans in Lorain.

strength, and to try their valour and discipline, sent forth the *Sieur de Rhosne* and the Baron of *Swartzembourg* with two hundred *Reiters* and three hundred French Horse, to beat up their neereſt quarters. These two Commanders being come upon the thirtieth of *August* where the enemy lay, fell upon the quarter of the Baron *de Bouck*, and at first put them into great confusion: and though they were driven back at last by so much a greater number, yet they brought away a Cornet with them, which the Duke of *Loraine* sent presently to the King of *France*, as a token that to their cost the German Army was come already into his Country. Yet did the Army continue in the same confusion, in quartering, in keeping their Guards, in rising, and in marching: for the great abundance of men bred tumult and disorder of it self, and there was no Commander able to govern a Body composed of so many several Nations mixt together, and of a different manner of discipline. The Duke of *Bonillon* a young Lord, and though of great courage, yet of little or no experience, was not very much obeyed by the Germans. The Baron *d'Onam*, whom they obeyed, might rather be counted in the number of valiant Souldiers, then of Commanders who for birth and wisdom were fit for such an employment; and the other inferiour Officers being of several Nations and different dispositions, did rather increase then lessen that confusion.

These things being known to the Duke of *Guise*, he desired to meet handsomly with them, either as their Army was about to quarter, or to rise, before time or experience should inform the Commanders of their error. But the Duke of *Lorain* persisted in the same opinion, nor would upon any terms suffer them to come to a Battel within his Territories; and the Duke of *Guise* was necessitated to comply with him, both because of his age, and because he was in his own Country, as also by reason of the inequality of the Forces: So the *Reiters* passed on without any lett or impediment, as far as *Pont St. Vincent*, a great Town seated upon the declining of a hill, at the foot whereof the River *Meuse* passeth under a spacious Bridge of ancient building. There Monsieur *de Rhosne*, and an hundred Harquebuziers on horseback, being quartered with three hundred Light-Horse, the Duke of *Guise* came up to view the place, having resolved to lodge the Vanguard there, to make the

the passage of the River more suspected to the Enemies, and to make them a little more wary in pillaging the Country: but at the very time of his arrival, the German Army was espied from the top of the Hill marching in their Divisions directly toward the Bridge, thorow a little Plain that spreads it self from the bottom of the Hill: whereupon the Duke of *Guise*, desirous to discover the quality and order of the Enemy, having commanded out the three hundred light Horse, drawn them up without the Town, and spread the hundred Harquebuziers along the bank of the River, he himself unarmed as he was, with the Sieurs *de la Chastre*, *Bassompierre* and *Dunes*, and two Gentlemen of his Attendants, all six in number, passed over the Bridge, hoping to get up to some high place, from whence they might conveniently discern the motions, and distinctly perceive the number and order of the Germans, but he was hardly come to the other side of the bank, when he was charged by two Troops of *Reiters* who marched before the Army to discover the Country; to avoid whose fury, he was fain to retreat over the Bridge again at a good round Trot. The Enemies Horse being come to the bank of the River, and seeing it defended by the Harquebuziers, and that the Duke of *Guise* with five and twenty Gentlemen that were come up to him, stood firm at the entry of the Bridge, they made a Halt to stay for the first Troops of the Army, and in the mean time one of them (which was a very remarkable thing) being come to the very brink of the River, lighted from his Horse, spanned his Carabine very leisurely, and taking aim, gave fire with wonderful security; and though above two hundred shot were made at him in the mean time, he was not only untouched, but not so much as daunted at all; so that he got on horse-back again with the same gravity, and retreated safely a foot-pace to his fellows.

A bold Act of
a German
Trooper,

In this interim, the Sieur *de Guitry* Marechal of the Field arrived upon the bank of the River with four hundred other Horse, who with the two first Troops of *Reiters* came directly forward to possess the Bridge: But the Duke of *Guise* finding himself much weaker then was requisite to defend the Pass, and that not only the Duke of *Lorain's* Army was a great way from him, but also his own Van-guard which had been left farre behinde, he caused the Harquebuziers to retire and put themselves again in the Body of Monsieur de

Rhosne's

1587

Rhosne's Cavalry; and having dispatched *Bassompierre* and *la Chastre* with order to put the Army in readinesse to receive him, in case he should be streightned and followed by the Enemies, he began to retreat, skirmishing himself in the last ranks, and very gallantly sustaining the Charge of the *Reiters*, who having passed the Bridge without further resistance, followed him close at the heels, *caracolling* and giving fire continually with their Pistols: but being come to the bottom of the Hill which had a steep troublesome ascent, the Duke of *Guise* light Horse, and he himself with his Gentlemen, who were bravely mounted, got up quickly; whereas on the other side the *Reiters* with their great Friezeland-Horses, were much longer about it; and after they were at the top of the Hill were faine to make a stand to give their Horses breath; which time he opportunely making use of, passed over another small River that was before him, and without any shew of flight arrived safely where the Field-Marsalls had with excellent order set the whole Army in *Battalia*; which being drawn out between three Hills in form of a Half-Moon, with the Cavalry on each Wing, and Foot placed within the banks and ditches, by the High-ways, and among the stakes in the Vineyards defended by the Canon planted upon a little Mount, made so gallant a shew, that the German Commanders being come up to face them with the first Troops of their Forces, judged that in respect of the strength of that situation, the Battel was not to be hazarded, being they could by no means make the *Lorain*-Army dislodge from their post, nor fight with it there; without too evident and almost insuperable disadvantage.

Wherefore retiring to the main Body, they quartered in the Villages near *S. Vincent*, in the Castle whereof the *Sieur de la Chastre* entred that same night with six hundred Musketers, that it might not be left in the Enemies power: and the Duke of *Lorain*, who saw that contrary to his desires the Duke of *Guise* by his boldnesse, and to disengage himself from the *Reiters*, had like to have put his State in very great hazard, to avoid the same danger, removed a great many miles from thence, leaving them free passage to continue the voyage, which with pillaging and burning they had begun; and quartering his Army in the chiefeest places, that the Enemy might not have opportunity to take and sack them, with very great

great care and circumspection stood barely upon his defence.

1587

At last, upon the eighteenth of September the Germans arrived upon the Confines of France, and took up their first quarters at St. Urbin; which Town being of the Duke of Guise's patrimony, was by them in a hostile manner burned; yet to put themselves in order, and by reason of the extraordinary rains that fell, they stayed there four daies, in which time Francois Sieur de Chastillon came up with a hundred Cuirassiers, and eight hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, who with wonderful great difficulty had from the farthest parts of Languedoc passed by the way of Dauphine, and the Confines of Savoy, as far as Grizelle, a Town upon the Borders of Lorain, to joyn with the forraign Army; but being come to Grizelle, he was suddenly charged by the Duke's Forces, and constrained to retreat into the Castle of that Town, where he had been in manifest danger by reason of the weaknesse of the place, if the Count de la Mark had not advanced with the Van of the Army to disengage him, who no sooner appeared, but the Lorain Forces retiring, he went on to St. Urbin to joyn with the rest of the Army upon the 22 of September, which day the Duke of Guise (having left the Duke of Lorain at Bar, who refused to enter into the Confines of the King of France unless he were called) quartered with twelve hundred Horse and two thousand Foot at Joinville, but two Leagues distant from St. Urbin.

The German Army entred France with an infinite deal of Baggage, not onely by reason of the great store of carriages which they had with them according to the custom of their Country, but also of the abundance of spoil and plunder they had got in the Territories of Lorain, and which they still increased dailie; nor did their disorders and confusions cease, though they were come into an Enemies Country, suspected on every side; but rather everie one presuming upon the greatnesse of their strength, (for they were above fortie thousand fighting men) they quartered verie wide and open, minded nothing but pillage, were negligent in their guards and marches, the fields being everie where full of Grapes, of which that Nation being exceeding greedie, they disordered their Squadrons, and ran confusedly to satisfie their gluttonie; and so much the more, because the Duke of Guise's handful of

The German Army going out of Lorain rich with spoil, enters France, where not esteeming the D. of Guise's small Forces, they continue to pillage and destroy the Country.

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1587

men made by him contemptible to their pride; nor did they think they could meet with any thing that could do harm to so much a greater number, well armed, well mounted, well provided, (which was true) but wonderfully ill ordered and disciplined. The number of Commanders made opinions differ about the way they should march; for some counselled, that following the easinesse of the wayes and the abundance of victuals, they should go on thorow *Champagne* to *Brie*, and to the *Isle of France* as far as the City of *Paris*, to strike the very heart of the Catholick party, and not to linger about matters of small importance, experience having shewed, that the *Hugonots* had never had hope of victory, but when they had entered the very bowels of the Kingdom, and brought terrour and damage to the City of *Paris*: but others knowing that they wanted a General who was capable to manage the weight of that imployment, and that therefore all their marches were difficult and dangerous, perswaded to move streight towards the head of the River *Loyre*, to passe over it above *la Charite*, or at some other place thereabout, and to go without delay to joyn with the King of *Navar*, without whose conduct and command they despaired of effecting any enterprize. The last opinion prevailed, and with that intention crossing the Provinces of *Champagne* and *Bourgongne* about the end of September, they took the direct way toward *la Charite*, to passe the River there, as the Duke of *Denx-ponts* had done at the same place; and because the Count *de la Mark* died about that time of a natural death, the charge of the Van-guard was given to Monsieur *de Chastillon*.

The Duke of *Guise* followed the track of the Germans, and though his Brother the Duke of *Mayenne* were joyned with him, with the Forces he brought out of his Government of *Bourgongne*; and though the Marquesse *du Pont* had followed him also with no contemptible number of Gentlemen, whereby in all he had fifteen hundred Horse, and little more then three thousand Foot, yet because he had no Body of an Armie, he quartered alwaies in advantagious places, keeping neer the Germans, that he might not lose any opportunitie (which he watched for with extreme diligence and impatient desire) to fight; but the Duke of *Mayenne* following his old stayed resolutions, and the Marquesse *du Pont* instructed by his Fathers admonitions, did opportunely allay his forwardnesse,

shewing

showing him that the whole fortune of the House of *Lorain* was reduced to that small handful of men, and would run into a manifest ruine, if he should be so rash as to assault the enemy with Forces so infinitely inferiour: that he could give no greater joy nor contentment to his Enemies, then to offer up the whole being of their Family to spoil and havock by so certain a danger, the event whereof, whatsoever it could be, would overthrow his Forces for ever; that it was a businesse of long, mature deliberation, and which could never be sufficiently pondered and discussed, to hazard all his former labours, all his present Estate, and all his future hopes upon the cast of a Die with so much disadvantage: And with what strength, with what number of Horse and Foot would he assault an Army of sixteen thousand Horse and twenty thousand German Foot, flanked with 4000 of the choicest French Firelocks? that it was no small matter, if they could be able to defend the principal Cities, and the walled Towns of those Provinces which were under their Government; and that he alone ought not to assume that charge to himself which principally concerned the King of France, and which never had been assumed by so many others, who upon occasion of other German Armies had had the care of the Frontiers, and who preserving only the places of consequence, had let the storm flie where the principal Armies were, and where the whole sum of businesses did reside. These considerations abated, but extinguished not the ardour of the Duke of *Guise*, who having vaster thoughts, and higher designs, did within himself alone press forward the effecting his own resolutions: for having undertaken to be Patron of the League, assumed the care of the popular cause, and conceiving hopes of ruining his adversaries, and making himself not only Arbitrator and Moderator of the Kingdom, but also the glorious Restorer of the Roman-Catholick Religion, he foresaw he should grow lesse in reputation, and lose his credit within and without the Kingdom, if the King, and not he, should win the victory over the Germans, which would turn the scale, and make him superiour that should obtain it: besides, suspecting that the King held secret intelligence with the Hugonots, he feared that the *Reiters* joyning with the King of *Navar*, and the King being on the other side with a strong Army in the field, they might catch him between them; and therefore he aspired with

1587

all the powers of his minde, to destroy or at least weaken that Army, before it could come to the consummation of that design: finally, the desire of glory which in him was most ardent and unmeasurable, would not let his minde be in quiet, if he did not make his valour famous in so conspicuous an occasion: Wherefore, sometimes marching before, sometimes beside, sometimes behind the enemy, with unwearied diligence both in himself and in his Souldiers, he used all his uttermost endeavours to incommode and distresse them, by putting them upon a necessity of quartering close together, by protracting and retarding their march, and finally by striving to bring them to a scarcity of provisions.

The great abundance of all things causing surfeits, brings great mortality in the German Army.

But the abundance of Wine, Grapes, Fruits, and Flesh, whereof there was great plenty in those Provinces, did more harm to the Germans then all the labour and industry of the Duke of Guise; for by excesse and surfetting, in a Country differing from their natural clymate, such frequent dangerous diseases were gotten into the Army, that their number daily decreased, and their march was not a little slackened; to which the rains of Autumn being added, which were wonderfully immoderate in the beginning of October, did much increase the mortality; and in that deep dirty Country the ways were so broken, that it was most difficult for so great a multitude to march, being (as they were wont) exceedingly ill ordered and commanded.

The same rains did also hurt the Duke of Guise's Army, and so much the more, because being in continual motion, they did perpetually suffer by the ill weather: But though the Souldiers were without shoes, and almost without clothes, and their horses tired and almost quite spoiled, yet the great confidence they had in their Commander, and seeing him the first in all incommodities and sufferings, made every one undergo them willingly; and because they were all old Souldiers, hardened to the toils of War, the diseases did not spread amongst them, which had brought the affairs of the enemy into a very ill condition. In this manner, with frequent skirmishes, the Armies came as far as Chastillon upon the Seine, where the Sieur de la Chastre having put himself in, for the defence of the Town, not so strong as populous; as the Germans passed by they skirmished continually for four hours, with some losse on both sides.

But

But having passed the *Seine* at *Chastillon*, turning on the right hand, they marched from thence toward *la Charite* to passe the *Loire*, not in those places that are neerer to the head of it, as the King of *Navar* had directed, and as his Agents put them in minde to do; but to endeavour to get a *Bridge* over which they might passe conveniently: and of this resolution not the Commanders, but the tumultuous cries of the Army were the occasion, who would not hear of being led thorow narrow, barren, mountainous Countries, as those parts are from whence the River springs, but would spread themselves with their wonted pillagings and licentious manner of living, in the more fertil, spacious parts of *France*, as those were thorow which they were to march toward *laCharite*, and the passes neer unto it.

But they were extremely deceived in their hopes; for the King of *France* being departed from *Meaux*, and then from *Gien*, where he had made the general *Rendezvous* of his Army, and being come to *Estampes* with eight thousand *Swisses*, ten thousand French *Foot*, and four thousand Horse, the Duke of *Nevers* commanding as Lieutenant-General of the Army, and the Duke of *Espernon* leading the Van, by their advice was prudently come unto the *Loyre*; and having broken and spoiled all the Passes, taken away all the Boats, and well garison'd and provided all the Towns, encamped along the banks of the River, to hinder the enemies from wading over, or passing it in any place.

This difficulty exceedingly puzzled the German Army: for having been made believe by the French Commanders, both before they were raised, and after they were entered into *France*, that the King would tacitly give way to their passage, and joyning with the King of *Navar*, and that they were to have no other enemy but the Duke of *Guise*, whose forces were not to be feared; as soon as they saw the King in Arms, and resolved to oppose them in a hostile manner, not onely with a very great strength, but with wonderful providence and Military policy: and after that the Duke d' *Espernon*, who was generally thought partial to the Hugonots, did personally assail some Troops of Horse that plundered the Country, and having slain many of them, took one of their Cornets, there entered such a confusion into the Army, that the authority of the Commanders was not able to settle it.

The German Cavalry

The German Army much began

Henry the third goes in person with an Army to oppose the Germans, and to keep them from joyning with the King of Navar.

The German Army much began

1587

began to cry out aloud for their pay, which had been promised them at their entry into the Kingdom, nor had money appeared yet from any place to satisfy them. The Swisses that saw their Country-men with the King, with the publike Colours of the Cantons, talked of going over to his Army; and generally all of them murmured, that having been promised to be led by a Prince of the Blood, they yet saw not any one appear; and every hour tumultuously threatened the French Commanders, because they had rashly brought them thither, and falsely perswaded them that they held intelligence with the King of *France*. In this Mutiny the Commanders being come to the head of the Army, it was without much consideration precipitately resolved amidst that universal cry and tumult, to turn back again: and get into the Country of *Beouffe* (the ordinary nourisher of the War) and in the mean time to send men to the King of *Navar*, to demand money and a General, and to know which way the Army should march to unite themselves most easily with him.

At that time the King of *Navar*, being departed from the places that held of his party with the greatest number he could gather together, and having mustered them, marched directly toward the *Loyre* to finde some means of joyning with the forraign Army. But the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who spurred on by ambition, had wholly given himself over to the designs of the League, was inconsiderately gone from *Saumur*, and came with his whole Army to meet the Hugonots, desiring with great confidence by all means to give them Battel. Two little Rivers parted the two Armies from one another, one called the *Isle*, and the other the *Drougne*: the *Isle* on the Duke of *Joyeuse*'s side; the *Drougne* (much the bigger) on the King of *Navar*'s; and between both Rivers were *la Roche-Chalais*, a Town neer the *Isle*; and neer the *Drougne* *Contras*, a brave house built by *Lautree*, a famous Commander in the Wars of *Italy*. Both the Generals thought with reason that the passage of the River might cause a disadvantage to the enemy, and therefore the Duke of *Joyeuse* passed the *Isle* with all speed, upon the nineteenth of October in the evening, and quartered at *la Roche-Chalais*, with an intention to lie the night after at *Contras*, and to meet the King of *Navar*, and fight with him as he passed the *Drougne*. To that purpose he sent Captain *Mercurio Bua* before with the

Alba-

Albanians, to possess *Contras*, and had sent away Colonels 1587 to take up quarters there. But the King of *Navar*, who commanding an old well-exercised Army, desired to meet in the plain field without advantage of ground or Rivers, had waded over the *Droigne* the same day betimes in the morning, and had also sent the Duke de *la Trimonille* to make himself Master of *Contras*, and he himself followed the same way with the whole Army in *Battalia*. There was no doubt but the Albanian Light-Horse were easily driven back by the greater number: and returning the same night to *la Roche-Chalais*, related to the Duke of *Joyeuse*, who was sitting at a gallant supper with many of the Nobility, that the King of *Navar* had passed the *Droigne*, and was quartered in the Village at *Contras* with all his Army; presently the Duke turning about to his Officers, said, so loud that every one might hear him, *So, we have the Enemy shut up between two Rivers, and he cannot now escape us; let every one be ready for the Battel tomorrow by break of day.*

The Duke's Army was full of Nobility, and in number 10000 strong; but the greatest part men rather forward then expert, who accounting the Victory certain, cared little for that order and discipline which almost always uses to cause it in such encounters; there was no Commander whose authority and experience could regulate the unbridled rashness of the young Gentry, which greedily made haste to come to the business, believing firmly that they had imprisoned the Enemy between two Rivers; and therefore the next morning, being the twentieth of *October*, they began two hours before day to march, stragling confusedly toward the Field where the Battel was to be. There they were drawn into *Battalia*, as well as possible they might, by the *Sieur de Lavardin* Lieutenant-General, having spread a long Body of Lances in the Plain, on whose Wings were two Battalions of Infanterie, which flanked it on either side, and he himself with the Light Horse, led by the *Sieur de Montigny*, and *Mercurio Bua*, was at the Head of the whole Armie, having placed the Artillerie at the point of the left Wing.

At Contras the D. of Joyeuse with his Army prepares himself to battel, but with great confusion,

But the Confusion of those untrained Souldiers, who were come thither without order, and had scatteringly broken their Ranks, and disordered their Squadrons; and the way also to the place appointed being (to say the truth) narrow and woodie,

1587

The King of Navar takes opportunity by the Enemies slownesse, and puts his Army in excellent order.

woody, made them lose so much time in embattelling, that the King of Navar finding that the Enemy moved, had conveniencie to bring up his Artillerie, which by reason of their hasty passage was left the night before on the other side the River; who otherwise must have been faine to fight without his Canon, which would have been an extreme disadvantage to him. Now having received that benefit by the slownesse of the Enemy, he divided his Army, consisting of 2500 Horse, and 4000 Foot, into seven Squadrons, whereof four were Cuirassiers, one of Light Horse, and two of Foot, and caused the Culverins, and the small Field-pieces to be planted in the Front of the Army upon the bank of the River, in a place somewhat higher then the Plain; the two middle Squadrons which made the bottom of the Half-moon he commanded himself; the Prince of Conde and the Count de Soissons on the right hand; and on the left the Viscount de Turenne; the Light Horse were commanded by the Duke de la Tremouille, and the Sieur de Vivans, who was Marshal of the Field; and the two Bodies of Foot on the right hand were commanded by the Baron de Saliguan, Chastelnew, and Parabiere, who upon their flank had a thick wood, and a ditch of seven foot broad; and by Lorges, Preau, and Charboniere on the left, all old expert Colonels of that party, who were defended with the walls and buildings of the Park, but more especially of the Warren. The care of the Artillery was committed to the Sieur de Clairmont * Marquess of Galerande, and the Baggage either purposely, or by chance, was left in the Village of Contras without any Guard either of Horse or Foot.

* The French Translation sayes, and to the Marquess of Galerande.

The Armies were very different; for the Duke of Joyeuse's was cloathed all with rich upper coats, set forth with gallant Liveries, Plumes, and other wanton ornaments, but half in disorder, and all wavering, a manifest signe of want of experience; whereas the King of Navar's had no other shew then that of iron, nor other ornaments then their arms rusty with the rain, yet united and compacted in a firm perfect array, shewed their worth most clearly in Souldier-like actions and behaviour. The Canon began to play on all sides (the Sun being above two houres high) but either with different industry or fortune; for the King of Navar's making a lane thorough the Catholick Lances, and passing from thence into the Squadrons of Infantry, made a very great slaughter of them, and

The Armies face one another, and the Battel begins.

and put them all into confusion ; but the Duke's Canoneers levelled their Pieces so low, that all the bullets struck into the ground, and killed no body except one Gentleman of the Prince of Conde's; which the *Sieur de Lavardin* perceiving, and knowing that to give the Enemies time to charge again, and redouble their great shot, would cause the total routing of the Army, which was so broken & disordered by the Artillery, that they hardly kept in Battalia, having commanded to sound a charge, fell in with his light-Horse so furiously upon those of the Enemy which stood over against him, to the number of some two hundred, that the *Sieur de Montigny* killed the Duke de la Tremouille's horse under him, and Captain *Mercurio Bua* wounded the *Sieur de Vivans* Marshal of the field very dangerously ; and having scattered the light-Horse, came up to the Squadron of Cuirassiers led by the Viscount of *Turenne*, whom they charged not in the Front, but rushed fiercely upon their flank, and making way quite thorow them (whatsoever the occasion was, for it was afterward diversly spoken of) ran on with full speed to the Village of *Contras*, where the Enemies Baggage was. There the Albanians being out of breath with the length of their career, and seeing booty before them, fell to pillage, and were so long before they rallied again, that they resolved to retire into some place of security without doing any further service. But the King of *Navar* having briefly exhorted his men to fight for their common safetie, and having put thirtie Gentlemen before him with short Lances, ran but ten paces to meet the Catholick Cavalry, who having begun their Charge too soon, were in such disorder with the length of their career, that their Lances wrought not their wonted effect, and did no good at all ; wherefore being thrown away, the fight remained equal ; wherein, besides the valour of the Souldiers, their Squadrons being much harder to break thorow, then the long weak Battalion of the Duke de Joyeuse, the Cavalry of the Catholicks was routed and defeated in lesse then half an hour, the Duke himself among an infinite of Lords and Gentlemen being left dead ; for being overthrown upon the ground, and offering 100000 Crowns in ransom, he was with three Pistol shots most violently slain. Nor had the Infantry better fortune then the Cavalry ; for being charged on all sides, and fierce cries resounding every where, that every one should remember the slaughter of St. E.

The Albanians break thorow a Squadron of Cuirassiers, run to *Contras*, pillage the Hugonots baggage and could no more be rallied in the Battle.]

The D. of Joyeuse thrown to the ground offers 100000 Crowns in ransom, yet is slain,

1587 *loy*, where two Regiments of the King of *Navar's* were cut in pieces without mercy, the Souldiers were not satisfied till they had put most of them to the sword; the Commanders being not able to restrain their fury, nor the King of *Navar* to prevent it, being busied elsewhere in chasing the reliques of the Cavalry.

The Catho-
likes lose the
day, are all kil-
led and taken
prisoners, ex-
cept a very few
that save them-
selves by flight.

The slaughter of the Conquered, and pursuit of the Conquerours, lasted three hours, after which they were masters of the field: Of the Canon, Colours, and Baggage, where- in (to the laughter of Souldiers accustomed to the toils of War) they found many of those softer accommodations of ease and tenderneffe used in the Court. There were slain three thousand five hundred of the Catholikes, besides the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Count de *S. Sauveur* his brother, *Bresay*, who carried the General's Cornet, the Counts de *Suse*, d' *Anbignon*, and *Gavelo*, Colonel *Tiercelin*, and many others: but the number of prisoners was much greater; for except *Lavardin*, *Montigny*, and *Mercurio Bua*, who saved themselves, all the rest remained in the power of the enemy. On the King of *Navar's* side there were not full two hundred killed, among which not any man of great note; and among those that were wounded, onely the *Sieur de Vivans*, Captain *Fawas*, and the Viscount de *Turenne* but slightly. In this so great Victory the King of *Navar* shewed his clemency no lesse then he had done his prudence before in preventing the enemy, and ranging his Army in order, and his valour in fighting: for being returned into the place of the battel, he stayed the slaughter of the Catholike Infantry, received the prisoners courteously, commending those that had behaved themselves well in that action, and pitying the death of the rest that had been slain in the fury of the Battel, caused the dead body of the Duke de *Joyeuse* to be honourably put in a Leaden Coffin, and granted it to those that came to demand it, who caused it to be carried to *Paris*, where with a solemn Funeral it was magnificently buried.

This Victory of the King of *Navar's*, the first cause and original of his safety, and so much the more glorious, as being the first the Hugonots had obtained in the revolution of so many Wars, did not much displease the King of *France*; as well because he desired not the King of *Navar's* total suppression, lest the *Guise's* faction should be so much increased,

as to remain arbitratours alone of the Forces of the Kingdom, as also because the Duke of Joyeuse, raised by him with so much favour, to such a height of honour and greatnesse, had proved most ungrateful to him; being, out of an emulation to the Duke d'Espernon, turned to favour the League; and if not openly, at least secretly, united to the designs of the Lords of Guise. Nor did it trouble him that the King of Navar, having got the Victory, and overcome the hinderance of that Army, was able to march to meet the Germans; for he with a stronger Army had taken all the Passes of the Loyre, and so guarded the banks of the River every where, that he was certain neither of the enemies Armies could passe over it; and he hoped not onely to drive away the Germans victoriously; but also that they should be instruments to ruine and suppress the House of Guise; and all the plots and machinations of the League.

The King is not displeased at the loss, nor at the Duke of Joyeuse death.

At this time the German Army was in wonderful discord and confusion, not onely because there neither came money to pay them, nor that Prince of the Blood that had been promised them for their General, and because their hopes of being able to joyn with the King of Navar began to diminish; but also because the Duke of Espernon, who led the Vanguard of the King's Army, having often beaten up their quarters, they were certainly assured that the King, contrary to what their Commanders had perswaded them, had taken Arms against them, and followed them with a mighty Army, since they turned back from the River Loyre. But the Swisse Infantry were more unruly then all the rest; for seeing other Foot Souldiers of the same Nation with the publike Ensigns of the Canton in the King's Army, though they were of another Religion, were very unwilling to fight against their Country-men, and as unwilling to break their Confederacie and lose their friendship with the King of France, with whose consent, and for the good of whose Kingdom, they were told they should fight when they came from home. The death of Colonel Tileman, who commanded all the Swisses under the Sieur de Clermont, put the affairs in an absolute confusion: for dying suddenly of a malignant Feaver and a bloody Flux, they had no Commander left that had authority enough to restrain the unrulinesse of the Souldiers, so that they tumultuously resolved to send messengers to the King of France, and

The Swisses do not willingly fight, when they see the Ensignes of their Cantons displayed in the enemies Army.

1587

to make up an agreement with him : which being come to the knowledge of the Baron *d' Onaw*, and the French Commanders, they made so much the more haste in marching away from the King's Army, to get into the Country of *Beauvais*, where the abundance of provisions and pillage might make the *Swisses* forget the tumultuous resolution they had taken. But this hasty march brought greater confusion into the Army, troubled with a great multitude of sick men, some whereof were left behind in their several quarters, and miserably murdered by the Country people ; some carried along upon their Carriages, and following slowly the speed of those that were in health, were the cause that they quartered confusedly and in places.

This disorder was very well known to the Duke of *Guise*, who at their returning back from the River *Loyre*, had most wisely put himself between their Army and the City of *Paris* to keep that City faithful to him, and to increase both the affection the people bore him, and his reputation, as if he were the onely defence that hindered that mighty Army of the *Germans* from offending the City and Territories of *Paris* : whereas the King following slowly, seemed to have given over all care of the *Parisians*. He always lay in secure advantageous places, not far from the enemies Army, but made the ways be continually well cleared by Captain *Thomaso Fratta* an *Albanian*, and the *Sieur de Vins*, who had the charge of the Light Horse, and who sending Scouts abroad and bringing in intelligence every minute, gave him notice of the moving and progresse of the enemy. The *Germans* were come into the Territories of *Montargis*, twenty eight Leagues from *Paris* ; and upon the twenty sixth of *October* were quartered in this manner. The Baron *d' Onaw* with the biggest Body of Horse, at *Vilmory*, a very great Village : The *Swisses* under the walls of *Montargis*, which Town was above two great Leagues from thence ; and the rest of the Army scattered in several places about *Vilmory* ; but some a League, some two Leagues from the Head-quarter.

The manner of their lying being told the Duke of *Guise*, and the draught and platform of it being brought unto him by Captain *Thomaso*, whilst he was at table at *Courtenay* with the *Marquesse du Pont*, and the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Nemours*, *Angoulême*, and *Elbeuf*, he sat awhile musing, and silent, and then

then having sent for his own Trumpet, commanded him to sound *Boutefelle*, and that every body should be in a readinesse to march within an hour. At which order the Duke of *Mayenne* asking him to what purpose he would move, and whither he intended to go; he replied instantly, To fight with the enemy. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who knew the inequality of their Forces, began to smile, and said he was contented to be jested with: To which the Duke of *Guise* answered, with a grave countenance, that he spoke in very good earnest; and that they who had not the courage to fight might stay in their quarters; and without more words put on his Arms, and having set all things in order, took Horse without any further delay. His authority was such, and his Souldiers had so great a confidence in him, that when it was known they were presently to go charge the Army of the *Reiters*, there was no man dismayed at the great disparity of their numbers, but as if they were going to a certain Victory, the Foot and Horse in emulation of one another, strove who should be first in order and ready to march: onely the Duke of *Mayenne* and the *Marquess du Pont* considering the greatnesse and number of the German Army, and that by fighting, the whole House of *Lorain*, and the fortune of them all, was set upon the cast of a Dye, and in a most dangerous precipice, would have dissuaded the Duke of *Guise*, shewing that they could not believe that he, a prudent wary man, would hazzard all his fortune at so dangerous a game: But he persisting in his resolution, told them, That to the end they might not think him rash, he would make them partakers of his design, which was, About midnight to fall into their Head-quarter, where he knew they kept not so strict Guards as they ought, nor were so vigilant as Military Discipline required, being certain that in the tumult and uncertainty of the dark, the other quarters, neither knowing who nor how strong they were, by reason the King's Army was not far off, would never stir to assist the Head-quarter, but would rather fortifie themselves within their own till break of day: But it was most probable of all, that the Swisses would do so, who were so far off that they could by no means possible come time enough to help them: Wherefore that quarter being suddenly assaulted where they slept in ease and security, without the least suspicion of an enemy, he was most assured to have the Victory, and in that manner to disorder

The Duke of Guise jested at by the Duke of Mayenne, for saying he would assault the enemy because they were indiscreetly quartered.

1587 disorder the whole Army; and though it should succeed contrary to what reason perswaded, he could not want time and means to retreat with his Forces, not being troubled with any Carriages: And because the Duke of Mayenne answered that indeed it was a thing probable in appearance to succeed, but yet to be well thought upon; he (almost angry) replied, that he that could not think of it in a quarter of an hour, would never think of it in all his life time: Whereupon the considerations of all the rest yeelding to the authority of so noble a man, they began to march about the shutting in of the evening, with a designe to be about midnight at *Vilmory*, seven Leagues from thence.

The Duke of Guise knowing the want of discipline and experience in the German Army, resolves (though much inferiour in number) to fall upon them in their quarters.

The Duke of Guise marched first of all with thirty Gentlemen, and sixty Albanian Light-Horse; the Infantry followed in two divisions, one of which consisted of the Regiments of *Ponsenat* and *Chevrieres*, commanded by the *Sieur de Cluseau*; and the other of the Regiments of *Gies* and *de Bourg*, commanded by Colonel *St. Paul*. After these went the Cavalry; the Vanguard (being five hundred Horse) was led by the Duke of Mayenne; the *Battel* (being four hundred) by the *Marquesse du Pont*, with whom were the Dukes of *Nemours*, and *Elbenf*; and the Rere (being four hundred more) by the Duke of *Anmale* and the *Chevalier* his brother. In this order they came into the Plain neer *Vilmory* after midnight, and having found no obstacle, either of *perdu's*, or any parties that should have rid the *patrouille*, the Duke of Guise putting himself at the head of the Infantry, led it silently into the *Bourg* (which thick of Houses spreads it self about half a mile in length) and entered so softly, that the street was full of his Souldiers, before the Germans, who slept soundly, heard any thing at all of them. The Cavalry was already set in order in the Field, the Duke of Mayenne having the right hand, the Duke of *Anmale* the left, and the *Marquesse du Pont* between them, encompassing the whole *Bourg* almost on every side, to catch those who escaping from the fury of the Foot, should try to save themselves in the field.

All things being ordered in this manner, the Duke of Guise gave sign to Colonel *St. Paul*, who with a great volley of Muskets began to set fire on the neereft houses, and the same did Colonel *du Cluseau* on his side; so that in a very short time

time the flames gave light to the place of battel, if it may be called a battel; where the Germans unexpectedly assaulted, were without making any resistance, either slain by the sword, burnt in the fire, or destroyed with a thick hail of bullets. Onely the Baron d'Onaw, who lay at the farthest end of all the Town, had time to get on horse-back before the storm of the Infantry fell upon him, and seeing the high street which led into the field was all on fire, and commanded by the enemies souldiers, he turned upon the right hand with an hundred Horse that followed him, and through a narrow lane galloped out into the field, where having encountred the Vanguard, which was led up by the Duke of Mayenne to charge him, as he was a most valiant undaunted souldier, he rushed furiously into the midst of the Enemies, and meeting with the Duke of Mayenne himself, discharged a Pistol gallantly in his very face, which hitting something low upon the chin of his helmet, did him no harm at all; but the Duke of Mayenne having taken notice that the Baron was without his head-piece, because he had not had time to put on all his arms, strook him a slash over the forehead, notwithstanding which he passed on into the midst of the Squadron, and with his other Pistol killed him that carried the Duke's Cornet: but all the Van-guard falling close upon him, he having left above eighty of his men upon the place, broke thorow all the Squadron with fourteen in his company under favour of the darknesse, and being sheltered by the night, saved himself at Chasteau-Landon, where another part of his Army was quartered. In the mean time the Infantry had made an end of destroying the rest of his men, who perished all in the fire of the Town, not being any way able to save themselves, with so little danger to the Conquerors, that onely three men were wounded; but with so much spoil and rich booty, that never any souldiers were more loaden with wealth then they; for besides seven Cornets, two Camels that carried the Generals baggage, and two brasen kettle-drums, which for pomp waited on the Cornet of the chief Commander, the souldiers took above 2800 horses, many gold chains, no small store of plate, rich clothes, and other things of exceeding great value, besides the mony found about those that were dead; and the benefit of their prey was so much the greater, as the souldiers that fought were but few in number. The Duke of Guise who

The Baron
d'Onaw gets
out of Vilmorey
& having
fought, is
wounded in
the head, and
saves himself
by favour of
the night.

1587

who was run to help his Brother the Duke of Mayenne, whether the cry and tumult of the fight had called him, found that the enemies were defeated, and the Baron d' Onaw fled with the losse of seventeen Gentlemen of the Duke of Mayenne's own Troop, and onely four more wounded, and when he saw all things in his own power, that he might not give the other quarters time to fall upon him, nor the Swisses to move that way, he sounded a retreat before break of day, and with his Infantry all mounted on horse-back, returned in the same order to his own quarters. The number of the slain was never so uncertain in any action as in this; for though one side endeavoured to encrease, and the other to diminish it, yet it is most cleer there could not be any certain particular knowledge of it, because the greatest part of them perished in the fire.

This overthrow did much dismay the German Army, who thought the Duke of Guise's industry most wonderful, and his courage no lesse admirable, and therefore stood in exceeding great fear of him: but they were as much terrified by the carelesse of the Baron d' Onaw, who to his dishonour had by his want of military discipline, given opportunity to the vigilancy and celerity of his enemies: whereupon, if the disorders and confusions were very great among them before, they were multiplyed afterward to such a height by their fear of the Catholicks, and distrust of their own General, as opened the way to their utter ruine and destruction; for the Swisses presently sent messengers to the King of France, who being brought in by the Duke of Nevers, were received by him with a fowre countenance, and angry words, not that he was not very glad to make a composition with them, but because he desired to draw the businesse out in length, that the German Army might not be dissolved till the Duke of Guise's boldnesse and thirst of glory had brought him to some precipice. Likewise the *Reiters*, and particularly those that had lost their Baggage in the defeat of *Vilmory*, mutined, demanding their pay, and the French Commanders disagreeing among themselves, could hardly keep their Foot together, that were most pitifully worn out by the extreame wet weather of Autumn; thus every thing tended to manifest ruine and destruction.

But it fell out luckily; for Francis of Bourbon Prince of

of Conty, destined from the beginning to be their General, arrived then at the Army, who though he came without train, without money, and was of himself but little able to command in War, yet being a Prince of the Blood, and Sonne of the so renowned glorious Prince of Conde, he filled the whole Army with joy; whereupon the Commanders taking courage, wrought so much with the Swisses by prayers and entreaties, that they resolved to follow the Camp, and expect news from the King of Navar before they made an end of their Agreement with the King of France. But their spirits and hopes were quite raised again by the news of the Battel of Contras, and the death of the Duke de Joyeuse, which having passed thorow the enemies Country, was at last come unto them: whereupon they began to talk, that the King of Navar being now victorious, would certainly find some way or other to passe the Loire, and come to joyn his Forces with them. But these shews of prosperity were exceedingly counterpoised by those real difficulties wherewith the King opposed the deliberation of that Army; for being turned to march toward Vendesme, the King having left the banks of the Loire well guarded, was advanced himself to hinder them, causing the Duke of Espernon with the Van-guard to streighten and incommode them in their way, and the Duke of Guise following them in the Rear, with frequent Skirmishes, now as they were quartering, then as they were rising, sometimes in their march, ceased not to annoy them very much, and keep them in perpetual trouble; yet the contentment and rejoycing for the Prince of Conty's arrival did wholly possesse the Army, and to rest themselves, to refresh their spirits, and recover their Forces, they had lodged themselves at Anneau, in the Territory of Chartres, a great Town well furnished with buildings, and abounding in provisions; and because the Castle, a place indifferently strong by the situation, was held by a Governour and Garrison of the Kings, they had blocked up all the wayes that led towards it, and stopped them up with carts chained together, with barrells, logs, and other such like things, keeping their Corps de Garde at the end of the Streets, and setting out their Sentinels on every side. With these preventions they thought themselves so secure, that they intended to lie three or four dayes in that Quarter, as well to ease themselves, as to consult what they should do, the delibe-

1587 ration of the Commanders not being yet very well resolved on; and because *Annean*, though a great *Bourgy*, could not contain all their number, many of them quartered themselves in the neighboring Villages, making invitations and merriments every where for the coming of the Prince of *Conty*, and for the Victory of the King of *Navar*, drinking deeply after the German fashion; and so much the more, because the Feast of *S. Martin*, and the great plenty of Wine that year, excited their natural inclinations to dissoluteness.

But the Duke of *Guise*, who watched for all opportunities and occasions that might offer themselves, being informed of the intentions of the Germans to stay some few days at *Annean*, dispatched the *Sieur de Vins* secretly to the Governour of the Castle, filling him with wonderful great Promises, if he would grant him passage thorow the Castle one night, that he might fall down unexpectedly to assault the enemies. The Governour was a little doubtful at first, because all the wealth of the neighboring Towns was put into that Castle, and he having taken money from the Countrey-people to secure them, that no Souldiers should enter into it who might take them away, shewed himself backward in giving way to let in the Army. Yet he consented willingly to let the Duke pass under the wall, upon a narrow bank that lies along between the *Ravelin* of the Castle-gate, and a very broad Lake that spreads it self over a great part of those fields. But the *Sieur de Vins* considering that it was not good to put themselves into the power of a mercenary man; and that it was necessary to be Masters of the Castle, to the end that whatsoever should happen, the Foot might have a secure Retreat, he brought it so to passe, that the Governour went first to speak with Monsieur de la *Chastre* Marshal General of the Field, and afterward with the Duke of *Guise* himself, by whom being corrupted with money, and invited with very great hopes, he consented at last to receive him into the Fortref, having given him his faith that the Countrey-peoples goods should suffer no harm by the Souldiers: so upon the eleventh of *November* the Duke of *Guise* departing from his Quarters at *Dourdan* towards the Evening, made so much speed that he arrived with his Forces, not much wearied, at the Castle of *Annean* presently after midnight. The back-gate being opened,

opened; he went in to make himself master of the place, and brought in an hundred Muskettiers with very great silence; and the rest of the Infantry, to the number of three thousand, commanded by Colonel *S' Paul*, stood ready along the bank under the Castle-wall, to assault the *Bourg*, and the barricadoes which the Germans had made up: and at the same time the Cavalry had encompassed the Lake, and being divided into three squadrons, had possessed the passage toward the field, to drive back those that should seek to save themselves that way. Colonel *Joannes* was also come to the same place with six hundred Muskettiers mounted behinde his Horse-men; and had taken the passage to that gate of the *Bourg* which leads into the fields, just over against the Castle.

It was already break of day, and the *Reiters* Trumpets sound the *Diana*, when the Infantry assaulted the enemies barricadoes with infinite fury: and though many of them lay still buried in wine and sleep, yet the *Corps de garde*, which were vigilant, received the assault most couragiously, and the successe was doubtful for a time, till the Catholike Infantry, by setting the Carts and Barrels on fire, cleared the way, and removed those impediments that stopt it up; whereupon the Germans *Corps de gard* not being able to make resistance of themselves, were in a very short space all cut in pieces, Colonel *S' Paul* entered with the first Squadron into the street that led on the left hand, and Colonel *Ponsenat*, with the second, into the street on the right hand, where they bravely set upon those few *Reiters*, who not having had time to get to Horse, came up to them afoot with their Pistols in their hands; but the fight was very unequal; for the Muskettiers shot them at a distance, and the Pikes overturned all that came in their way; so that the *Reiters* having nothing but short Pistols and their swords, could never come up to give one blow to the enemy, and within a very little while all turned their backs, thinking to save themselves in the field; but finding the way shut up, and the gate possessed, being also driven back by *Joannes's* Muskettiers, who had made good the passage, they fell into so great terrour and confusion, that they were presently slain by the Foot without resistance. Some few who thought to get over the walls and flee crosse the field, were met withal by the Horse, and either miserably killed, or taken prisoners: onely Baron *d' Onaw*, much more fortunate in escaping then in fight-

The Duke of Guise gives a sudden assault to the Germans at *Auneau*, and with a great slaughter of them obtains another famous Victory.

1587

ing, having by the help of a woman got over the wall toward the moorish side of the lake, saved his life, and fled into the quarter of the Swisses, which was little more then a league from thence. The slaughter of the Germans was exceeding great and terrible, being inclosed on every side (for Colonel *Joannes* was at last come in also at the field-gate) and with lamentable cries they were all put to the sword without distinction: This bloody businesse continued till Baron *d'Onaw* being got to the Swisses, and the French Commanders being come to the same place from the other quarters, he exhorted, prayed and conjured them to follow him, promising them a certain Victory over the Catholikes, who in confusion, buried in spoil and execution, and wearied with watching, marching and fighting, could not be able to resist a much greater number, wherewith they might instantly fall upon them. But such a *Pannick* terror had seized them, that it was not possible to perswade them to it: and the French Commanders considering that the Catholike Infantry would retire safe into the Castle, and that the Cavalry fresh and unwearied possessed the passage toward the field, dissuaded the Baron from that attempt; and having put the rest of the Army in Battalia, purposed onely to defend their post. The Duke of Guise, when his Souldiers were glutted with blood and pillage, rich in spoil, all gallantly mounted, and from Foot-Souldiers turned horse-men, retired with eleven of the enemies Cornets, and all their Baggage, to *Estampes*, where having given God thanks, he instantly dispatched away the Cornets, and presented them to the King, giving him account (with proud Souldier-like boastings) of that notable Victory, which without blood he had so easily obtained.

But the King seeing the event prove quite contrary to his designe, resolved to prosecute hotly the remainder of the German Army, that he might have part in that glory which he saw resulted from Victory, and therefore he speedily sent forth the Duke of *Espernon* that way, he himself following with all the Army, with a set purpose to meet the enemy. The Duke of *Espernon*, after the example of the Duke of *Guise*, attempted often to beat up the Germans quarters, but with small effect; for the experience of the Commander, the goodnesse of the Souldiers, and the successe, were all very unequal, circumstances which often make the events of like occasions and like

like counsels to be very different: Wherefore the Duke of Espernon, by the King's direction, began again to treat of an Agreement with the Swisses, by means of the Sieur de Cormons a Hugonot Gentleman, who had been taken a few days before in a skirmish between the Armies. The Swisses were brought into an ill condition with perpetual marches, without money, having never had their pay, terrified by the defeat of the Reiters, and discontented to fight against the Ensignes of their own Nation, and much more, because they had not a General who for authority and experience was able to command and govern them, whereby they saw that the end of so great Forces would be ruinous and miserable; wherefore it was not very difficult, by an Accommodation with the King, to make them submit themselves unto his obedience: and their Commanders going to acknowledge him, being kindly received, (not to exasperate that Nation) and feasted by the Duke of Espernon, obtained a Safe-conduct to return to their own houses, which was also punctually observed, though toils, sufferings and diseases had let but few escape of so great a number.

The Duke of Espernon begins again to treat an Agreement with the Swisses of the German Army, and they have leave granted them to return with a Safe-conduct to their own home.

The Reiters, and their Commanders, and the French Soldiers, disheartened by the two late defeats, and forsaken by the Swisses, resolved to turn back and try to get out of the confines of France by the way of Burgongne, hoping to come safe into Germany, and the Territorie of Basile, and with that determination, being united and drawn close together, they began to march that way. But it was hard for them to get thither: for the Duke of Mayenne being returned into Bourgongne, had set himself to guard the confines; and the Sieur de Mandelot and the Count de Tournon being marched out of Lyons with the Forces of that City, were advanced also to hinder them: the King with his whole Army was but half a dayes march behind them, and streightned them in the rere; and the Duke of Guise, with his wonted celerity, sometimes in the flank, sometimes behinde, and sometimes getting before them, ceased not to distresse them very much. The French Infantry was tired and consumed; wherefore the Soldiers disbanding of themselves, lay close hid in those Cities and Villages thorow which they passed: and horses spoiled and unshod, could not follow the hastie march of the Commanders; and the losse of their Baggage, the want of money, the

The Reiters and the Germans following the example of the Swisses, do the same.

1587 the dearth of victuals (because all the people hid what they had in some secure place) the great rains, and dirty wayes, which are wonderful in *Burgongne*, their watching, weariness, diseases, and their disorders, had brought them to the extremity of desperation; wherefore the same *Sieur de Corman* interposing, they resolved to submit themselves to the King's mercy, who upon condition they would deliver him all their Colours furled up, and would promise not to fight any more against him, profered to grant them a most ample safe conduct.

All the Army that was commanded by the Baron d'Onaw disbanded at last.

The Prince of *Conty*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, the *Sieurs de Clerwant*, *Chastillon*, and other French Commanders laboured to withstand that resolution, promising them relief from the King of *Navar* within a short time, and the arrears of all their pay, and endeavoured to perswade them not to do so dishonourable a thing, as to acknowledge themselves subdued and conquered, alledging that the Forces in *Lyonois* were not so strong, but that they might passe that way, and go securely into the Territory of *Geneva*; but whilest they treat of these matters, being informed that the *Reiters* persisting in their determination of yeelding, intended to make them prisoners, thereby to win the favour of the King, and assure themselves of their pay to which they pretended, they resolved to steal away secretly, and separate themselves several wayes, to try if they could save themselves by flight, before the Germans had opportunity to execute their design.

The Duke of Bouillon flies to Geneva, and dyes there.

So the Duke of *Bouillon* with a few Horse making his escape without delay, by the way of *Roane* and *Lyonois*, but travelling out of the ordinary road, after many troubles and dangers got to *Geneva*; where, being no lesse wasted with grief of minde, then toyl of body, he died within a few dayes after, leaving his estate to his Sister, whom he recommended to the care of the Duke de *Montpensier*. The *Sieur de Chastillon* with an hundred Cuirassiers, and two hundred Harquebussiers on horse-back, having often fought with the Forces of *Bourgongne* and *Lyonois* with wonderful successe, and no lesse valour, got at last into *Languedoc*, and retired himself to his wonted Government in *Vivarez*. The *Sieur de Clerwant*, hid among the Swisses that went with a safe conduct, escaped in their company to *Basile*. The Prince of *Conty* with a few Horse, lurking in remote places, got at last unknown

known to his own house; and the other Commanders taking
several wayes, ran very various fortunes.

The *Reiters* having obtained leave of the King to carry
home his Corners, but not displayed, divided themselves in-
to two parts; one with the Baron d'Onen and Colonel Da-
martin passed thorow *Savoy*, where being shrunk to the num-
ber of but five hundred, they were pillaged by the Duke's
Forces; the other with the Baron de Bouck, passing thorow
Bourgogne to the confines of the County of *Mombelliard*,
was followed by the Marquels du Pont and the Duke of
Guise; by whom being overtaken without the Borders of
France, they were all cut in pieces in many several encoun-
ters. Nor did this satisfie those Heads of the League; but
with a hostile fury they also sacked and burned the Towns
and Castles of the County, as well to revenge the like out-
rages committed by the *Reiters* in *Lorain*, as because that
Count had been the principal author of raising those For-
ces. The slaughter of the Germans was most lamentable,
even to the eyes of their very enemies; who sick with Fea-
vers, and weakened with bloody Fluxes, falling down by
the High-ways, and in the Towns as they passed, were mi-
serably slain by the Country people; eighteen of them were
seen, who were left sick in a poor Cottage in *Bourgogne*, were
cruelly butchered, as the vilest Creatures, by a Woman, who
cut all their throats with a knife, in revenge of those losses she
had sustained.

A woman kills
18 Germans
with a knife.

Nor had those *Swisses* better fortune, who to the number
of three thousand were gone into *Dauphine*, under the
command of the *Sieur de Conay*, to joyn with *Lesdigniers*,
who keeping the Hugonot party alive in that Province,
could make no great progresse for want of Forces, but busi-
ed himself in taking in little places of small importance,
and in actions of small moment, having with him but a few
Foot Souldiers, and onely the Hugonot Gentry of that Coun-
try. These *Swisses* accompanied with four hundred French
Musketers, having passed the narrow places, marching on
to joyn with him, as they passed the River *Isare*, were as-
saulted by Monsieur de la Valette brother to the Duke of E-
spenon, with the Cavalry of *Provence*, and by Colonel *Alfon-*
so Ornano of the Isle of * *Corfica* with the Infantry of *Dauphi-*
ne, and so furiously charged there, that all the rest being slain

* And there-
fore usually
called Colonel
Alfonso Ornano.

upon

1587 upon the place, onely fixty of them escaped from so great a slaughter: whereupon also the Sieur *Lesdigniers* himself was forced to seek security among the Mountains.

The miserable
end of the re-
liques of the
mighty Army
of the Ger-
mans,

This end had that mighty Army of the Germans, after the defeat whereof, the King returning armed to Paris, entered in triumph upon the twenty third of December, being in appearance solemnly received by the people; though with the incredible applause of every one, but especially of the Parisians, the whole glory redounded to the Duke of *Guisse*, whose name being become admired and immortal, was celebrated by the tongues and pens of all his adherents.

The End of the Eighth Book.

665
1587



**HISTOIRIE
OF THE
CIVIL WARRRES
OF
France.**

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA

The Ninth BOOK

THE ARGUMENT.

THis Book relates the determination of the Duke of Guise, and of the League, to obtain (in the heat of the Victory) their designs of the King, and the ruine of the Hugonots : The Parisians assent unto it, and are more resolute then the rest : They prepare themselves to constrain the King by force, and to shut him up in a Monastery. The King being advertised, takes order to curb their unruliness; & to that end causeth the Swisses to draw near, and makes many other preparations. The Parisians finding they were discovered, to save themselves send for the Duke of Guise: At his Arrivall they take Arms, make barricadoes, drive out the Swisses, and besiege the King in his Palace. He being not able to resist, flees away secretly, and retires to Chartres, and thence to Rouen : He resolves to make Peace with the Duke of Guise, causeth it to be treated by the Queen-Mother, and it is concluded. The Duke of Espernon goes from Court, and retires to Angoulesm, where by a Conspiracy of the Citizens, his life is in great danger. The Duke of Guise comes

The History of the Civil Warres

to the King to Chartres, and is favoured and exalted to the height of power. The States are assembled at Blois, according to the appointment made in the Articles of Peace. The King declares Cardinal Morefimi his Legat in France. The King dismisses from Court the High-Chancellor, Secretary Villiers, and the Star de Bellicure: He sends an Army commanded by the Duke of Nevers against the King of Navar; who after the taking of many places, layes siege to Ganache. The States at Blois are begun: many practices and machinations are continued on both sides. The Duke of Guise causeth the States to demand that the King of Navar may be declared incapable of the Crown, and labours to be created Lieutenant General with absolute authority in the Government. News comes that the Duke of Savoy hath seized upon the Marquesate of Saluzzo; busineses are changed by it: but the Duke of Guise orders matters so, that all redounds to his advantage and power. The King being very much streightened, resolves to cause the Duke of Guise to be slain: he findes difficulties and impediments, but at last his design is effected, and upon Christmas Eve the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his brother are slain, and the Cardinal of Bourbon, with many others, imprisoned: He sends Colonel Alfonso Corso to seize upon the Duke of Mayenne at Lyons; but he is forewarned, and retires to Dijon. The Queen-mother dies in the seventieth year of her age, and affairs remain in confusion.



He defeat of the German Army caused the depression of the Hugonots, no lesse then the greatness and exaltation of the League: for the King of Navar having received the news of so great a loss, though he were victorious beyond the Loire, yet fearing so black a cloud would suddenly pour a storm upon his head, he retired, without making other attempt, into his wonted retreat the City of Rochel; and the other Heads of his party shut themselves up in the strongest places, expecting the resolutions which they saw would be taken against them.

On the other side, the Duke of Guise, after the destroying of the Countie of Mombelliard, being come to Nancy with the other Lords of his Family, began without further delay

lay to consult of the means of accomplishing speedily the de-
 signs of the League, and of reaping fruits suitable to their
 present Victory. In this Consultation debated and reitera-
 ted for many days, the greater part of the Lords of the House
 of Lorain, forgetting moderation, so necessary in prosperity,
 and spreading their sails very boldly, could talk of no lesse
 then the extirpation of the Hugonots, the deposing the King
 from the Crown, of putting him into a Cloister, as they had
 learned in Story, had been in former times done to *Chilperick*,
 of destroying the House of *Bourbon*, pulling down the *Min-
 ions* and Favourites of the Court, and disposing the Offices
 and Dignities of the Crown unto themselves, and in conclu-
 sion, of commanding and ruling the whole Government of
France their own way; and were so puffed up with the pre-
 sumption of themselves, that their counsels were neither mea-
 sured by justice nor possibility, presupposing they had all
 things in their own hands which were lawful for their deserts
 to undertake, and that they could easily execute any deter-
 mination, how high, how advantageous soever. These great
 designs were partly opposed by the Duke of *Lorain*, who of
 a milde nature and moderate minde, no lesse remote from dan-
 ger then far from the pretensions of the Lords of *Guise*, tried
 by the authority he had, as Head of that Family, to restrain
 those deliberations which he thought too precipitate, and to
 keep matters for the most part within the limits of reason.
 The Duke of *Mayenne* assented to his opinions, and com-
 mended them very much, thinking (according to his old
 inclination) that every moment they put the whole state of
 their Family in danger without much necessity. But the Duke
 of *Anmale*, and the *Chevalier* his brother, the Duke of *Ne-
 mours*, the Duke of *Elbenf*, the Count *de Chaligny*, and a-
 bove all the rest, the Duke of *Guise*, who led no lesse by the
 boldnesse of his own nature, and the acutenesse of his wit, then
 by the prosperous successe of his enterprises, could suffer no
 delay in following his conceived hopes, argued (not with-
 out reason) that the longer they deferred, the longer
 time they gave the King to contrive their ruine, and to
 perfect the design of their suppression which he had already
 begun.

This diversity of opinions was cause that they concluded
 as it were in the middle way: and therefore about the end of

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1588

Vast thoughts
 of the House of
Lorain, too
 much puffed
 up by prospe-
 rous successes.

1588 *January*, in the year 1588 they resolved upon two conclusions: One, that the Duke of *Lorain* with all his Forces and the assistance of *Flanders*, should assail the Towns that belong to the Duke of *Bouillon*, to root out the Hugonots from those parts, and to keep the Forces of the League in action: the other, that the Duke of *Guise*, and the other Confederate Lords, should not enter to oppose the King at the very first; but that being united with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, to strengthen their reasons, and to make appear that the nature of things did of it self carry businesse to their designed end, they should present a *Petition*, which should contain many demands for their advantage, and which should necessitate the King to declare his last resolution: for if he granted them, their desires would be effected without noise or trouble; and if he refused them, he should thereby give them occasion and opportunity to make use of arms, and to acquire that by force, which he would not consent to of his own accord.

The conjuncture of invading the Dutchy of *Bouillon* was in shew very opportune; for the Duke himself and the Count de la *Mark* his Brother being both dead, and having left *Charlotte* their Sister onely Heir, under the tuition of the Duke of *Montpensier*, they knew that he being a Catholick, was not acceptable to the City of *Sedan*, *Jamets*, and other places of that Dukedome, and that they would not trust his Government, and Monsieur de la *Noue* being executor of the late Duke's will, was not onely absent, but also to deliver himself from the imprisonment of the Spaniards, by whom he had been taken in the Warres of *Flanders*, had promised not to bear arms against the King of Spain, nor against the Duke of *Lorain*: whereby it appeared that *Charlotte* wanting a powerful protection, and being likewise molested by the Count de *Montlenrier* her Uncle, who pretended right to the inheritance, would hardly be able to resist the Forces of the Duke of *Lorain*, who also upon old pretences laid claim to many places of that State, and therefore without losing a minute of time, the Duke having put an Army in readinesse, under the command of the Marquesse du *Pont* his Son, accompanied by the Sieurs de *Rosne* and *Osonville*, after he had over-run and spoiled the Country, laid siege to *Jamets* with certain hopes to take it. But he found it a difficult businesse for Monsieur de *Schelandre* the Governour of it made very
wife

wife and careful provisions for the defence of it, and Monsieur *de la Noue* having first by a long Apologie in writing excused his stirring in a defensive War, and for the just right of a forsaken Orphan, came to *Sedan*, and began to make strong preparations to maintain the War; so that the Siege of *Jamets* cooling of it self, proved so long, that it hardly ended with the year, wherein those things that happened, directed their arms to more important expeditions.

But the Duke of *Guise* being departed from *Nancy*, and come into his Government of *Champagne*, caused a long writing in the names of himself, the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the other Heads of the League to be presented to the King, wherein after many preambles, and many reasons very cunningly laid together, they demanded in substance, That he would unite himself truly with them, and would sincerely make himself Head of the League, to the destruction and rooting out of the Hugonots. That he would put those persons from the Court, from his Councils, and from their Offices, who should be named by the Catholick Princes, as suspected and ill-affected to Religion: That he would make the Council of *Trent* be received and observed through the whole Kingdom, onely excepting those things which did prejudice the priviledge of the *Gallique* Church: That he would grant some certain places which should be thought fit, unto the Confederate Princes for their security, wherein they might keep Garisons, and make necessary Fortifications at the expences of the Crown: That he would maintain an Army about the Confines of *Lorain*, under the command of one of the Confederate Princes, to hinder the incursions of forreigners: That he would cause all the estates of the Hugonots to be confiscate and sold, wherewith the expences of the late Wars might be satisfied, and the Confederates might be assisted toward the maintenance of future matters.

The Writing contained these principal things, and many others of lesse consequence, which being presented to the King in the beginning of *February*, was received by him with his wonted dissimulation, and the answer deferred with his wonted delays: nor did the Duke of *Guise* presse much to know his resolution; for the end of the demand was only to make the King contemptible, and render him odious to the people, suspected to favour the Hugonots, and furnish the League

1588

The Duke of *Guise* causes a Writing to be presented to the King, with many cunning demands redounding to his own benefit.

1588.

League with an occasion an pretence to take up Arms, and prosecute their begun designs while the prosperity of their fortune lasted. But these artifices were needlesse to make the King's person odious and contemptible. The burdens which the War, the maintaining of so many Armies, and his own profane manner of spending, daily increased; had lost the hearts of the people. The noise and splendour of the Duke of *Guise's* Victories, had oblcured the majestie of his name: his obstinate favour to his *Minions*, had alienated the mindes of his most ancient, most devoted servants: and the people of *Paris* swayed by the ambition of the Councel of *Sixteen*, could no longer endure Government. The City was full of infamous Pamphlets, politick Discourses, Satyrical Verses, and fabulous Stories, which for the most part abusing the name of the Duke d' *Espernon*, redounded to the scorn and disgrace of the Royal Majesty. On the other side, all the streets, and every corner of *Paris*, resounded the praises of the Duke of *Guise*, celebrated in Verse and Prose by a thousand Writers, with the Title of the new *David*, the second *Moses*, the deliverer of the *Catholick* people, the prop and pillar of the holy Church; and the Preachers in their wonted manner, but with greater licence, openly inveighing against the present affairs, filled the ears of the people with wonders, or rather miracles (so they called them) of this new *Gideon*, come into the world for the desired safety of the Kingdome: Which things spread from the City of *Paris*, as from the heart, diffused themselves thorow all the Provinces, as into the members, which were possessed with the same impressions, as well to the King's disadvantage, as in favour of the League. This Commotion was fully perfected by the King's own determination, who either blinded with the affection he bore the Duke d' *Espernon*, or because he would not advance other men whom they had no great cause to trust, declared him Admiral of the Kingdome and Governour of *Normandy*, places that were vacant by the Duke of *Joyeuse* his death; which absolutely pierced thorow the heart of the Duke of *Guise*, seeing that he continued in his wonted customs, and that one man alone being exalted to the highest degree of greatnesse, himself, his brother, and the rest of his Family, how great soever their merits were, could never obtain nor compasse any thing: so that forgetting the determinations resolved on at *Nancy*, and that wary moderati-

The King declares the Duke of *Espernon* Admiral of the Kingdom and Governour of *Normandy*, to the great discontent of the Duke of *Guise*.

on which the Duke of Lorain had advised, he began without more delay, to think of reducing the authority of the Government into his own power, making the Parisians his principal instruments, who no lesse displeased and incensed then himself, did earnestly sollicite him to that resolution: Wherefore having received particular information of the state of things from the Council of Sixteen, whereby they assured him that they had twenty thousand armed men in the city at their devotion, ready to be put upon any enterprize: That they were divided into sixteen Squadrons, to every one of which they had appointed a Commander; and that the rest of the people would without question follow the stream of the chief men, by reason they were ill affected to the person of the King and the Duke of Espernon, and on the other side most zealous in the cause of Religion, he considering that confusion easily ariseth among the multitude, and that the division into sixteen several quarters was too many to meet altogether suddenly in one body when need should require, writ to the Council, that they should lessen that number, and reduce it into but five quarters, to which they should appoint a place, where they should meet at the sign that should be given them, and that they should dispose things in such a manner, as might breed neither disorder nor confusion: and as well to assure himself absolutely that that business should proceed according to his own will, as because he had no confidence in the small experience of those Heads appointed and chosen by the Parisians, he sent them five Commanders, who were to order the five quarters, and to rule and moderate the turbulence of popular Arms. These were the Count of Brissac, the Sieur de Bois-Dauphin, the Sieur de Chamois, the Sieur d'Esclavoles, and Colonel St. Paul, to whom the Sieur de Meneville was added, who from the first had been the mediatour and chief instrument in that business. These entered openly into Paris, under colour of private affairs; and being lodged in those quarters of the city that were appointed them, frequented the Court, and followed divers businesses, leaving the care to Meneville, of bringing the matter to its conclusion: and to give the greater assistance to it, the Duke of Guise gave order to the Duke of Anmale, who had Forces in Picardy, to make himself obeyed by many Governours of places, who fomented by the Duke

1588

The Council of Sixteen informs the Duke of Guise of 20000 men in readinesse for any design,

1588
The Duke of
Aumale is in
a readinesse
with five hun-
dred Horſe to
aſſiſt the con-
ſpiracy of the
Parisians.

Duke of *Eſpernon*, reſuſed to acknowledge him : That he ſhould keep five hundred good Horſe in a readineſſe to be there in due time, to put life in the deſign of the Parisians, who knowing that ſuch order was given, deſired *Jehan Conty* one of the *Eſchevins* (or, as we call them in England, Sheriffs of the City) that he would let them have the Keys of the Port *St. Martin*, which he kept, as the cuſtom is, to the end that when occaſion ſhould ſerve, they might bring in that ſupply which was to come out of *Picardy* : but he reſuſing, they dealt with *Pierre Brigard Elhevin* of the next quarter, who promiſed them the Keys of Port *S. Denis*, by which their aſſiſtance might be brought in as well as by that of *S. Martin* : And becauſe they doubted that *Conty*, who had denied to conſent unto it, might reveal the buſineſſe to the King, they found an invention to make him be complained of for an Heretick, and many other miſdeemeanours, putting him by that means in diſcredit, to the end that his relation might not be believed.

A Conſpiracy
againſt the
King's perſon.

Things being contrived in this manner, the means of executing them remained to be reſolved on. The Commanders ſent by the Duke, and the major part of thoſe choſen by the Council of *Sixteen*, thought that to aſſault the *Louvre* where the King lay encompassed with his Guards, and the Nobility that attended him, would be a dangerous enterpriſe, of too loud a violence, and no ways likely to ſucceed ; and they foreſaw beſides, that the fact would ſeem very ſcandalous to the reſt of the Kingdom ; that alſo if it failed but never ſo little, or that the effecting of it ſhould be a work of time, many diſorders would ariſe, and the King might have opportunity to make himſelf ſuperiour : wherefore they reſolved unanimouſly to make uſe of the occaſion which the time of *Lent* would afford them, to take his perſon then when with the Duke of *Eſpernon* he ſhould be in proceſſion as he was wont, in the habit of a Penitent among the whipping Friars, neither accompanied by his Guards, nor the ordinary retinue of the Court ; and as ſoon as he ſhould be ſeized upon, under colour of a popular Sedition, cauſed by the indignation of the common people, exaſperated by the heavy puniſhments that lay upon them, and enemies to the authority of the *Minions*, that he ſhould be ſhut up in a Monastery with ſtrong Guards ; after which the Duke of *Aumale's* five hundred Horſe and his other forces ſhould preſently come in, to take abſolute poſſeſſion

session of the principal places, and keep them guarded till the Duke of Guise should arrive; who calling the States General, and shewing either the King's incapacity, or his evil intentions, and evil Government, might cause the affairs of the Kingdome to be disposed at the arbitrement and to satisfaction of the League.

But *Nicholas Poulain*, who was privie to all this Conspiracy, did by means of the High-Chancellour quickly make the resolution that had been taken known to the King, who though he did not absolutely give credit to the discovery, by reason of the weight and importance of the thing, grounded upon no other assurance then the bare affirmation of *Poulain*, a man of no very good repute, and suspected by that means to seek for profit and reward; yet thinking fit to look to himself, he feigned himself not well, and upon that excuse forbore to go to any spiritual exercises with the Fraternity of the Penitents. And that he might be the better assured of the truth, he caused *Poulain* to be brought one night secretly into his closet, and in the presence of the High-Chancellour Monsieur d'O, and the Abbot *del Bene*, examined him particularly concerning all things he had revealed, seeming not to believe him, and to doubt that he was set on and suborned to say so, by those of the Hugonot party. *Poulain*, with a secure confidence and distinct narration, confirmed all that he had discovered, added all the particulars and smallest circumstances, named all the accomplices, related from the beginning the whole Conspiracy, and at last, with a free courage and settled countenance, offered to be put in prison and kept there, till he had justified all that he had said; and in conclusion added, That the Council of Sixteen was to be held the next day in the house of Monsieur *de la Bruyere*, (one of the conspiratours) and that if the King would send whom he pleased along with him with a sufficient Guard, he would put them all into his hands, so that none of them should be able to hide themselves, or deny the Conspiracy. The King dismissed him with gracious words, and very great promises, and went presently to the Duke of *Espernon's* lodgings, where they conferred together the space of half an hour; and being come from thence about midnight, went to the Queen-mothers Chamber, which was in the Palace, and having wakened her, told her distinctly all that had been revealed unto him, and began to

Nicholas Poulain reveals the whole Plot to the High-Chancellour, and confirms it also to the King himself.

1588 consult whether he should do well to follow *Poulain's* advice, and send the next day to take the Conspiratours.

The thing in appearance was easie and secure, but in effect full of great difficulty and danger: for it was not to be doubted, but upon very little stir all the quarters of the City would be up in Arms, according to the order already taken, and under the Commanders already appointed, who would never suffer their Heads to be laid hold on and carried away prisoners by so small a number as a Company of the Guards, which was all they were able to send about that businesse: nor could they doubt of this effect, since they had often proved, that when any one of the Heads of the City had been taken by the Officers of the Court, either upon civil or criminal occasions, the common people had ever run violently and seditiously armed to deliver him: and if the people, being raised upon the apparent colour, that their Heads and Protectours were like to be seized upon, should suddenly assault the *Louvre*, the King and Court unarmed, unprovided, undefended, except by the ordinary Guards, they would hardly be able to make resistance against so great a Force, led by so expert resolute Commanders, and who being come to that passe, would readily embrace so specious an occasion of making it appear that they stirred not to offend others, but onely in their own defence. They considered that the people of *Paris* were so powerful, that they could not be curbed, but by mighty Forces; and to undertake what they could not compasse, would be nothing else but to overthrow the businesse, and come off with losse and dishonour. They foresaw that the Conspiratours would presently be relieved by the Dukes of *Guise* and *Aumale*, who were hard by in Arms; whereas the King had no Body of men ready to assist him in a case of so great danger. They knew that they were not to trust in the Hugonot party, as well because they had alwaies feared the King, and esteemed him a bitter enemy to their Religion, as because the defeat of the Germans had so terrified them, that they all thought rather of leaving the Kingdom to save their lives by flight, then of following the conduct of the Princes, to save themselves by the sword; and so much the more, by reason that the Prince of *Conde's* death (which happened about this time at *St. Jehan d' Angely*, by poison given him, as was reported, by his own servants, upon some private distaste) had raised the affliction of that party to the

Henry Prince
of Conde poi-
soned at *St. Je-
han d' Angely*
by his own
servants.

the utmost height; wherein there was nothing left unshaken, but onely the constancy of the King of Navar: Besides that, the far distance, and the other wonted respects, excluded the making of a foundation upon that party; especially in the exigence of this imminent danger: so that they could finde no Forces any where sufficient to bridle the Parisians. Whereupon the Queen at last spake this conceit in the Italian tongue: * *Bisogna coprisi bene il viso inanzi che stuzzicare il* * *He that will stir up a Wasps nest, had first need to cover his face well.* adding, that it was necessary to arm and provide first, and then means would not be wanting to suppress the Conspiratours.

He that will stir up a Wasps nest, had first need to cover his face well. A saying of the Queen-mothers.

Wherefore, after long consultations, they sent for the Abbot del Bene, with whom having pondering the same things again, they concluded that the Duke of Espernon, under colour of taking possession of his Government of Normandy, should go presently into that Province (bordering upon, and as it were joyning to the Territory of Paris it self): That he should assure himself of Rouen and Havre de Grace, chief places of that Province, and which shut up the passage of the Ocean, and of the River Seine; and that upon that occasion he should draw some forces together, wherewith he might be ready to come up in time of need: That on the other side they should endeavour by all means possible, as they had already begun, to draw Monsieur d'Entragues unto the King's devotion, being Governour of Orleans, a Citie that stops the passage from Berry and Beausse unto the Territories of Paris: That the Swisses which were yet under the King's pay, should be drawn to quarter at Lagny, and in other places adjoyning, to shut up the River of Marne (commonly called, The Nurse of the common people of Paris) and to cut off the passage from Champagne: for having Chartres already, whereof the High-Chancellour had the Government, and Pontoyse, because the Governour of it was Monsieur d'Alincourt Father to Secretary Villeroy, Paris would be blocked up, incompassed and bridled on every side; so that bringing in afterward the greatest part of the Swisses, and reinforcing the Regiment of Guards, by calling all the Souldiers to their Colours, who are often wont to be absent in time of peace, they might then securely take the Heads of the Conspiracie; and if the people should rise, it would be easie to tame them with the

Resolutions taken to free themselves of the Conspiracy of the Parisians.

1588 strength of the *Swisses*, and the powerful curb of hunger: in the mean time they concluded it was best for the King to dissemble, and abstain from publick Ceremonies, and from certain suspected places, to give no opportunity to the execution of that plot which the Conspiratours sought to accomplish.

This resolution, grounded as it were upon necessity, was approved the next morning both by Secretary *Villeroy* and the High-Chancellour, but most of all by the *Sieur de Villequier*, who still persisted in his opinion that the information was not true, but that the enemies of the Duke of *Guise* and of the Parisians, had suborned *Poulain* to raise this calumny, thereby to stir up some enterprise against them. Whereupon the King having sent for *Conty* and *Ugoley*, two *Esbevins* that consented not to the Conspiratours, would needs hear from them what they knew in that particular. *Conty* excused himself, that by reason of the report which was lately raised of him, that he was infected with the Hugonot Religion, and guilty of other crimes, he had not dared to tell any of those things he knew, for fear of being thought a malicious slanderer; and then laid open freely all that had passed about the Keys of the Port *St. Martin*: and *Pierre Ugoley* relating many particulars that were come to his knowledge, confirmed the same things: so that the information being partly proved, they went on to the execution of those resolutions which had been taken.

The Duke of *Espenon* departed two dayes after with a very small company, that he might not weaken the Court; and being come to *Rouen* the Metropolis of *Normandy*, took possession of the Government, confirming as well the Parliament as the *Sieur de Carronges* Governour of the City, unto his devotion, and to the King's party. But the same succeeded not at *Havre de Grace*, because *Andre Brancace* *Sieur de Villars* a *Provencal*, who had the Government thereof given him by the Duke of *Joyeuse*, had already taken part with the League; the Duke of *Guise*, who diligently watched all opportunities, having dealt with him, by reason of the importance of that place, and caused the Parisians to give him thirty thousand Crowns, under pretence of keeping the mouthes of the Ocean shut, and the passage of the *Seine* open, to the end that the City might enjoy the traffick of the Sea, and the conveniency of bringing up the provisions which came from those

those parts; by which reward, and the protection of the Duke of Guise, he was won to side absolutely with the League. Wherefore the Duke of Espernon knowing that he could not draw that place to his devotion, and unwilling to hazard his reputation at the first, letting alone the Country of Caux where it is situated, he passed on the other side the Seine, to Ponteau de Mer, Honfleur, and from thence by the shore of the Ocean to the City of Caen, where he was received with infinite applause, because the place was full of Hugonots, and most averse from the designs of the League.

In the mean time the Sieur d'Entraques was treated with about the City of Orleans, by the means of Secretary Villeroy: in which Negotiation there arose many difficulties, nor could the King bring it to an end with all his solicitations. The most part of men were of opinion, that this business was not effected, because Secretary Villeroy, now an open enemy to the Duke of Espernon, desired the Duke of Guise's party should prevail, that he might thereby be abased; not believing that ever the League would dare to passe on so far, as to plot against the person of the King himself, but that they only aimed at pulling down the Minions, and the destruction of the Hugonots, and that therefore he did artificially interrupt the treaty of Orleans, and protract the resolution of Monsieur d'Entraques with delays and difficulties; which was so much the rather believed, because the business was most easily effected afterwards in a time lesse opportune, and lesse favourable. But Monsieur de Villeroy excused himself for it with a long Apology, shewing that the protraction of the business was caused on the one side by the irresoluteness of Monsieur d'Entraques, and on the other, by that of the King himself; who would neither consent to dismember the Government of the City of Orleans from that of the Province as he required, lest he should discontent the High-Chancellor (who possessed it) nor to make satisfaction be given him by the Duke of Espernon, by whom he thought himself injured in the person of his Son; howsoever it were, the business went on so slowly, that they came not to a conclusion at Orleans time enough to block up the City of Paris; which the King prosecuting very carefully, caused the Marschal de Byron to bring the Swisses to quarter at Lagny, a place near the City seated upon the River Marne, disposing part of them

1588 them into all the convenient neighbouring places. In the mean time the number of the French Guards was increased; for Commissions had been given out to all the Captains ordinary, to summon all Souldiers to their Colours, and not to give leave to any to depart. The Archers who were wont to wait by quatter, but three moneths in the ycer, had been all warned to attend in an extraordinary manner; the Five and forty Gentlemen appointed by the King, stirred neither day nor night from his Lodgings and Person; and many Gentlemen were invited under pretence of other businesses, to reside at Court: which things being particularly observed by the Council of Sixteen (who kept Spies in every place) and seeing the King (contrary to his custome) live retired from those exercises of devotion and recreation wherein he was wont to delight, began to grow very suspicious that he had been advertised by Jehan Conty and Pierre Ugoloy, wherupon they began to fear, and to look to themselves; yet not desisting from the enterprise, but rather providing for all things with greater diligence. But when they knew the Swisses were quartered at Lagny, they were assured that their Plot was discovered, and fell into wonderful confusion, their hearts all failing, as the custome is in popular designs, there being no man among them able for his authority and experience to manage so weighty an enterprise: wherefore finding they stood in need of a principal Head, whose wit, courage, and reputation might give life unto the businesse, they dispatched Pierre Brigard in very great haste to intreat the Duke of Guise not to defer his coming any longer, to which they had often invited him; since by his presence the design might be happily brought unto an issue; whereas if they were forsaken by him, they saw they should become a prey unto the King, out of whose hands, (to the total destruction of the City) they could not think of any possible way to save themselves. The Duke (who had some notice of the Kings intention, and also on the other side was not willing to suffer the foundation of the League to perish, nor to abandon those who had principally made their recourse to him, and thinking that his ruine would immediately follow that of the Parisians, if time were given for those remedies to work which the King had begun to put in practice) took a resolution to go to Paris, either perfectly to finish the design (as they of the

The Kings preparations to make himself sure of the Conspirators, to block up the passages about Paris, and keep victuals from thence.

The Council of Sixteen by the Kings preparations, begin to suspect that their Plot is discovered, and the Heads being dismayed send for the Duke of Guise to Paris.

the King's party said) or at least (as he and his Adherents said) to save the City, and the Council of *Sixteen*, which he knew to be in manifest danger, and to free himself of the calumny which his enemies and the favourers of the Hugonots had raised against him. And that he might make no noise, but proceed with the same Arts that were used by the King, he sent his Gentlemen by several wayes, and a great band of old soldiers, who entred scatteringly upon several dayes into the City, and lodg'd apart in several quarters; and he himself with but seven Horse in company took the way toward *Soissons*, where the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was, to confer with him, and go from thence to *Paris*. Yet Fame published his coming, (which was also spread abroad by the *Sixteen* to cheer up the sadnesse that had possessed all the people by reason of the preparations that were made) which being known unto the King, was the cause that he sent Monsieur de *Bellieure* as far as *Soissons* to dissuade him from coming, and to let him know, that in such a turbulent suspected time, he should be displeased and offended at it. The Duke, who was not moved from his resolution by certain vain respects that use to disturb unsettled minds, but desiring to come unexpectedly, that he might neither be prevented nor way-laid, answered the King's message doubtfully, saying that his ambition was to serve his Majesty and Religion; that he knew he had been slandered by his enemies, and therefore longed to vindicate himself; that his journey was exceeding private, and without any train that could make him suspected; that he was very desirous to satisfy the King in all occasions; that he would not disobey his Majesty's commands; and added many other words, but all general and ambiguous; nor did he ever conclude in substance, whether he would obey the King's command in that particular, or prosecute his intended journey to *Paris*; yet he seemed rather to infer that he would stay at *Soissons*, and expect another resolution. But Monsieur de *Bellieure* was no sooner departed with his doubtful answer, but he took horse and followed him, making his journey out of the great high-ways, lest he should meet other Messengers from the King; so that *Philibert* Sieur de la *Gniche*, and *Charles Benoit* the King's Cabinet-Secretary, who were dispatched one after the other to advise him not to come to *Paris*, could not find him any where, till he was at the Gate of *S. Denis*, a time when

The King commands the D. of Guise not to come to *Paris*, but he disobeys.

1588

when it was too late to forbid his coming. The Duke of Guise enters Paris upon Munday the ninth of May, when it was almost noon, with no greater train then seven horses, with his Gentlemen and other servants together; but as a little snow-ball rolling down a high hill grows so big, that at last it becomes almost a mountain; so the people running out of their houses and shops, with applause and joy to follow him, he had not passed half thorow the City, but he had above thirty thousand persons about him, and the crowd was so great, that he himself could hardly make his way. The shouts of the people sounded to the skies; nor did they ever cry *Vive le Roy* with so great acclamation, as they now cried, *Vive Guise*: some saluted him, some gave him thanks, some bowed to him, some kissed the hem of his Garment; those that could not get neer, with actions of their hands and gestures of their whole body shewed infinite signs of rejoycing; and some were seen, who adoring him as a Saint, touched him with their beads, and either kissed them presently, or else touched their eyes and foreheads with them; and even the very women, strowing leaves and flowers from their windows, honoured and blessed his coming. He on the other side, with a popular face, and smiling countenance, shewed himself affable to some in words, to some by courteously returning their salutations, others he requited with kinde looks; and passing thorow that throng of people with his hat off, he omitted nothing that was behoveful to win absolutely the affections and applause of the people.

The Duke goes
to wait upon
the Queen-
mother, who
becomes pale
and affrighted.

In this manner, without staying at his own house, he went streight forward to St. Eustache, and alighted at the Palace of the Queen-mother, who half astonished at his unexpected arrival (for Monsieur de Bellieure being returned three hours before, had made a doubt of his coming) received him with a pale countenance, and (contrary to the ordinary custome of her nature) trembling and almost dismayed. The Duke's carriage was full of respecive humility and profound submission; the words of the Queen ambiguous, telling him that she was glad to see him, but would have been much more glad to have seen him at another time; to which he answered with modest behaviour, but high words, that he was a faithful servant to the King, and that having understood the calumnies that were cast upon his innocence, and the things that were

in agitation against Religion, and against the honest well-affected men of that City; he was come thither to divert that mischief, and clear himself, or else to lay down his life at the service of the Church and the general safety.

Their discourse being interrupted, while he (as the custom is) saluted the other Ladies of the Court, the Queen called *Luis Davila* her Gentleman-Usher, and commanded him to let the King know the Duke of *Guise* was come, and that within a little while she would bring him personally to the *Donore*. The King (who was in his private closet with Monsieur de *Villequier*, *Bellicure*, and the Abbot *del Bene*) was so wonderfully moved, that he was fain to rest himself upon his arm, having his head down almost to the table; and having examined *Davila* of every particular, commanded him to desire the Queen secretly to defer his coming as long as possibly he could.

The Abbot *del Bene*, and Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, a most trusty servant of the Kings, and one that had deserved wonderfully well of the Crown, coming at that instant into the closet, counselled him to receive the Duke of *Guise* in the same closet, and cause him to be killed in that very place, the Abbot saying these words, * *Percutiam Pastorem, & dispergemus ovem.* But *Villequier*, *Bellicure*, and the High-Chancellor (who came in) were of another opinion, alledging that the commotion of the people was so great, that in such a case, concerning the Royal Majesty, and breaking all bounds of Law and Duty, they would run to a precipitate revenge; and that things not being yet ready to defend themselves, and bridle the fury of the City, the Forces of the Parisians were too powerful to be provoked.

Whilst the King stood doubtful what to resolve, the Queen-mother came and brought the Duke of *Guise*: she was brought herself in a Sedan, the Duke going by her all the way on foot, but with so great a train, and such a confluence of people, that the whole City seemed to be crowded into the Court of the *Lowore* and the streets thereabouts. They passed thorow a line of soldiers: Monsieur de *Grillon* Colonel of the Guards was there present, who being a free Souldierly man, and no very good friend to the Duke of *Guise*, whilst he bowed courteously to every private Souldier, made very small shew of respect unto the Duke, who observed it very well, with some alteration of countenance, which increased to a great

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pale.

* I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.

1588 palenesse when he saw the Swisses, who (standing to their Arms) made a lane at the bottom of the stairs, the Archers in the Hall, and in the rooms above, all the Gentlemen gathered together to expect him. They entered into the Kings chamber; who (while the Duke of Guise bowed himself with a low reverence) said to him with an angry look, *I sent you word that you should not come.* To these words the Duke with the same submission he had used to the Queen, but with more moderate words, answered, *That he was come to put himself into the arms of his Majesties Justice, to clear himself of those calumnies that were cast upon him by his enemies; and that nevertheless he would not have come, if he had been plainly told that his Majesty had commanded him to stay.* The King turning to Bellienne, asked him angrily if it were not true that he had given him Commission to tell the Duke of Guise that he should not come, unless he would be accounted the Author of the tumults and insurrections of the Parisians. Monsieur de Bellienne stepped forward, and would have given an account of his Message; but as he began to speak, the King interrupted him, saying that it was enough; and turning to the Duke of Guise, said, *That he knew not that he was calumniated by any body, but that his innocence would have clearly appeared, if his coming had produced no novelty, nor interrupted the quiet of the Government, as it was like to do.* The Queen well acquainted with the Kings nature, and seeing in his face that he was inclined to some bold resolution, drew him aside, and told him in substance what she had seen of the concourse of people, and that it was no time to think of any precipitate determination. The Dutchesse of Uzex, who was close by him, confirmed the same: and the Duke of Guise attentively observing every little particular, as soon as he saw they were in an uncertainty, that he might not give the King time to deliberate, feigned himself weary with his journey, and taking his leave, returned with the same confluence of people, but not accompanied with any of the Court, unto his own house in the Rue S. Anthoine. Many condemned the King, because he did not then resolve to cut him off at that opportunity; and many knowing the strength and courage of the Parisians, and that he had many Adherents even in the Court itself, thought it a prudent and moderate determination to let him go. But the Duke of Guise having before his eyes the danger

The King being visited by the Duke of Guise, shews himself angry both in words and looks, because he was come to Paris, contrary to his command.

The Queen dissuades the King from his thoughts against the Duke of Guise, who perceiving in what danger he was, presently takes his leave and departs.

he had run, and condemning himself for his late venture, began presently to draw unto himself all his friends and dependents, which were spread in the several quarters of the City, so that he who at noon entered but with seven horses, had in his house at night above four hundred Gentlemen and Commanders. At the same time he sent for the Council of Sixteen, and all the *Eschevins*; and after a long consultation (wherein he was fully informed of all particulars) gave order that Guards should be kept in every Ward; that all men should be warned and prepared; and that upon any stir they should (according to the order already given, and under the Officers already appointed) all run to the principal places of the City, and chiefly to his house. Many Arms, Muskets, Drums, and other instruments of War, were carried the same night into his house, as well to arm great store of people, as to defend his own person, about which they kept Watches and Sentinels, no less then they use to do in Armies when they are neer an enemy.

The same diligence was used at the *Louvre*, and at the Queens Palace, whither she returned when it was very late at night: her Gentlemen kept Guard very carefully; and the whole night was spent in great suspicions on every side: and now all things were become publike; nor was any body ignorant that the King meant to bridle the Parisians, and suppress the Duke of *Guise*; and that he on the other side was come to make himself Master of the City, to drive his enemies from Court, and to finde means of transferring all the authority of the Government upon himself. Among these reciprocal suspicions and publike scattered reports, *Poulain* being admitted the same night into the King's closet, told him that he had heard the Duke of *Guise* had said publicly, He would clear himself of those calumnies that had been raised of him; and offered himself again to be put in prison till he had made what he had revealed appear to be true: for the Heads of the Conspiracy being taken, he doubted not but the King would have a full assurance of all. Further, he said that before the Duke's coming, the King's preparations had made every one wary and timorous; but that now he was present, their wonted spirits were revived: whereupon, that very night, in the most silent hours, the Council was to be held in the house of *la Chapelle*, where it would be very easie to take them all, and certify themselves manifestly of the whole business. Upon

The King and Queen are strongly guarded for fear of the D. of *Guise*; and he being fearful also, takes the same care.

1588 this proposition, they continued uncertain what to do, and consulting the whole night without one wink of sleep, in the mean time day appeared, it being Tuesday the tenth of May, a day full of terrour and distraction. The City was full of meetings and conventicles, the *Louvre* guarded with an unwonted number of Souldiers; the Duke of *Guise's* Palace kept locked and full of arms; the King in his Closet at secret counsel with the Queen his Mother, and his Counsellors; yet the Duke of *Guise* came in the morning to the *Louvre*, but with a train of above four hundred Gentlemen and Commanders privately armed, with Pistols under their cloaks) and went to the lodgings of the young Queen to visit her, and from thence, having waited upon the King till he went to Masse, retired with the wonted concourse of people to his own house, where he spent the rest of the morning in consulting with the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, who above all others, was his most interested Confident, because he was a bitter enemy to the Duke of *Espernon*.

The Duke of *Guise* goes (with 400 gentlemen privately wel armed) to the *Louvre* to wait upon the King to Masse.

Discourses that passed between the King, the Queen-mother, & the Duke of *Guise*.

After dinner he went to the Queen-mothers house, whither the King came, and they discoursed together in the garden a long time. There the Duke of *Guise* taking heart, as being in a place out of danger, because it was in the midst of the City, wherein he was the strongest, discoursed a great while of the causes of his coming, of the satisfaction which the Confederate Princes desired, and of the War to be made against the King of *Navar*, accusing the Duke of *Espernon*, and Monsieur *de la Valette* his Brother, as authors of the contents and divisions, and imputed to their practices that the Hugonots were not rooted out, and *France* restored to its ancient splendor, and settled in a perfect peace; and finally, he shewed that the mindes of the sincere Catholicks could not be at quiet, while they saw the King encompassed with suspected persons, and such as were of doubtful opinions in matter of Religion, while the ancient manner of Government used by former Kings was perverted, and while instead of employing his Forces against the Hugonot Faction, they were turned against the faithful people of *Paris*, who desired nothing else but the safety of their souls and consciences; wherefore it was necessary for whosoever would live in peace and tranquility to change the course of proceedings and form of Government, to the end that the Catholick Faith, and the safety of good men being

being secured, every one might live quietly within their due obedience. 1588

To these things the King answered with prolixity of words, shewing, that his minde was inclined to the extirpation of the Hugonots; but that it was needful to stay for a fit opportunity, and wait his pleasure, not going about to constrain him, by force, that the plots and machinations of those of the League had interrupted all good; for they had passed on so far, that they had disturbed the established order of Government; nor had that satisfied, but slanderous tongues had too much offended his patience both against truth and reason; that notwithstanding the clemency of his nature was ready to pardon all those that would see their faults, and serve him faithfully for the time to come: that no Prince in *Christendome* had more hated, persecuted, and trodden down Hereticks then he; that never any King had more loved and favoured any Subject, then he had done the house of *Lorain*, and the very person of the Duke of *Guise*; that all Offices and dignities could not be conferred upon one man; and that as God bestows his blessings upon many according to the quality of their callings, so a Prince is bound to divide his gifts and favours among many, according to their deserts and his own inclination; that he had raised the Lords of *la Valette*, sons of a most Catholick Father, valiant in War, and who had deserved very well of the Crown, having borne Arms more constantly then any other against the Hugonots; that he found he was well served by them, as the diligence of *Espernon* had been seen in the defeat of the Germans, and the prosperous successe of *la Valette* in making so great a slaughter of the Protestant Swisses that went into *Dauphine*: yet for all that he did not go about to equal them to the House of *Guise*, being neither alike in birth nor desert; but that places in Court are different, as there are different stations in Paradise; that it had ever been in the free power of all Kings to use and favour whom they pleased, and to chuse companions for their hours of recreation to their own liking and conveniency, for else that liberty would be debarred a Prince which private men freely enjoy, there being no man so mean but hath power to live & converse with whom he pleaseth, and to dispose of his own estate according to his own will and *genius*; that he had never received any counsel from the Lords of *la Valette*, nor any impediment that hindred him
from

1588

from making War with the Hugonots: yet if it could be proved, that they have not behaved themselves sincerely in any businesse, he was ready to punish them according to the quality of their fault; but that he would not banish them from Court for meer dislike of others: that he would observe what he had so often sworn concerning the Edict of the *Union*, and that his thoughts were more then ever bent upon the War against the King of *Navar*, nor did any other respect withhold him from it, then that of burthening his people, which he must be forced to do to maintain Armies in so many several places; that it was only that which troubled him; but yet that his subjects had no reason to complain, since they themselves had been the Incendiaries of the War, and above all, the Parisians: that War could not be made without money, and money could not be raised without oppressing the people, by which means he was brought to bear the blame of a fault that was not his; for those that cried out against impositions were the very same who seditiously had forced him to make War; that the City of *Paris* (to which he had done more good then ten of his Predecessours together, which had ever been his Favourite, wherein he had made his constant habitation, which caused the riches and plenty of the Citizens) had now declared it self his Enemy, and having derided and defamed his name, had also gone on to conspire against his Person: that he knew very well that those Plots were contrived by strangers, and that the good people who were originally of the City consented not unto them, and that therefore he had resolved to turn all strangers out of the City, to take away the fuel from that pestilent fire which begun to spread; that he would not make use of foreign Arms to purge the City, whilst he should be faithfully served by the Citizens themselves; that he required his assistance in that businesse, and that he would give him that proof of the fidelity and sincerity he professed; for when he should once be assured of the obedience of his subjects, he had nothing more to desire of him; and when once the strangers were driven out, and the City settled without tumult, in the condition it ought to be, he would cast away all former suspicions, and willingly consent to the moderation of future businesses. After he had ended his discourse, he called the *Prevost des Merchands*, and the *Eschewins* of the City, who were present, and commanded them to search

search all houses diligently the day after, with such other persons as he should appoint for that purpose; and that they should turn out all strangers who had settled themselves there without urgent necessity: That they should make no distinction of persons: for he was certified there were fifteen thousand who were set on to raise scandals, and come to stir up new commotions, to the danger of the lives and goods of the Citizens. With this Commission the Deputies departed, promising to serve him faithfully: and after many such discourses, the Duke of Guise departed also, having promised the same: For he had lull'd the King with his arts, and that his presence had so terrified him, that he should no longer need much Force: Whereupon he said to some of his familiar friends that he hoped without noise or difficulty to obtain an Assembly of the States General, wherein he doubted not but matters should go on according to his wish and design.

The King appointed Monsieur de Villequier and Monsieur d'O to make search for the strangers, which (the same Guards and jealousies continuing) was begun the next morning, but with obstinate backwardness, and most apparent dissimulation of the Parisians, who knew that those that were lodged in the City were all the Duke of Guise's dependents, and sent by him; nor were they willing that by expelling them their own Forces should be dissolved: Whereby the King's deputies perceived that they laboured but in vain, and that the intention of disarming and weakning the Duke of Guise could not succeed by that means, nor produce any effect; and therefore they let the King know so much; who angry and exasperated, resolved at last to tame the people by force, and endeavour to suppress the Conspirators without longer delay. To that end he presently dispatched the Marechal de Byron to bring the Swisses into Paris, and Monsieur d'O to fetch the Companies of his Guards which were lodged out of the City in the near adjacent places, and gave order that neither the Gentlemen, Archers, nor Souldiers of the Guards, should stir any more out of the Court, but that all should keep close about his Person.

This was not unknown to the Duke of Guise, who, to set the strength of the People against the King's Forces, caused a report to be presently spread about the City, that the King had resolved to put to death Sixscore of the principal Catholics like

The King commands fifteen thousand strangers to be driven out of Paris; but the execution is hindered: whereupon he resolves to suppress the Insurrection by force.

The Duke of Guise makes the Parisians believe that the King meant to put Sixscore of the chief Catholics to death.

1588

likes, and to put Garisons in the chief places to suppress the Citizens, and that therefore it was necessary for them to prepare for their defence. A counterfeit List was framed of the Sixscore names, the copies whereof were dispersed abroad; the Duke of Guise being set down first of all, and President Nully, President Maistre, the Sieurs de Buffy and la Chapelle, Hautman the Receiver; and after them all the Curates, Preachers, Deputies, and Eschevins; and finally, all such as were beloved of the people; the fear of whole danger might stir them up to take Arms; causing this forgery to be divulged with so much vehemence of words and actions, and with so much feigned terrour, by cunning active persons, who were acquainted with the peoples humours, that they began to talk of rising that very night; the Commanders being ordered and chosen in every quarter, and the Duke's Gentlemen appointed to rule and moderate the rashnesse of the armed people.

The King's souldiers come into Paris, and guard the Louvre, with the streets about it, as also the Bridges and Market-places of the City.

But things were not yet fully ripe; and the night of the eleventh day was spent in these practices on every side, till in the morning upon Thursday the twelfth of May, they heard the Swisses Fifes and Drums; which beating their march, entered at the *Porte St. Honore*, the Mareschal de Byron on horseback leading them; and then the French Companies followed under their severall Captains, with all their matches lighted. The King being also got on horseback, went out to receive them, welcoming the Souldiers at the entry of the gate, and commanded with a loud voice, repeating it many times, that they should all forbear to commit the least insolence, or do the least injurie to the Citizens, upon pain of death without mercy: And having given order to Monsieur d'O and the Mareschal de Byron to possesse and guard all the chief places of the Town, went back to the *Louvre*, where the Souldiers of the Guards were armed and in a readinesse upon all occasions. The Mareschal de Byron, perhaps not acquainted with the King's design, thought it expedient first to possesse those places which were neerest the *Louvre*, for the security and defence of the Court; and therefore first of all he possessed himself of *St. Innocents Church-yard*, being at the end of the *Rue St. Honore*, and there he placed nine hundred Swisses, setting the rest, to the number of one thousand six hundred, about the *Boucherie*, the *Marche-neuf*, the *Chastelet*, and *Tourne-boufe*:

house: Monsieur d' O took the Pont au Change, and the Pont St. Michel, placing Monsieur du Gast upon the one, and Monsieur Marignan upon the other; the Companies of Beauvais, Nangy and Monsieur de l' Archant, being left to guard the gate of the Louvre toward the Rue St. Thomas. But the businesse was very ill ordered in that manner, and it had been much better to have taken La Place Maubert, la Place St. Antoyne, and the streets neer the Bastile, which are all in the furthest parts of the City, and neer the Duke of Guise's Palace: for being besieged, so that he could not stir, and the Rue St. Denis and St. Martin being blocked up, to divide the people into two parts, that they might not easily draw together, the whole City would have been blocked up in the King's power, and the tumult of the people restrained. But the Souldiers thus disposed of, were more fit to defend the Louvre, then to hinder the insurrection of the Citizens, which took its birth and beginning where the person of the Duke of Guise was, and where his spirit gave life to it.

At the entry of the King's Forces, which was known to the whole City by the noise of the Drums, the people full of fear and terrour, and now assured that the report divulged of the King's intention was most certain, began to gather together, shutting up their doors and shops, which (according to the custom used in that City of going to work before day) were already begun to be opened, and every one began to make ready their Arms, expecting directions what they should do.

It was already broad day light, when the Queen-mother, desirous to know what the Duke of Guise did, sent Luigi D' avila unto him, under colour of a ceremonial visit, (for she yet continued her wonted dissimulation) giving him charge to observe very carefully every little circumstance of whatsoever he should see or hear. He going to the Hostel de Guise (so they call the Houses of the great Lords) contrary to the ordinary custom, found the gates shut; and being let in thorow the Wicket, he saw two long rowes of Gentlemen armed in the Court, and in the midst of them the Duke of Guise walking up and down alone, to whom he delivered the complement he was commanded: But the Duke finding the Queens intention, and desiring to shew that he was well prepared, took him kindly by the hand, and led him talking into the Garden, where a

1588

great number of Arms were laid together, and all the lower rooms full of Souldiers and Reformadoes; of whom *Davila* (as being acquainted with them) knew the greatest part. After two or three short turns in the garden, the Duke, who notwithstanding was in great suspence, and as one might easily perceive, full of weighty thoughts, returning a complement, dismissed him, and he coming back strait to the *Louvre*, whether the Queen was already gone, and being brought into the King's closet, related distinctly all that he had observed: and added further, that as he passed thorow the City, he had seen them shut up their shops and houses, make ready their Arms, lay logs and set barrels before their doors, and many of the Duke's Gentlemen and Officers discoursing together, the chief Citizens very busie every where, and that especially in the *Place Maubert*, and the *Rue St. Anthoyne* the people gathered very fast together, and made greater preparations of Arms then in any other place. The King having caused him to make his relation twice over, presently sent *Benoise* his Secretary to Monsieur d' O, commanding him to advance beyond the bridges, and cause the French Companies to possesse the *Place Maubert*, and the *Rue St. Anthoyne*.

Monsieur d' O instantly sent Colonel *Grillon* to execute the King's command; but he came too late: for the *Sieur de Bois-dauphin* with the Scholers of the University, and the boat-men dwelling about *St. Jehan en Greve* had already taken that Post, which had till then been imprudently neglected; and having locked up the streets with Chains, and shut up all passages with Barricadoes of Logs and Barrels filled with dirt and earth, had made that their *Rendezvous*; wherefore Monsieur de *Grillon* was fain to retire, and going about to return to the place from whence he came, his way was stopt by the Count of *Brissac*, who with the People of the Quarter of *St. Germain*, had shut him up so in the midst, that he was engaged between the Bridges, nor could he stir any way at all, nor make the least resistance on any side, though he had with him the greatest strength of the French Souldiers.

The Parisians raised at the ringing of the bells, make barricadoes crosse the streets; and blocking up all the King's Corps de Garde come up to the *Louvre*, & begin to assault the Royalists.

All the rest of the City being already up, followed this beginning, crying furiously, *Arm, Arm*, and ringing the *Tocsin* in every Quarter, made Barricadoes in the same manner within thirty paces of one another, in so punctual order, and with so much readinesse, that the extent of so vast a Ci-

was all blocked up in a moment, and shut in every way, the King's Souldiers beset on all sides with the barricadoes, even to the very doors of all their *Corps de Garde*, and which was worst of all, Colonel *St. Paul* with the people of *St. Eustache* and *Mont-Marre* coming down with fury, and blocking up the streets from place to place, made their last barricadoes at the very gates of the *Louvre*, right over against, and in the very face of the King's *Corps de Garde*. After the streets were blocked up and fortified on all sides, the word going every where about with fierce loud cries, that they should cut the forreign Souldiers in pieces, the Swisses were presently assaulted in *St. Innocent's Church-yard*, where shut up and (as one may say) imprisoned, they could make no defence in the world, but six and thirty of them being slain in the first onset, the rest yeelded themselves without resistance, and were pillaged by the people with very great violence and boasting. All the other Guards, of the *Chastelet*, the little Bridge, the Butchery, and the Town-house were assaulted at the same time, the Swisses being in the same manner disarmed, and made prisoners at the people's discretion. To the French Guards they had a little more respect; for having made them put out their matches, and lay down their arms, they kept them in that manner till they had further order.

In the meantime the King was perswaded by the Queen-Mother and Monsieur *de Villequier* to go forth of the *Louvre*, and shew himself unto the Citizens, thinking that the people would certainly be daunted with the splendor of the Royal Majesty, that they would acknowledge and obey him, and that laying down their arms, and receiving security for their own lives and houses, they would suffer the Delinquents to be taken and punished: But the King thought it too dangerous an advice, and such a one as would expose all the remainder of his Dignity and Authority to the rashnesse of the people, without much assurance that the issue would be good; and which was worse, it seemed to him a counsel of such a nature, as in case it should not succeed well, could no way be remedied, but the event at the same time would be certain ruine, and the losse of his life: wherefore he resolved to send out the Marshalls of *Annonet* and *Byron* to talk with the people, and endeavour safely to appease them by fair means. But this determination was as vain as the other; for

1588

the Marefchals words were answered with Musket-bullets, and stones, and they were faine to retire without doing any thing. There was now no other hope left, but of defending the *Louvre*, wherein (besides the wanted guards, most forward to do their duty) there were above five hundred Gentlemen, who before all others had undertaken to defend the passage to the gate.

But the Duke of *Guise*, either struck with the temerity of so high an enterprise, or not having prepared his design from the beginning to go so far, or astonished in the execution by the greatnesse of the attempt, or thinking the business was brought to a head as soon as he saw the City in his power, the King's guards disarmed and taken, and the King with all his friends shut up, and as it were imprisoned in the *Louvre*, and that he should attain to the rest of his desire, by way of composition, resolved to appease the tumult without using any more force; and going out of his house on horse-back, unarmed, with onely a truncheon in his hand, to shew the greater contempt, rode thorow all the Quarters, and speaking to the people every where, exhorted them to stand upon their guard, since God had been so merciful to them as to secure their lives, families, liberties, religion, and the honour of the holy Church, but that they should depend upon him, and not doubt, for all things were very safe: and coming to the place where the French souldiers were beset and taken, he gave order to Colonel *St. Paul* to conduct them to the *Louvre*, and let them go. Thence he passed by *St. Innocent's*, and made the Swisses Arms be restored to them; and in the same manner caused the Count of *Brissac* to bring them to the entry of the *Louvre* and let them go. All the Souldiers without drums, or being ranked in order went bare-headed, waving their arms as prisoners; and being conducted to the gate of the *Louvre*, were there received by the Marechal de *Byron*, who caused them to be lodged thereabout: nor could the Duke of *Guise's* Victory have a prouder triumph, or a more remarkable spectacle.

Alessandro Farnese Duke of Parma his saying of the Duke of Guise.

Many thought, and particularly *Alessandro Farnese Duke of Parma* (a Prince of incomparable valour and deep understanding) said, that the Duke of *Guise* had attempted too much, and done too little, not remembering the Proverb, that *Whoever draws his sword against his Prince, ought presently to throw*

that way the scabbard: for so bold an enterprise should either not have been undertaken, or being begun, should have been executed, whatsoever had come on it: But the Duke of Guise, either overcome by a sense of justice, whereof he took upon him to be the Protector; or desiring still to use the cloak of piety and religion to cover his designs; or else having never had any further aim then his own security, and the reformation of Government, and now promising himself that by his arts, and by a treaty he should bring the sum of all things into his own power, without taking it openly by force, he thought he had reduced the King to such extremity, that he must of necessity have been forced to yield to his will, and to grant those conditions he desired, which he doubted not afterwards to have confirmed by the universal consent of the people. There wanted not of those who suspected that the Duke of Guise's main end was to shut up the King in a Monastery, under pretence of disability and evil Government, and to assume unto himself the possession of the Crown: but certainly men generally believed, that as he aimed (after the Kings death) to exclude the House of Bourbon from the Crown, and to transfer it upon himself; so he never thought to deprive the King of it while he lived, and therefore believed it was sufficient, if aiming at the height of Authority and Government, he could make way for the excluding of his adversaries, and by degrees advance his own designs to such a point, as he might execute them boldly when occasion should serve; and this as the more gentle, was also the more probable opinion. However it were, the Duke supposing he had made himself Master of Paris, and encompassed the Louvre in such manner, that (as he writ the same day unto the Duke of Lorain) he should be able to give account of all that was in it; he quieted the violence and uproar of the people, would not suffer them to proceed further towards the attacking of the Louvre, made the guards that had been taken and pillaged to be let go, but gave order that the barricadoes should be continued, that the people every-where should be in readiness with their arms, that the guards should be kept within in the case, expecting some body to come from the King, besieged and brought into a hard condition, to make an overture of some Agreement.

His expectation fail him in that beginning: for af-

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The opinion that the Duke of Guise made way for his designs to seize upon the crown of France, and possess it after the death of Hen the Third

1588

The Queen-mother goes to the Duke of Guise in her Sedan, being denied passage in her Coach, confers with him; but brings back nothing but complaints and exorbitant demands.

ter many consultations in the King's closet, the Queen-mother resolved to go unto him, and sent to demand passage of the Citizens, who (with intolerable insolence, but born by her with admirable dissimulation) denied to let her passe in her Coach, for fear of spoiling the Barricadoes, but answered they would give her leave to go on foot. Whereupon she took her Sedan, and being attended by Secretary Pynart, Monsieur de Bellicure, and a few of her Gentlemen, she went with infinite trouble to the *Hofel de Guise*, and being faine to stay every minute till the Barricadoes were opened, which were still shut again as soon as she was past. She was above two hours ere she got thither, by reason of the length of the way, and being stopt at so many severall passages. At her first arrival, the Duke met her with exceeding great lamentations, complaining openly that the King, by going about to put a Garrison unseasonably into the City of Paris, that had never had any in times past, had made the people jealous that he meant to take away the lives of the good Catholikes, which had been cause of that tumult, which all the wit of man could not remedy. That the King did very much injure him (who by so many proofs was his most faithful servant) and his good and faithful City of Paris, by using them in that manner. That nevertheless he bearing the affront patiently, had done what lay in him to take away the peoples fears, and to appease the tumult. To which arts the Queen answering with the like dissimulation, said, That the King intended nothing but to drive out strangers, for the security and quiet of the Citizens: and having been very ill served by some employed in that business, he had caused his guards to enter for the safety and defence of the City, that afterward he himself in person might make the search, and by his labour and authority prevent the mischief that was readie to fall upon the inhabitants. That the suspicious people had taken Arms too suddenly, but that she hoped when the truth was once known, every one would be settled in quietnesse. After this discourse in publicke, they went together into the Garden, where the Duke of Guise (making his pretence that he knew the Kings designs and intentions were to destroy the great ones, and suppress those that opposed his Favourites, and that therefore it was necessary for him to look well to himself, to secure both his own and the common safety) began to make infinite high and

and exorbitant demands, and such as were truly proper for an absolute Conquerour: That the King should declare him his Lieutenant-General in all Provinces and places under his Dominions, with the same authority his father had in the time of Francis the Second: That the States-General should be called at Paris, in which Assembly that power granted to him should be confirmed: That to secure the people from their fears of a Hugonot Prince, the King of Navar and the other Princes of Bourbon his adherents, should be declared to have forfeited their inheritance to the Crown: That the Taxes and Impositions upon the people might be limited: That, to take away all hated and suspected novelties, all Forms of Government should be reduced to a certain Rule, which it should not be lawful for the King to alter: That the Duke of Espernon, Monsieur de la Valette his brother, the Mareschals of Retz and Byron, Monsieur d'O, and Colonel Alfonso Corso (suspected all to hold intelligence with the Hereticks, and every day to finde out inventions of new grievances) should be deprived of all their Offices and Governments, and banished for ever from the Court: That, to take away all suspicion which every one had with reason, that the Hereticks were not proceeded against really and in good earnest, the absolute charge of the War should be given to him; which should be prosecuted with two Armies, one in Poictou, the other in Dauphine: That, to remove jealousies and fears of tyrannical proceedings, the King should dismisse his Guard of the five and fourty Gentlemen, and forbid them to return to Court, reserving onely the Guards which his Predecessors were wont to have: That he should take away the Regiment of Guards from Monsieur de Grillon, and give it to such a person as the Catholike Princes might confide in: That all the Fortresses of Picardy might be delivered up to the Duke of Anmale, as Governour of that Province: That the Duke of Nemours might have the Government of Lyons, and the Duke of Elbeuf that of Normandy: That the King should put into the hands of the Lords of the League six such Towns as they should name, in which they might keep Garisons, under such Governours as they should like: That a convenient assignment might be given to the Parisians for the payment of the rents of the Town-house: And that the Government of the City might be given to the Count de Brissac, upon whom also should be conferred

ferred the Office of Colonel General of the French Infantry, held at that time by the Duke of *Espernon*: That the charge of Admiral should be restored to the Duke of *Mayenne*; and Monsieur de *la Chastre* made Marechal in the place of Monsieur de *Byron*.

Which Demands being carefully examined by the Queen, one by one, and the injustice and exorbitancy of them being shewn, she at last asked the Duke of *Guise* what he believed the people of *France* would say, and what the Princes of *Europe* would think, if with the Kings consent a Subject should accept, much lesse demand such conditions, and whether he meant not to put shackles upon the King, and take the Crown from his head? To which words the Duke answered freely, That he demanded no place no Office for any that was not very worthy of it; and that to drive away Incendiaries, enemies of the publike good, favourers of Hereticks, and Persecutors of the Catholike Religion, was to purge the body of the State of a most dangerous poison, to the end that the King might afterwards enjoy that tranquillity and obedience that belonged to him; and that the medicine indeed was bitter at first, but would be fruitful and healthful in the end. In sum, after many debates, and prolix contentious arguments, this was the Duke of *Guise's* Conclusion, That since the King himself had at last laid open his secret intentions, and brought matters to that passe, he was resolved either to lose his life, or to secure Religion and the estate of his own Family.

The Queen returned at night with this Answer to the *Ligue*, where they continued still in Arms; private persons discourfing and consulting no lesse then the Kings Counsellours in his closet; among whom the variety of opinions was very great; private passions, and particular interests, contending no lesse then respect of the publike and the universal good: For the High Chancellour, Secretary *Villeroy*, and Monsieur de *Villequier*, who desired the abasement of the Duke of *Espernon*, and the ruine of the Hugonots, and hoping that they should not fall from their credit and authority, though the League should prevail, consented to the greatest part of the Duke of *Guise's* demands, to the secret dislike of the King, who could by no means endure them. On the other side, Monsieur d' *O*, Monsieur de *Rambouillet*, the Abbot del *Bau*, and

and Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, argued that the greatest adversities in the world were to be suffered, rather then to yield unto them: Monsieur d' *O* nevertheless offering to lay down his Offices, and the Colonel his charge of Lieutenant in *Dauphine*, if that were the only means to appease the tumults. The Queen and Secretary *Pinart* kept the middle way, and hoped that the Duke of *Guise* would fall from a great part of his Demands. The siege pressed very much on the one side, there being no provision of victuals in the *Louvre*; and it was feared that the people going out of the City, would likewise besiege it on the other side, and shutting up the passage towards the fields, reduce the King and the whole Court presently into their power; but then again the Propositions were such as the King could in no wise hearken unto.

The night was spent in this manner, full of terrour and uncertainty, the Duke of *Guise* being diligent in visiting the Guards of the City every houre, lest their carelesnesse and negligence should give the Kings Souldiers opportunity to recover those places they had lost before, and lest the darknesse should give occasion to some disorder, or stir up some tumult.

In the Morning after Masse, the King and Queen-Mother being shut up privately together, resolved that she should return to the Duke of *Guise*, and making some shew of consenting to the Agreement, should draw the Treary out in length, whilst the King should secretly get out of the new gate on the back-side of the Gardens of the *Louvre*, which was in his power, and escaping from *Paris* before the enemies had time to block it up, should go to the City of *Chartres*, the Governour and people whereof were at his devotion. The Queen with the same difficulties, went again to the *Hostel de Guise*, and by the way one of the City coming close up to her, gave her notice that fifteen thousand men were preparing to enclose the *Louvre* on the other side: Wherefore having begun the Treaty with the Duke, though she found him more obstinate then at first, yet she continued with infinite patience treating about matters of Agreement: in the meantime the King feigning to go out to walk in the garden of the *Tuilleries* (as he was wont to do) went forth with a very few, and walked on softly talking, till he came into the gardens

While the Queen returns to the Duke of *Guise*, and treats with him, the King with sixteen Gentlemen leaves *Paris*, and retires to *Chartres*.

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1588 which were very neer his stables; where (having caused the doors to be shut, and put on a rideing sute) he presently took horse with sixteen Gentlemen, being followed onely by twelve Foot-men, and going out of the New gate, rode with all possible speed to *Chastres*; where the people received him with as much affection as the Parisians had done the Duke of Guise.

Two long hours after the King's departure, the Sieur de Meneville came close to the Duke of Guise's ear, who was yet treating with the Queen, and told him that the King was gone suddenly from *Paris* by the New-gate; at which news the Duke being unexpectedly surprised, turned toward the Queen, and cryed out with a loud voice, *Ah Madam, I am quite undone, and while your Majesty holds me here in delays, the King is gone away to ruine me.* The Queen seeming ignorant of that resolution, answered, she believed it not; and that the King had not told her of any such intent, but it might be some determination of his Councel; and taking her chair, she made her self be carried back to the *Louvre*, where she found that the Companies of the Guards led by *Griblon*, together with the Swisses led by the Sieurs de *Dampierre* and *Tinteville*, were already marched away, to whom she presently dispatched a Gentleman, with command not to lose any time, but march continually day and night; which being obeyed by them, they came to the same place not many hours after the King's arrival. The next day all the Court came up scattering, and amongst the rest *Nicholas Poulain*, *Jehan Gony*, and *Pierre Ugoly* fled from *Paris*, every one rejoycing that they had miraculously escaped the fury and insurrection of the Parisians; to whom the King's departure was so unexpected, that they neither knew what to do, nor had any preparation to follow him; which is not much to be wondered at in the common people; but that the Duke of Guise should not have foreseen that blow, gave great occasion of talk, so many at that time; and considering his vivacity and warinesse, may beget wonder in whosoever shall apply his minde solidly to think upon it; this most important oversight being to be attributed to one of those marvellous works of Providence, where with God uses often to mock the craft and subtilty of worldly policy.

The King being departed, the Duke of Guise's designe

(of obtaining from him (as a prisoner) those conditions he pretended) vanished of it self: and therefore it was necessary to think upon some other course: Wherefore after he had been a good while vext and angry with himself, knowing he had let slip so great an occasion, he turned his thoughts to secure his absolute power in the City of *Paris*; for seeing a War ready to break forth between him and the King, he knew he could have no surer foundation then the forces and assistance of the *Parisians*. His first thought was to make himself Master of the *Bastille*, which was kept by *Lorenzo Tesfuto Chevalier du Guet*, who commanded there in the Kings name; nor was the attaining of it very difficult; for though he might have made an honourable defence, yet as soon as he knew the Artillery was taken out of the *Arsenal* to batter it, he gave it up into the peoples hand, and they presently delivered it to the Duke of *Guise*, who not losing any longer time, having called the people together, upon Sunday the fifteenth, caused *Hector Perose Prevost des Merchands* to be put out, as one depending upon the King, and elapt him up prisoner in the *Bastille*, making *la Chappelle Martel*, (the principal instrument of the League, and first *Boutefeu* of the people) to be elected in his place: *Conry* and *Ugoly* were also put out of their Offices as fugitives, and in their places were chosen *Com-pans* and *Rolland*, both of the Council of *Sixteen*, and chief among the Conspirators. Upon munday the streets were cleared, the barricadoes were taken away, and the shops and houses opened, but the Guards were continued with extraordinary care day and night, many rumours of danger being spread abroad, which served to keep the people in feares and jealousies, and not to let their first motions cool.

The City being secured, the next businesse was to open the passages of the River in respect of victual; the Duke of *Guise* being assured that hunger would quickly cause repentance among the people; Wherefore Forces being already come out of *Picardy*, and two Regiments of Foot listed in the City, siege was laid to the *Bois de Vincennes*, which yielded without resistance; and the same did *St. Cloud*, *Lagny*, *Charenton*, with all the other neighboring Towns; and *Pontivy*, though it fained to continue under the Kings obedience, yet hindered it not the passage of the River *Seine*, for the

the bringing up of such provisions as were wont to come from those parts; *Corbeil* remained to be taken, into which *Jehan de Villiers* was entered with good hope to defend it, by reason of the peoples being well-affected, and of the King's being so neer at hand, who might easily relieve it from *Chartres*; nor did he so much value the tumultuous Forces of the Parisians, but thought though he had no souldiers in pay, he should be able to hold out of himself for many daies, which begun also to succeed prosperously, he having at their first arrival skirmished with advantage, and in great part repressed the boldnesse of the Parisians. But the King, who had laid his designe another way, and who (all other passages being already opened) would not in a matter of no great consequence give beginning to a tedious War, wrote to *Villiers*, that leaving the people at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased, he should return to Court; whereupon, as soon as he was gone, the people opened their gates, and willingly gave themselves up to the Parisians.

All these things were done in the very face of the Queen, who very much afflicted inwardly, did yet strive to dissemble so great injuries, and not stirring from *Paris* (under pretence that she doubted not of their obedience, but indeed that she might be present and see how all busineses were managed) expected to receive directions from the King what she should do.

He being come to *Chartres*, was not onely uncertain in himself, but found also the same variety of opinions among his Councillors; for *Villeroy* and his adherents, still constant to their first advice, argued that a War with the Duke of *Guise* was by no means to be undertaken, lest it should separate and divide the Catholick Party into open dissention, and give the Hugonots an evident occasion to overthrow Religion; that many things ought to be dissembled and born withal to obtain a greater good; and that reason counselled to make an agreement with the Duke of *Guise* upon honourable conditions, since the foundation of the Kings Authority consisted in the Catholicks, and therefore it was not good to destroy, or at least weaken it by division. But Monsieur d'Orléans, Monsieur de *Rambouillet*, *Alfonso Corso*, and the rest, urged on the contrary, that to assent to the Duke of *Guise's* demands, was to lay down the Crown, and give it to the House of *Lorraine*, which

which having rooted out the House of *Bourbon* and the Hugonot party, born up by the favour of the people, and the greatness of its forces, would presently think of deposing the King, and shutting him up in a Monastery, as the report was generally divulged already: that whatsoever should be done against the Hugonots would be attributed to the Duke of *Guise's* industry, and that to consent unto it, was but to authorise and confirm his ambition so much the more, and even to increase the peoples affection towards him; for it would be manifest that the King condescended to his demands out of pure fear, and as being constrained by his force and power; and that therefore it was better to venture upon any thing how difficult and dangerous soever, rather then do such an unworthy thing as to deprive the lawful successours of the Crown, and put himself into slavery and subjection. They on the other side replied again, that the King by doing well would recover the love of the people which he had lost, and that his giving satisfaction to the Heads of the League, by putting away his *Minions*, and making them partakers in the honours of the Government, would quiet all businesses, and dissolve the *Union* with very great facility, nor would any body dare to turn against the sacred Majesty of the King when that so specious pretence should be taken away. That if this were really a matter of Religion spurred on by conscience, as soon as the cause should cease by proceeding against the Hugonots, the effect without doubt would do the like; and if it were a spirit of ambition, the King by giving a little convenient satisfaction to the Great ones, might also settle all commotions: and finally, that he could not confound his enemies by any more sure, nor more ready way, then by doing that of himself, which the League violently endeavoured to make him do by force; for to try the hazard of War was too disadvantageous, too precipitate a resolution, having neither Forces, Adherents, nor money to put himself into so weightie, so dangerous a business, being deprived of the strength of the Catholicks, who for the most part followed the fortune of the Duke of *Guise*, and being divided from the Hugonots by ancient hatred, and most open distrust: That it was a thing commended by all wise men, to wait for the opportunitie of times, and to bend rather then be pulled up by the roots. The King's minde was in very great doubt and suspense between these opinions; not onely by reason

1588

reason of the variety and weight of their reasons, but also because he began to suspect that they who counselled him were moved rather by interests and particular respects, then the regard of his service, and care of the general good.

The enmity between Monsieur de Villeroy and the Duke of Espernon, was already commonly known: for the year before, when the King went forth with his Army against the Germans, being lodged in a Town called St. Aignan, and the means of finding money to make the Grand Prevost march with his Archers (who for want of pay had left following the Court, and were very needful in the Camp) being spoken of in the King's Cabinet, Monsieur de Villeroy told him, that the Council thinking how to remedy that want, had given him order to put his Majestic in minde, that some certain Treasurers who were imprisoned, having been fined about the sum of twenty thousand Crowns, they all or part of them, might serve for the Grand Prevost and his Archers. To which words the Duke of Espernon answered angrily, that that money had been promised to Monsieur de la Valette to pay the Souldiers that were with him in Dauphine; and that it could not be disposed to another use, without doing him injury, as he saw many took pleasure to do, to offend him; but that he was resolved one day to resent it in such manner, that those malicious men should be glad to let him alone. To which Villeroy going about to reply, saying that it was onely a Memorandum of the Council's, and not any intention of his, the Duke of Espernon gave him the lye in the King's presence, adding many very injurious words, as knave, rascal, and malicious fellow. To which Villeroy beginning to answer, the King rising up commanded him to hold his peace: whereupon he went out of the room without any satisfaction, and the next morning asked the King's leave to lay down his Office, not willing to serve any longer, if he must suffer such unworthy wrongs: which the King refused to grant, and yet on the other side did not much care to make the Duke of Espernon give him fitting satisfaction, till time of it self afforded him an occasion to use some courteous words by way of complement, in excuse of the passage at St. Aignan; which though in shew it appeased the outward difference between them, yet were their mindes never after settled in sincere friendship. Wherefore the King doubted, and not without great reason, that Monsieur de Villeroy fa-

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encouraged the Duke of Guise's designs, and fomented his pretensions, in hope to see the Duke of Espernon excluded from the Court, deprived of his greatnesse, and utterly ruined: and though he dissembled it, yet seeing that Pontoyse, which was governed by the Sieur d'Alincourt, hindered not provisions from being carried to Paris, had secretly displeased him, and made him very suspicious of his counsels. Likewise Monsieur de Bellieure, having been deceived by the Duke of Guise at Suiffons, when the King sent him thither to forbid his coming to Paris, was not onely lessened in his opinion, but had also left some doubt that he had not proceeded sincerely in the businesse; the oversight of so wise and so experienced a man being interpreted infidelity. Nor was the High-Chancellour any better thought of then these: for it being already known that the King treated about the dismembring of the Dutchy of Orleans from his Government, to give satisfaction to Entrepreneurs, he was suspected to desire peace, to the end that the King might have no more need of working the revolt of that City, which was still in agitation by the means of Monsieur de Chemerault.

On the other side, Monsieur de O and Colonel Alfonso Corso were suspected by the King in this businesse, as enemies to the Duke of Guise; who signified plainly that he would not hear of Peace, if they were not put out of their places, and banished from the Court: Whereupon he was jealous that they, to avoid that rock, endeavoured to perswade the War. And he was so apt to these suspicions (as is the custom of men in adverse fortune) that not onely others, but even the Queen his Mother seemed to him too much inclined to the demands and pretensions of the League, which thing though far from truth; for the Queen had alwaies loved him most tenderly, above all her other sons, and in the troubles of so many years had alwaies laboured constantly for the conservation of his Crown; yet it had been obliquely imprinted in his minde by the Duke of Espernon, insinuating by little and little that the Queen (seeing he had no son) desired the House of Bourbon should be excluded from the succession, and particularly the King of Navar, who in respect of Queen Margaret was very much hated by her, and that on the other side she desired (without sticking at the Salique Law) to have the Kingdom passe to the Duke of Lorain her son-in-law, and the Mar-

Marquesse du Pont her Grand-childe, both extremely beloved of her; and that for that purpose she had from the beginning secretly somented the League; and at that present favoured all those things that tended to the destruction of the Blood-Royal, and to the establishment and greatnesse of the Family of Lorain, wherein her Son-in-law and Grand-childe held the chiefeft place. And it was true, that the Queen had alwaies loved her Grand-children of Lorain, who observed her with all kind of reverence; wherefore she had taken the Princeſſe Chreſtienne to be bred up with her, and never ceaſed to ſollicite the King to call to Court either the Marquesse Du Pont, or the Count de Vandemont, or ſome one of the other Brothers, and make uſe of them in his greateſt affairs. It was alſo true, that ſhe was not well pleaſed with the greatneſſe of the Duke d'Efpernon, eſteemed by her as a ſtone of ſcandal, and an enemy to her power, which ſhe doubted would with the weight of old age decline in time, as the cuſtom is. But there was a great deal of difference between a deſire that the King ſhould advance her Grand-children, and an endeavour to promote the greatneſſe of the Duke of Guiſe, who did eclipse and depreſſe that of the Duke of Lorain and his Sons; for though he ever ſeemed to obſerve and reverence the Head of the Family, yet he did work and labour for himſelf; nor would he ever have ſuffered the fruits of his arts, pains, and dangers to redound wholly to the exaltation and benefit of the Duke of Lorain: and likewise to ſtrive to make the King weary of favouring Efpernon, and to put him from Court, thereby to remove the ſeeds of diſcord, was a very different thing from conſenting that the King ſhould be deſpiſed, and conſtrained by force to receive the Law from the Duke of Guiſe his will. And yet the force of jealousie was ſo great in the King's melancholly diſtruſtful nature, that after ſo many proofs, though he ſtill obſerved his Mother very much, and never reſolved any thing without her knowledge and advice, yet he was fallen into a doubt, that ſhe was drawn by intereſtes to favour the Catholick party, and that ſhe deſired in great part the very ſame things the League demanded.

Being with theſe thoughts becomē more ſad and auſtere then he was wont to be (as thoſe about him eaſily obſerved) his ſleeps were broken, and he ſpent the nights either ſtudy-
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dying and contriving by himself, or else hearkening to the discourses and consultations of others, balancing and pondering them warily; wherein he began to trust *Francois Sieur de Rambouillet*, a gown-man by profession, indued with much learning, wisdom, and singular vivacity, and *Jehan Marechal of Anmont*, a man of an open nature, but a generous spirit, and exceeding great valour in the profession of Arms; yet not having altogether left the *Marechal de Retz*, and the *Abbot del Bene*, though he esteemed the first to depend too much upon the Queen-Mother, and the other to be too intimate with *Espernon*. With this diffidence and anxiety having put the whole summe of businesses upon dissimulation, he fained outwardly to consent to the opinion of those that perswaded him to unite himself to the Duke of *Guise*, and commended it as the most pious advice, and most agreeing with a specious appearance; but inwardly he utterly abhorred it, not being able to bend his minde to yeeld to the *Guises* greatnesse, nor to lay aside the sence of that affront he had received, which being continually before his eyes, and concluding within himself, that he could never be secure of his life, nor absolute Master of his Crown, while the Head of that Faction was alive, and the Union of the League maintained, at last he resolved to try all possible wayes to ruine him; but because he thought that of War too difficult and dangerous, nor would his conscience suffer him to joyn with the Hugonots, he thought to supply all wants by cunning; and consenting to the Dukes propositions, to draw him at last into some place where he might make an end of him by the same means which he remembered had been used in the reign of his Brother *Charles* the Ninth, against the Admiral *de Coligny* and his Adherents.

With this intention he writ very moderate Letters to the Governours of Provinces, excusing himself dexterously about the Insurrection of the Parisians, yet neither laying much fault upon the people, nor upon the Duke of *Guise*, but onely endeavouring to keep the Towns and Provinces firm under his obedience. After the dispatch of which Letters, which by every body were thought necessary, he first sent *Myron* the Physician to the Queen-mother, and a few dayes after *Gaspar Count of Schombergh*, giving her directions to strive by all means to make a composition and agreement with the Duke of *Guise*, being resolved not to make War with his Catholick Subjects,

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1588

but to turn his arms resolutely to the utter extirpation of the Hugonots; and because he saw the great inclination of *Villeroy* to that advice, and knew that he would labour effectually to conclude a peace, he sent him also at last to *Paris*, giving him most ample commissions to satisfy the Duke of *Guise* his desires, so that he might but thereby pacifie discords, and reunite the Catholick party into one indissoluble body, as *Villeroy* himself counselled and advised.

The Duke of *Guise* having in this time made himself Master of *Paris*, and opened all the passages that served to furnish the City with provisions, was diligently busie in getting possession of many other convenient places, and therefore had caused siege to be laid unto *Melun*, a Town neer *Paris*; and having left the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to govern the City, was gone to *Meaux* and *Chasteau-Thierry* to make himself Master of those places.

His Brother the Cardinal of *Guise* at the same time, neither wanting wit nor courage, but boldly following his steps and counsels, had stirred up the people, and made himself strongest in the City of *Troye*, which from the beginning had declared that it would continue under the King's obedience; and the Duke of *Aumale* with the Forces of *Picardy* had laid siege to *Boulogne* by the Sea side, a very principal Fortresse of that Province, and the Adherents of the League laboured on every side to surprize Towns and Castles, to gather Horse and Foot, and to draw the greatest number of followers they possibly could unto their party; yet the Duke of *Guise*, after he saw the King had escaped the net, and that he could not so easily bring his first designe to perfection, desirous to make that seem to have been done purposely, which indeed was onely oversight, with writings cunningly framed, and reasons eloquently set forth, directed to the King and the whole people of *France*, he endeavoured to perswade that his actions onely tended to the benefit of the Kingdome, the obedience of the King, and to the general service and benefit: that the Insurrection of *Paris* had (without his consent) been stirred up by the peoples fear; and that his intention was ever to yeeld such obedience as he ought to do, desiring onely that evil Counsellors might be put away, and that sincere thought might be taken to secure Religion. And though his deeds were for the most part very contrary to his words,

words, yet the colour of Religion was so powerful and plausible, and he knew so well how to behave himself, that the multitude thought him a faithful servant to the King, and believed he was onely moved by zeal to Religion, and most ardent charity toward the good of the whole Kingdom.

While they proceeded in this manner on both sides, the Duke of *Espenon*, who was in *Normandy*, having heard the successe of the Sedition at *Paris*, went with a good number of Gentlemen to the King, who being already resolved to dissemble with all, and to trust none but himself, received him neither with his accustomed intimacy, nor his wonted demonstrations of favour, but made small shew of valuing him, seeming to desire his departure from Court, to put an end to all those scandals which were said to arise from his extraordinary greatnesse. And indeed, having determined to give outward satisfaction to the Duke of *Guise* and the League, and knowing that Peace would never be concluded unlesse he consented to remove him from the Court, his intention was to do it before the Agreement, that it might seem a voluntary act, and not constrained by force: wherefore he began by the means of *Monsieur de Bellieure* and of the *Abbot del Bene*, to desire him (in respect of the distractions of affairs, and to remove the occasions of them) that he would lay down his Government of *Normandy*, give up the Fortresses of *Metz*, *Laches*, *Angoulesme*, *Xaintes*, and *Boulogne*, and onely retain his Government of *Provence*; wherein, for his greater security, his brother *la Valette* should continue his Lieutenant: That he should retire thither far from the clamour that was made about his person, and wait for a more quiet and fitting season to return to Court. The Duke of *Espenon* (a man of exceeding great understanding, and bred up by the King himself among the stratagems of State) perchance guessing at the King's secret intentions, by having been so conversant with him, was contented without contradiction to quit his Government of *Normandy*; wherein he saw himself not well settled, by reason of the resistance many Governours made against him: But for the rest, though in words he promised to satisfy the King in all his demands, yet was he resolved not to part with any of the strong Holds, wherein he hoped to defend himself from the storm of fortune which he saw coming upon him: Whereupon, while he treats about the manner of

The Duke of *Espenon* coming to Court, is not received by the King with his wonted favour, by his order quits his Government of *Normandy*, and retires to *Angoulesme*.

1588 delivering them into the King's hands, and to whom and which way they should be resigned (shewing still more care of his Masters security then of his own good) ; and while the King cannot so readily resolve in whose power it was fit to trust them, he departs suddenly from Court, feigning that he would give way to Fortune ; and being accompanied with the Abbot *del Bene*, who was no lesse persecuted by the League then he, went with all speed to *Angoulesme*, where, by reason of the strength of the Castle, and the neernesse of the Hugonots, he thought he might stay more securely, and from whence, thorow the Towns of *Languedoc* held by the Marshal *d' Anville*, it was easie for him upon any occasion to retire into *Provence*.

This retreat clipt the wings of the pretensions of the League, and removed all impediments that might have hindered peace ; and it was likewise a prudent determination of his side : for already the Duke of *Guise* and the people of *Paris* turning all their Forces against him, had divulged many Writings, wherein he was accused to be a sower of discord, and a principal cause of so great mischiefs : which though he had caused to be answered with many reasons, shewing that the mischief proceeded from the ambition of the House of *Lorain*, and not from the modesty and obedience of him and his Brother, who receiving the King's favours with a thankful and loyal minde, did use their uttermost endeavours to serve him in as might be for his advantage and their reputation ; yet he saw that the cloud would undoubtedly break upon him ; whereupon he chose rather by retiring to keep his most important Governments, then by staying be forced by one means or other to give them up. Many doubted that the King was pained to his departure, and so much the rather, because the Abbot *del Bene*'s going with him made it to be suspected : nor was the suspicion without ground ; for the Duke of *Guise* demanding that he should resign those four principal Fortresses, and the King not willing to deprive himself and the Duke of *Espernon* of them at the same time, to give them into the hands of such persons as he could not confidently trust, it was necessary the Duke should feign to go away discontented without the King's knowledge, and that he should shew that he would not quit them but by force ; to the end that the King might be excused afterward, if he did not presently demand them,

them, and that the Duke of Guise might not constrain him to take them from him, since he shewed they were withheld against his will. But whether they understood one another by signs, or whether the King imparted his design unto him by the means of the Abbot del Bene, or whether the Duke took that resolution of himself, it was unknown to every one at Court, and the Kings most intimate Counsellors knew nothing of it: Yet this I can affirm, that the Duke, after his return from Normandy, was no more so freely admitted to the secret consultations as he was wont to be; but the night before he went away, the Abbot del Bene was a great while in secret conference with the King in the most silent hours of the night, which was not known to any but those that lay in the King's Ante-chamber.

The King seemed wonderfully angry and troubled at his departure, and at his going toward Angoulesme; and caused Secretary Villeroy to write presently to the Sieur de Tagens who commanded the Forces in those parts, and to the Citizens and Deputies of the Town, that they should neither receive nor obey him: but the dispatch went so slowly, that the Duke had made himself Master of it before the King's Letters were come: for he being with very great speed got thither before he was suspected, presently sent Tagens with his Forces to the confines, under colour of defending them from the frequent incursions of the Hugonots; and putting out the old Governor of the Castle, placed a person there whom he trusted; and taking up his lodging in the strongest part, had made himself absolute Master of it before his possession could be disturbed, or taken from him by new orders.

After the Duke of Espernon was gone from the Court, the King gave the Government of Normandy, one of the greatest and most important Provinces in all France, unto Francis of Bourbon Duke of Montpensier, lest it should be demanded by the Duke of Guise for any of his dependents; being minded to grant all appearances, but not the substance and force of those things that were required by the Heads of the League. The Duke of Espernon being removed, the conclusion of the Peace was easie: For on the one side the King granted all that the League asked for, or pretended to; and the Duke of Guise, the authority of the Minions being taken away, which had been a sharp spur to stir him up, and the King shewing

1588

shewing himself ready to make War against the Hugonots, which was the foundation of all his pretences, he could no more lay hold of any excuse, and had no occasion at all to continue the War; wherefore Secretary *Villeroy* and *Myron* the Phyisician having gone often from *Paris* to the King, and from the King to the Queen-Mother, the Treaty of Agreement began to go forward, being managed by the King himself alone, since neither the *Mareschal d'Anmont*, nor the *Sieur de Rambouillet* were perfectly acquainted with his most hidden and admirably dissembled intentions.

In the mean time the King believing his stay at *Chartres* was neither safe nor honourable, thought of going to *Rome*. But because he was not very well assured how that Parliament stood affected, nor which way *Monsieur de Carronges* Governour of the City was inclined, he sent *Jaques Anguste de Ton* President of the Parliament of *Paris*, to certifie himself of the mindes of the Citizens, and to reduce them wholly to his devotion. President *de Ton* performed the King's command, yet rather with outward flourishes then substantial foundations, having spoken in publike to the people and those that governed, with great shews of eloquence, but neither touching the secret interests of the first President, who was a creature of the Duke of *Joyeuse's*, nor of the Governour and the Count de *Tilleres* his son, who had some dependance upon the Duke of *Guise* and the League: whereupon the King presently dispatched *Jehan d'Emery* Seigneur de *Villiers* with more absolute orders, he not only being a Gentleman of the same Province of *Normandy*, but, which imported more, a particular friend of the Governour's. He having shewed the removal of the Duke d'*Espernon*, who was not very acceptable to that City, from the Government of the Province, and the election of the Duke of *Montpensier* a Prince of the blood Royal, did very much settle the humours of men in the general: and having afterwards conferred in private with the Governour, to whom he promised that his son should have the reversion of his Government; and with the first President into whom he infused great hopes of the Kings favour, and of the principal Offices of the Crown; he brought matters so to passe, that the Parliament and people sent a very respective Message to invite the King unto their City; and the Governour sent his son to Court, as it were for an hostage. After which demonstrations, the King resolved to

without delay to *Rouen*: the report whereof being come to *Paris*, the Parliament there being troubled, that the other Courts should prevent them in readinesse and devotion, being perswaded by the Queen-Mother, sent a dutiful Message to assure him of their fidelity; and a while after by the Duke of *Guise's* advice, the Parisians also sent unto him, to excuse the late passages, with many reasons; but this was when the Peace was in a maner already concluded; which while it was in agitation, the Count of *Shcombergh* finished the Agreement with *Monsieur d'Entraques*, which had so long been treated of in vain; for he being satisfied with the Duke of *Espernon's* removal, turned to the King's party with the City of *Orleans*, upon promise that the Government thereof should remain to his heirs; and that the Government of *Chartres* and *Beaufse* then held by the High-Chancellor *Chizerny*, should be added to it. But this treaty could not passe so secretly, but the Duke of *Guise* was advertised of it; who to delude that Agreement, brought to an end after so many endeavours, began in the treaty of Peace to demand the City of *Orleans* for one of the places of security, which he required in hostage of the Kings Promises. This demand put a rub in the conclusion of the Peace, but it was presently removed by Secretary *Villeroy's* earnest desire of it, who either having received power from the King to conclude the businesse, or pricked with envie that others had brought the treaty of *Orleans* to perfection, or because he thought fit, would not discompose the whole matter by denying that particular, but when he saw the Duke of *Guise* obstinately resolved that he would have it, at last he granted it to him without the Kings knowledge; who afterwards alledged that the Town of *Dourlans* in *Picardy* had been demanded of him, and not that of *Orleans* in *Beaufse*, made great difficulties and long delays about the assigning of it.

The Conditions of Peace were almost the same that were contained in the Writing framed at *Nancy*, with the privy of the Duke of *Lorain*, which had been presented to the King in the beginning of the year. That the King should again declare himself Head of the Catholike League, and would swear to take up arms, and never to lay them down till the *Hugonot* Religion were quite destroyed and totally rooted out; that by a publike Edict he should oblige all Princes, Peeres, *France*, Lords and Officers of the Crown, Towns, Colledges,

The Conditions of Peace between the King and the League.

1588

Colledges, Corporations, and the whole people to swear the same, and bind themselves with a solemn oath never to suffer any one to reign that was not of the Catholick Religion, and far from all suspicion of Heresie: that for the time to come none should be admitted to Offices, Places and Dignities in any part of the Kingdom, but such as were Catholicks, and made profession of their faith according to the Doctrine of *Sorbon*, and the belief of the Roman Catholike Church: that all past things, revolts of Cities, insurrections of the people, taking of Fortresses, levying of souldiers, withholding of the King's Revenue, and whatsoever else had been done upon occasion of the late commotion, should be pardoned and remitted, and that the King should command a total oblivion of them, as things done for the service of Religion, and the general good: that two Armies should be raised against the Hugonots; one in *Poitou* under the command of the King himself, or whomsoever he should best like; the other in *Dauphine*, under the Command of *Charles* of *Lorain* Duke of *Mayenne*; which should never be recalled, but still paid and recruited, till the work were perfectly finished: that the Council of *Trent* should be received and observed through the whole Kingdom, being only dispensed with in those parts which are contrary to the priviledges of the *Gallique* Church, which within three moneths were to be declared by a Congregation of Prelates, and the King's Counsel: that the King should permit the Lords of the League to retain yet for the space of six years the Cities and Fortresses formerly granted for their security in the year 1585. and that *Dourlans*, *Orleans*, *Bourges*, and *Montereau* should be added unto them: that the King should give the Duke of *Guise* a Patent to command the Forces of the whole Kingdom being to be superiour unto all in arms, and all men subject to his obedience: that the King should take a course to remove the *Sieur de Bernay* (enemy to the Duke of *Aumale*) from the Government of *Boulogne*, which should be put into the hands of some such Gentleman of the Province as was mistrusted by neither party; that *Valence* in *Dauphine*, and the Castle thereof, which had been seised upon by *Monsieur de Valette* upon occasion of the late commotions, should be restored to the *Sieur de Jéssan* the former Governour: that the Deputies chosen by the *Parisians* after the tumult, should be approved and confirmed by the King.

King: and finally, that in *October* next ensuing, the States-General should be assembled at *Blois*, to cause the Edict of the Catholick Union to be sworn unto, to receive the Council of *Trent*, and confirm the authority granted to the Duke of *Guise*. Concerning Monsieur d'O, Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, the Mareschal de *Byron* and the rest, there was no mention at all made: for the Duke of *Espernon*, and his Brother *la Vaudemont* being removed, these seemed not to have either strength or authority sufficient to oppose the so formidable power of the Duke of *Guise*, who thought already that he ruled and governed all things, nor did he design any longer to reflect upon any that were not his equals.

The Articles concluded and confirmed, the King impatient of any delay that might retard the effects of his secret counsels, presently sent forth his Letters Patents into all Provinces and several Bailages to appoint the Assembly of the States in *October* following at *Blois*, which place he thought more fit for his purpose than any other, as well because it was far from *Paris*, and near those Towns which were held by the Hugonots, as for the conveniency and greatnesse of the Castle, but most of all because the people were at his devotion, far from any commerce or intelligence with the League: and that his example might invite the Deputies which were to be elected not to delay time, he departed from *Rouen* a very few dayes after, and went toward *Chartres*, that from thence he might go afterward to the place appointed. Being come to *Mante*, a Town upon the road from *Rouen* to *Chartres*, the Queen-mother and the Queen his Wife met him, with whom having stayed there the space of two dayes, the Queen-Mother returned toward *Paris*, to bring the Duke of *Guise* to Court, and the King continued his journey toward *Chartres*, to stay there till the rest of the Court came up to him.

Not many dayes after the Queen-Mother came thither with the Duke of *Guise*, attended by a more sumptuous then numerous Train, with shew of great humility towards the King's person; but with a presumptuous heart and countenance puffed up with spirits of a most assured power; and which imported most, by those things he had atchieved and obtained, become not only glorious among his own friends, but also admired and terrible to those that held and followed

The Duke of *Guise* goes with the Queen-Mother to *Chartres* to the King, and is received by him with great demonstrations of honour in appearance,

1588 the King's party: which, as it was not unknown to the King by reason of his quick sightednesse, and the suspicion of his nature, so did it with wonderful impatience increase his desire, to see him ruined: but covering his thoughts with quite different words and gestures, he seemed both in small and great matters to be sincerely reconciled to him, and that for the time to come he would proceed according to his counsel, and lay the whole foundation of his Government upon his valour and prudence; to which end he presently caused the Edict of the *Union* to be published in his Council, and sworn to by every one, and the War against the Hugonots to be openly proclaimed: for the prosecution whereof according to the Articles of Peace, two several Armies were appointed, one in *Dauphine*, under the Duke of *Mayenne*; the other in *Poitou*, whereof the King declared *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers* his General; and for both, the necessary Commissions were instantly dispatched, to raise Regiments of Horse, and to draw Foot-forces together. After this first point, followed the other of greater consequence: for without delay the new power of the Duke of *Guise* was established in the Council, published in the Parliament of *Paris*, and summed up in his former title of *Grand Maître*, which (except the expresse name of *Lieutenant General*) contained all that power which is wont to be attributed to that dignity, the command of all Armies wheresoever he should be in person, the authority of *High-Constable* in mustering and paying the *Militia*, the power of limiting and putting the price upon provisions, the protection of the common people, the punishment of outrages committed by souldiers, and other circumstances of this nature; which, after the King's own Person, placed the Duke in the highest authority of command, and settled him in that power which the Masters of the Palace were wont anciently to have in the times of those Kings that were of the Stock of *Merouee*. Nor did the King fail to shew the same inclination to the Cardinal of *Bourbon*; for by the consent, and with the authority of his counsel he declared him First Prince of the Blood, granted him the priviledge of creating Masters in all Arts, and that his servants should enjoy the same exemptions as the King's, which things did in this manner as it were declare him the lawful Successor to the Crown.

To these great and important matters, others of lesse consequence were added also; the King's Familiarity with the Duke of *Guise*, his veneration of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the favours which by their means he daily granted to divers persons; the alienating of his old favourites, his secret and confident discourses with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the *Sieur de la Chastre*, *Bassompierre*, and other intimate friends of the Duke of *Guise*, and principal followers of the League, and many other such like things, which as evident signes of the King's good inclination, served in the mean time to cover the hidden web of his more real designs; to the continuance whereof he was much excited by the Pope's demonstrations, who moved with the Duke of *Guise's* successe in driving the Germans out of the Kingdom, and dissipating their Army with so much facility, had written Letters to him full of infinite praises, comparing him to those holy *Matchabees*, the Defenders of the people of *Israel*, so highly extolled in the Sacred Scripture, and exhorting him to continue successfully and gloriously to fight for the advancement of the Church, and the total extirpation of the *Hugonots*. Which Letters, to increase the Duke's fame and reputation, were by his dependents caused to be printed and divulged in *Paris*, with as much applause of the people, as anger and trouble in the King, who could no way be pleased that another should have more credit and authority in his Kingdom then he himself; and therefore the expressions of the Pope, and opinion of the Court of *Rome*, kept his minde beyond measure in perplexity, as well in regard of his conscience, as for other important respects and consequences. From the displeasure received by those Letters, he began to proceed to a remedy, not onely to divert the Pope's deliberations, but also to bring to passe, that in the belief of the world he might not be esteemed to have so little correspondence with the Apostolique Sea, and to be in so little awe of the holy Catholike Church.

The Pope desired to have to do in these busineses that passed in *France*, and as much as possibly he could, to promote the enterprise of the Catholikes against the *Hugonots*: for which purpose he was minded to chuse a Legat who might be present at that famous Convention of the States, and (understanding what concerned the interest of the Apostolique Sea, with the Duke of *Guise* and Cardinal of *Bourbon*) might

Pope Sixtus Quintus writes congratulatory Letters to the D. of Guise full of high praises.

The Pope thought he saw not clearly into the affairs of the League.

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1588

sollicite the King about the assembling of them, about declaring of the War against the King of *Navar*, but most of all, that he and all those of his Family, as being manifestly guilty of Heresie, might be judged incapable of ever coming to the Crown: yet because he thought he saw not clearly into the affairs of that Kingdom, and was not very sure what the ends of the League might be, he was doubtful unto what person he should commit the charge of that businesse, desiring neither utterly to alienate the King's minde, nor to displease the Duke of *Guise*, and thinking it a matter of so great importance as required a man of singular prudence and ability to manage it. But he was not resolved of his choice till the King being advertised beforehand by the Ambassador *Pisani*, founded the bottom of his design: whereupon, desiring to have such a one as he might trust, and not one wholly devoted to the pleasure of the League, he used all possible endeavours, trying the most powerful means of that Court, to procure that *Giovann Francesco Moresini*, a Senator of *Venice*, Bishop of *Brescia*, who then resided in the Kingdom as the Pope's Nuncio, might be chosen Legat; a man truly of so much worth, as being well informed of the present affairs, was not a little acceptable to the King, and yet not altogether distrusted by the Duke of *Guise*, in regard of the dexterity wherewith he knew how to behave himself with every body. The Pope disliked not the Nuncio, because he knew him, and esteemed him a man of singular wisdom, and because having been employed in the Government of his Republike, he believed him no lesse experienced in State-affairs; and besides, that being a Noble *Venetian*, and by consequence well-affected to the Crown of *France*, he thought he would not cast himself inconsiderately as a prey unto the League, the Pope desiring he should hold the balance even, and not favour the Duke of *Guise*'s designes more then the service of the Catholike Religion and of the Roman Church required. But though the King was much pleased with the person of the Legat, who at that very time was created Cardinal; yet was he beyond measure displeased that the Pope gave account of his Election to the Lords of the League, exhorting them to communicate and consider of their counsels with him; and that the Letters concerning it were printed and published by the League with their usual pride: and yet this consideration had not so much power over

The Pope chuseth *Giovann Francesco Moresini* Bishop of *Brescia* Legat to the Congregation of the states, he being much desired by the King, to whom he was Nuncio. At the same time he is made Cardinal

his minde; but that, dissembling his disgust, he sought by all possible ways to gain the Legat, to the end that by his means he might be the better able to justify his own actions to the Pope, and by degrees to take off the favour and assistance which he seemed to lend unto the enterprize of the League.

These things busied the Court, when news was brought of a Conspiracy against the Duke of Espernon at Angoulesme, whereby he was very like to have been suddenly ruined: for the King's Letters being come (though late) wherein he commanded that he should not be received nor admitted into the possession of that Government, some of the City, who (as men's affections are different) were not much pleased to see him there, and who were easily perswaded they should do the King acceptable service, if they could drive him from that possession, dispatched one of their confidants straight to Court unto Secretary Villeroy, to know the King's intention more particularly, and to give notice that they would venture either to drive him out of the City, or take him prisoner, though he stayed continually in the Castle, a place very secure, and well fortified. This man's Proposition was not unpleasing unto Villeroy, who by reason of his enmity with the Duke, and because he had received commission to write the foresaid Letters, thought that the occasion complied exceedingly with the King's desire, and therefore spake of it to the King himself; who beginning to distrust Villeroy, of whom he was very jealous, would not declare his pleasure openly in the business; but to the end he might not sound into his most secret thoughts, wherein he still loved and trusted the Duke of Espernon as much as he was wont, said that he should not be sorry to see him driven out of Angoulesme, or brought prisoner into his power, so that his life might not be in danger: which words being spoken coldly by him, were hotly urged by the Secretary to the Messenger of the Conspiratours, who being a while after admitted into the King's closet, and known by him, had commission to be referred to such Orders as he should receive from the Secretary; who though he would not give him any thing in writing, yet he commanded that they should endeavour without fail to get the Duke of Espernon alive into their hands, or drive him from the City, affirming that it was his Majesties effectual desire, and that by so doing

they

The Duke of
Espernon is
conspired a-
gainst at An-
goulesme. Se-
cretary Villeroy
fomenting the
business upon
a secret order
from the King.

1588 they might very much oblige him. The Conspiratours much quickned, both by the relation of *Villeroy*, different enough from the King's coldnesse, and by the addition which (as the custom is) the Messenger made both of words and actions; to shew themselves able executors of their promise, talked not onely of taking the Duke alive, but of killing him if they could not get him otherwise; and having conferred of the businesse with the *Sieurs de Mere, de la Messeliere*, the Viscount of *Aubeterre*, and some other Gentlemen of the Country, upon the tenth day of *August*, being the Feast of *St. Laurence*, they ran suddenly to the Castle, and having taken possession of the Gate, the Guards not having the least suspicion, they went on to the Duke's most private lodgings, and there fell upon his servants that were in the ante-chamber, while he in the room within was talking with the *Sieur de Marivaut* and the *Abbot del Bene*. Here the resistance of a few, stopt the violence of many: for *Rapbaello Gieronimi* a Florentine, defended the entry of the door a great while, with the death of three of the Conspiratours, till he lost his life; being shot with a Pistol: when he was dead, *Sorlin* the Duke's Chirurgion, opposing the enemies most stoutly though he were grievously wounded, and with a loud voice calling up the Family (which was in the lower room) to joyn in the defence, stayed the fury of the assailants, while the Duke and they that were with him, having shut the door of the Chamber, and made it up with Trunks and Chests which they found there, had time to defend their lives against so sudden a violence. In the meantime, while these fought at the chamber-door, the Duke's Gentlemen (among which *Lancillotto di Nores* a Ciprian, first of all) having heard the noise, and taken Arms, recovered the Gate of the Castle; where the *Sieurs d'Ambleville* and *P. Artigues* staying to defend it, the rest ran armed upon the stairs, and having found the Conspiratours, who strove as much as possibly they could to get into the Chamber, cut them all in pieces, except one of the Consuls of the City, whom they laid hands on and took alive. The Duke having put on his Arms, came forth of the chamber, and with his servants stood undauntedly upon his defence; and being come into the Court, where the clamour increased, he with his own hand slew the Consul's brother, who was got thither, having scaled the Castle-walls, with some others that had armed themselves

to relieve their friends. There they took five more of the chief Citizens prisoners, who were got in by the same means; and in that manner the furious assault of the Conspirators was repulsed. - In the mean time at the ringing of the *Toquesaint* all the people in the City were raised, the chief whereof ran to seize upon the Duke's Lady, who not suspecting any thing, was gone to Masse in the great Church. The Conspirators received new supplies every minute by the Gentry, who knowing the businesse, came in to them; wherefore being increased in strength and courage, they presently set things in order to assault the Castle. But the Duke and they that were with him defended it valiantly, and by threatening to kill the prisoners that were in their hands, who were persons of note, and principal men among the Citizens, they kept the people in awe till the *Sieur de Tagens* came up with his *Gens d'Arms*, who being quartered hard by, made haste presently at the noise which was heard a great way off in the fields: at his arrival the people were affrighted, and the Heads of the Conspiracy being dismayed, at last by means of the Bishop of the City, and of the Abbot *del Bene*, they agreed that the prisoners should be set at liberty, the Dutchesse likewise restored, the Gentlemen that were of the Conspiracy put out of the City, and the Duke as before acknowledged Governour for the King, who shewing much courage in defending himself, and much moderation after the Agreement, did quickly extinguish that fire which had like suddenly to have consumed him.

The news of this businesse put Secretary *Villeroy* absolutely out of the King's favour, who would not believe, if the Messenger from the Citizens of *Angoulesm* had been answered as doubtfully and coldly in that matter as he intended, that ever they would have dared to go so far as to attempt even against the Duke's life, he having expressly forbidden them to do any such thing, but thought for certain that Secretary *Villeroy* laying hold of that occasion, had made use of it to wreak the open enmitie and bitter hatred which he bore the Duke of *Espenon*; wherefore fretting within himself, believing that he was surrounded on every side by Ministers that were sway'd with passion and interests, and condemning their too much wisdom, whereby they searched even into the marrow of his thoughts, he remembered the example of his

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1588

The King according to the example of his Grand-father, dismisseth many old servants for their too much wisdom.

Grand-father, who in the later times of his reign had put away from him all those old Ministers of State which were become suspected for their too much wisdom, and had employed men of great integrity, but such as were not of too high an understanding, from whom he had received better and more fruitful service, then from those that were grown old in the prudence and experience of affairs. With this thought, as soon as he was gone from *Chartres* to continue his journey towards *Blois*, where he had determined to accomplish the end of his designs, he dismissed from Court the Sieurs *de Pinart*, and *Brulart* his old Secretaries of State, and sent *Benois* his trusty Cabinet-Secretary, to tell the High Chancellor *Chiverny*, Monsieur *Bellicre*, and the Sieur *de Villeroy*, who were gone to their houses to order their affairs, and return, that the King satisfied with the pains they had already taken, commanded them to return no more to Court; which order was received and executed by *Bellicre* with great moderation; the High Chancellor laboured in vain to justify himself, and to get leave to return; and the Sieur *de Villeroy*, though he obeyed, shewed neverthelesse a great sense of grief, thinking that his long toils and services happily performed, were unjustly despised, and too ungratefully requited. In the place of the High Chancellor the King (as the custome is) chose *Francois de Montbelon*, his Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, to be * *Garde des Sceaux*, a man of great integrity, and honest intentions; but not much accustomed to matters of Government, wherein till that time he had had very little or nothing to do: *Martin Ruzay* Sieur *de Beaulieu*, and *Louis de Rouel* were made Secretaries of State, both men of unblemished reputation, faithful, dis-interested, and bred up in his service from their youth, but not esteemed to have too great a reach in affairs of Government and matters of State. On this manner he thought he had taken away from about him (as he said) the prying Foxes eyes, and that he had assured himself he should receive faithful and sufficient service, so that his Ministers should not search deeper into his designs, then he of his own voluntary accord was pleased to impart unto them.

In the place of the High-Chancellor *Chiverny*, *Francois* Sieur *de Montbelon* is chosen *Garde de Sceaux*. * Lord Keeper

By this novelty the whole Court was transformed not onely in shew, but also in the form and manner of Government; for the Duke of *Guise*, who formerly was wont to have

have but small share in the Councel, seemed now to moderate all the resolutions of it; and together with him the Arch-bishop of *Lyons*, and the *Sieur de la Chastre* his neer Dependents were held in very great esteem: and in the Cabinet-Councel where the Queen-Mother was wont to bear all the sway, now by reason of the King's suspicions, her part was not very much; and all the old Confidants being excluded, onely the *Mareschal d' Aumont*, Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, and the *Sieur de Rambouillet* had the King's ear, and were the onely partakers of his most intimate determinations. The Duke of *Nevers* also, who in former times had been suspected and hated by him, had now great power with the King, who was now become different from himself. Nor was he so much moved to it by the fame of his wisdom, and experience which was generally known, as because he was an emulator, and a secret enemy of the Duke of *Guise's* greatness; in so much, that though they were Brothers-in-law, their Wives being Sisters, yet could not the one brook the others advancement; and now the Duke of *Nevers* his inward animosity was so much the more increased, by seeing that the Duke of *Guise* having obtained the power of Lieutenant-General, ruled all, and commanded every one: which being known unto the King, and he desiring reciprocally to blow the fire of their hatred, had declared the Duke of *Nevers* General of the Army that was to go into *Poitou* and *Guienne*, to set them so much the more against one another, and to the end that their emulation might grow from thoughts to deeds; because on the one side, he knew *Nevers* would never endure to obey *Guise*; and on the other, that *Guise* (to tread down *Nevers*, and because he was jealous of him) would not fail to go unto the Army: Whereupon their secret heart-burnings would break forth into open discord and dissention. To avoyd which, though the Duke of *Nevers* foreseeing the same, tryed by all excuses, of his age, indisposition, and other occasions to decline that charge, yet the King would never consent to confer it upon any other; thinking also that was no convenient time to trust the command of an Army in the hands of a person whom he suspected. By these Arts the minds of both parties being more kindled against each other, the King was still secretly informed by the Duke of *Nevers* concerning all particulars that might make to the Duke

1588 of *Guise's* disadvantage, whereby it came to passe, that he who before was suspected, became now his absolute Confident.

With these practices the Court arrived at *Blois* the seven and twentieth day of *September*, where the Deputies of the Provinces were already met together; in whose election, though both parties had taken much pains, yet the dependents of the League did much exceed; for the Order of the Clergy drawn by the interests of Religion, did in a manner wholly incline to that side, and the Order of Commons exasperated by the heaviness of impositions, and whose end it was to cause them to be removed, did willingly joyn with the King's enemies; who promised, nay professed they would ease the people of the excessive weight of contributions, and among the Nobility were many neerly interested with the House of *Lorain* and the League; whereby the King perceived plainly at the very first, that in this Congregation the Duke of *Guise* would captivate all mens opinions, and obtain all his own desires. But being disposed to go another way, and desiring to satisfie all humours, having received the Deputies indifferently, with great signes of apparent good will to all, he composed his minde to make shew, that he had settled all the hope of his own quiet, and of the safety of the Kingdom in those remedies which were to be applyed by the States. Wherefore intending to begin a businesse, which he fained to esteem of so great consequence, with wonderfull great state and preparation upon Sunday the second of *October* he caused a solemn procession to be made, in which he himself being present, with all the Princes, all the Court, and all the Deputies of every Order in their places, the Sacrament was carried with exceeding pomp through the streets, which for that purpose were all hung with tapistry; high Masse was sung with shew of profound and sincere devotion in every one; and the Sunday after being the ninth day of the month, the King himself and the Duke of *Guise*, with all the Deputies received the Communion publickly in the Church of *St. Francis*, confirming by that holy pious action, the correspondence and reciprocal intelligence which they shewed to perfect the happinels of the Kingdom, for which end they professed that the States-General were come together.

The Assembly began upon the third Sunday, being the sixteenth day of the moneth; when presently after dinner, all those being met in the Great Hall of the Castle who ought to be present at so solemn a Convention, the King sat down in a Throne raised by many steps from the earth, and covered with a very rich Cloth of State; the Queens, Princes, Cardinals, Peers, and Officers of the Crown, sate upon Seats fitted for that purpose, in two long rowes, on the right hand, and on the left; and between them, in the inner part of the Theater, sate the Deputies, according to the ancient preeminence of their degrees; and the Duke of Guise, as *Grand Maitre*, with his Staff of Office in his hand, sate down upon a stool at the foot of the State on the right hand; and on the left sate the *Sieur de Montbelon*, who represented the person of the High-Chancellour of the Kingdom.

The Assembly of States General called at Blois, upon the agreement between the King and the League begins with extraordinary preparations.

When every one was settled in his place and order, the King accompanied with a Royal Majestie and singular eloquence, gave beginning to the Assembly of the States with a long elegant Oration; wherein, attesting his most earnest desires of the good and welfare of his people, and shewing the dangerous troublesome condition wherein intestine discords and private interests had involved the Crown, he exhorted every one of them effectually to lay aside their passions, to forget their enmities, to avoid the animosity of factions; and, providing by convenient remedies for the publike need, and the quiet of all men in particular, to reunite themselves sincerely and principally under his obedience; forsaking all novelties, condemning all Leagues, Practices, Intelligences, and interested communications, which both within and without the Kingdom had disturbed both him their lawful and natural Sovereign, and the minde and tranquillity of all good men: for as he pardoned and would forget all that was past; so for the time to come he would not endure it, but account it as an act of absolute Treason: And insisting upon that Proposition, he enlarged himself a long time; concluding with grave and effectual words, That as he sincerely laboured for the good of his Subjects, and resolved to persecute and tread down Heresie, to favour those that were good, to restore the splendour and force of Justice, to advance Religion, to uphold the Nobility, and to disburden the common people: so he earnestly prayed and conjured every one of them to assist him with their

The King begins the Assembly with a fine Speech, which stings the Duke of Guise and his adherents.

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1588 good counsels and sincere intentions, in that so necessary regulation of all things : for if they should do otherwise, minding intelligences and particular practices; and consenting to the interests of factious men, they would stain themselves with perfidiousnesse and treachery, and would be brought to give an account of it before God's Tribunal, making themselves guilty and blame-worthy to humane justice, with the perpetual infamy of their names unto posterity.

The Speech of the King's stung the Duke of Guise to the quick, and all those of his party ; and so much the more, when they saw him resolved to have it printed : wherefore the Archbishop of Lyons endeavoured to dissuade him from it, saying that it was better to lose a few words, though never so elegantly composed, then to lose the hearts of many of his Subjects, who felt themselves injured, thinking that he had not forgotten what was past, but would rax them in the presence of all France, and condemn them of perfidiousnesse and rebellion. Yet notwithstanding that, the King would have it known to all men what he had said to the Congregation of the States ; and caused his Speech to be printed, which served wonderfully afterward to excuse those things that followed. Some have written, that the King, perswaded by the Archbishop of Lyons, had cut off many things from the Presse, and taken away many words which he had spoken in his Oration : But I my self, who was present, and heard every word very neer, can certainly affirm that as much was printed as was spoken ; but the expressions being quickned by the efficacy of his action and tone of his voice, were much more sharp and moving then when they came forth in Print, wanting that life and spirit with which they were delivered.

*Montbelon the
Garde des
Seaux prosecutes
and amplifies
the King's
Speech.*

** Renand de
Beaune.*

** Michel Mar-
teau.*

After the King's Speech followed the Oration of Monsieur de Montbelon, *Garde des Seaux*, who according to the ordinary custom praising the King's intention, repeated at large the same things which he had spoken : To which, with demonstrations of great humility and obedience, the * Archbishop of Bourges answered for the Order of the Clergie ; the Baron de Seneschay for the Nobility; and the * *Prevost des Marchands* of Paris for the third Order of Commons : After which Replies, the Assembly was dismissed, and the second Session adjourned till the Tuesday following.

That day was famous for the Oath which the States took,

to receive for a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom that Edict of the Union which the King had published in the Month of July before, whereby reuniting to himself all his Catholike Subjects of the Kingdom, he swore to persevere till death in the Romane Catholike Religion, to promote the increase and preservation of it, to employ all his Forces for the rooting out of Heresie, never to permit that any Heretick or favourer of Heresie should reign; not to elect into Places and Dignities any but such persons as made constant profession of the Romane Catholike Religion, and would have all his Subjects to swear and promise the same; who being so reunited unto him, he forbade to joyn themselves in league or company with any others, under pain of Treason, and being held violaters of the Oath they had taken; with other particulars, wherein abolishing the memory of all things past, he made himself Head of the Catholike League and Union, and incorporated all the Orders in their proper natural obedience. The circumstances of this Oath were remarkable; for the King himself spoke concerning it with grave and fitting speeches, and the Archbishop of Bourges made an Exhortation to the States, shewing the greatnesse and obligation of the Oath which they were to take; *Beaulieu* the new Secretary of State inrolled an Act of that Oath, in memory of so solemn an action: after it was done, they gave thanks to God publikely in the Church of *St Sauveur*: all which demonstrations, which many thought were used to extinguish the memory of things that were past, served after to excuse and authorise those things that were to come: for notwithstanding all these obligations whereby the adherents to the League bound themselves to forsake all former attempts and machinations, and to tie themselves sincerely in obedience to the King, and notwithstanding all his Protestations in the publike Assembly of the States, to forget what was past, but severely to revenge the future, they did not at all slacken their pretensions and contrivances, but pursued them with effectual practices; and the Duke of *Guise* aspired to the expresse name of Lieutenant-General, which he had not been able to obtain from the King, though he had gotten almost the same power to be joyned to his former title of *Grand Maître*; and the rest ceased not to treat with the States, that the Government might be reformed in such manner, as leaving unto the King onely the name and outside of a Prince, the

The King and the States swear in solem manner to perform the Edict made before of persevering in the Catholike Religion.

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1588

sum of businesses might be managed by the Duke and his Dependents of the League: and even the Deputies of the States mingling themselves in the interests of the Factions, plotted and laboured for the same things, without any regard to so many and so solemn Oathes, and with manifest scorn and contempt to the King's Name, Person, and Majesty: Wherefore the event plainly shewed the art the King had used in the Assembly of the States: for knowing the obstinacy of the Confederates, he by the bonds of publike Oathes, Acts and Ceremonies (which in appearance redounded all in favour of the League, but secretly contained a most sharp sting against it) cunningly spread the net to catch them in those faults and crimes wherewith they had protested not to stain themselves for the time to come, and which he had declared that he would severely punish and chastise.

There wanted not many who believed that if the Duke and the Deputies, with the other Heads of the League, had after these Oathes given over the enterprize they had begun, and having laid aside their private interests and old passions, had proceeded sincerely for the future, the King always of a good intention and milde nature, would yet at that time have forgotten all that was passed, and have let alone the House of Guise; But the Duke, either not discovering, or despising that policy, being transported with the prosperity of his affairs, and seeing the greater part of the Deputies were inclined and ready to favour his greatnesse, strove with all his utmost

The common opinion that the Duke of Guise aspired to the authority which the Masters of the Palace were wont to have. * *Les Maitres du Palais.*

Chilperic King of France, of an effeminate nature, put into a Monastery by Charles Martell and Pepin Masters of the Palace.

forces to bring matters to that point which from the beginning he had propounded to himself. The constant report was, that he inwardly aspired to that power which the * *Masters of the Palace* in old times were wont to have; while the Kings standing but for shadows or ciphers, and leading a soft idle course of life, left the authority of the Government wholly unto them: whereby it came to passe in processe of time, that King Chilperic a man of an effeminate nature, being deprived of his Crown, and put into a Monastery to lead a private life, Charles Martell, and afterwards his son Pepin, Masters of the Palace, (in whose hands the Government and the Forces did reside) at last assumed the name and majestie of King, robbing those of it, to whom of right it did belong. Those that were interested, openly said that the example of things past, was very apposite for the present affairs; for the King seemed

to have shewed no lesse tokens of an effeminate minde, and of a soft idle nature, then *Chilperic*; and the Duke of *Guise*, by his late Victories and the height of his understanding, was esteemed not inferiour in worth and valour, to what *Pepin* or *Charles Martell* were in those times: and though he was not of the Blood-Royal, (as the *Masters* of the *Palace* formerly were wont to be) yet the interests of Religion, to which his designs were nearly united, gave him a marvellous opportunity to deprive the House of *Bourbon* of the succession of the Crown, and to transfer it upon himself or his posterity, under colour that necessity so required, lest the most Christian Crown should fall into the hands of Hereticks and excommunicated persons. To this end it was whispered that he aimed to be declared Lieutenant-General, not by the King, but by the States, with supreme authority, that he might make use of it no lesse to bridle the power of the King himself, who he doubted would return unto his custom of Governing, then to suppress the House of *Bourbon*: for causing the King of *Navar* to be declared incapable of the Crown by the States themselves, and by consequence the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be lawful Successour, it came joyntly to passe, that he who was decrepid with old age, dying within a while, the Royal line would thereby be extinct, and the rest of that House excluded as suspected of Heresie, and incapable; and then that the Duke, born up by the applause of the people, and strengthened with those Forces which would be in his power, could have no obstacle in obtaining the election of his own person, and his posterity to the Crown, either during the life of the King himself, or at least after his death, if to shew the greater modesty he would defer it so long: howsoever, the King being a man of a dissolute life, a profuse nature, a suspicious humour, and not beloved of the people, they talked among themselves, that by degrees he, as another *Chilperic*, might be shut up for ever within the walls of a Monastery.

These things were spoken in a manner publikely. But the King's nature and inclination were so different from that of *Chilperic*, that the Duke of *Guise* was deceived by them, whether he really had such thoughts, or that his aim was only to secure himself and Religion, which he could not do, if he did not settle himself in a certain permanent greatnesse: wherefore having directed all his counsels to that end, that he might

1588

might perfectly win the love and affections of the people, he laboured before all other things to set the businesse on foot of lessening the Taxes and Impositions, making himself the author of that most important motion. The King opposed it, as did also not a few of the wisest among the Deputies, alledging that they were contrary things. To settle so frequent resolutions of making an obstinate War, of raising so many Armies, of daily entering new souldiers into pay, with perpetual protestations never to lay down arms without an absolute Victory; and on the other side, by weakning and destroying the Kings revenues, to cut the sinews of the War, and after so many brags, to reduce themselves to a necessity of condescending, for want of money, to a disadvantageous dishonourable peace. But the interest of the order of the Commons was so great, their inclination so precipitate, and the Duke of Guise's authority so powerful, that notwithstanding that so evident reason, it was at last resolved that they should demand of the King a moderation of the Taxes, an abatement of the new Impost, which amounted to the sum of two millions of gold *per annum*, the reformation of many Offices erected to bring in money; and the total taking away of many other grievances.

But the Duke of Guise having tried his own strength, and found his power with the Deputies, being much augmented in courage, and grown in favour, by that resolution which he had luckily carried against the King's will, propounded to himself for a second attempt, to make the States receive the *Council of Trent*, as a most powerful engine not only to destroy and exclude the Hugonots for ever, but also to cause the King of Navarre and the rest of the House of Bourbon to be declared incapable of the Succession: but this was no such plausible matter as the other was, but suspected, not only to the Nobility by reason of the liberty of their lives, but also to a great many of the Clergie, who feared to lose the immunities and privileges of the *Gallique Church*. Wherefore though the King by nature an enemy to Heresie, consented willingly unto it, hoping also thereby to gain the Pope's good-will, which he suspected by reason of those things he intended to put in execution; and though the Cardinals who were there present stickled much in the businesse, and that the Duke of Guise applied all his endeavours to it, yet the contradiction of the

The Proposition of receiving the Council of Trent made in the Assembly of the States General, is rejected with great contradiction.

Deputies

Deputies, and of many of the Clergy, was so great, that it being impossible to be carried, the resolution was referred till another time.

But the Duke of Guise, not at all discouraged, considering that the reason why that Proposition had not taken effect was because every one feared to be constrained in their consciences, would needs (without that previous preparation) venture boldly upon one step higher, and caused to be propounded in the States, that the King of Navar and the rest of his Family being guilty or suspected of Heresie, should by a Declaration be made incapable of ever coming to the Succession of the Crown. And indeed, contrary to the opinion of many, who esteemed it an impossible business, by reason of the veneration which was wont to be shewed to the *Salique Law*, and to the line of the Blood-Royal, this determination proved very easie; for though the Arch-bishop of Bourges, one of the Presidents of the Ecclesiastical Order, did obliquely oppose it, as an unreasonable proposition, while the King in the flower of his age might yet possibly have a Son; yet the Clergy concluded, that the King of Navar by name, and all others suspected of heresie, should be declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown, and that this was conformable to the meaning and doctrine of the holy Canons, and expedient for the safety of mens souls, and for the preservation of the Church of God: this being so resolved, the other two Orders of the Nobility and Commons (the followers of the League using their utmost power) determined likewise that in this matter it was good to referr themselves to the Clergy, and that therefore they should consent to their decision, which as soon as it was concluded, *Guillaume d'Anançon* Arch-bishop of Ambrun, with six Deputies of every Order, presented this Vote of the States unto the King, insisting that his Majesty would make it a publick Decree, causing it to be read and confirmed in the Assembly, which should receive it, and swear to it as a fundamentall Law: But the King utterly averse from that inclination, knowing that this was the last stroak of the Duke of Guise and the League to establish their designs absolutely, seemed to praise the zeal of the Clergy, and the piety and modesty of the other Orders in things that concerned Religion; and in stead of an Answer, gave unto the Deputies a Protestation which had been presented to him from the King of

The King is requested to declare the King of Navar incapable of the Crown, and all others suspected of heresie; after much opposition he consents coldly unto it.

1588

Navar : Who having called a Congregation of those of his party at Rochel, had caused a writing to be printed, wherein he demanded the execution of those Edicts and Grants which had been so often made to those of his party ; the convocation of a Nationall or Univerfall Councel, wherein he might lawfully be instructed in those things that were controverted in matter of Faith ; and finally he protested to count *null* and invalid whatsoever should be determined against him in that Assembly at Blois ; he that having been called to clear himself of those things whereof he was accused, and that Assembly not being composed of all the Orders and sorts of people in the Kingdom, since those of his party were not called and admitted to it : nay, he argued that he could never be condemned for an Heretick, as he was openly declared by his enemies, whilest he offered to submit himself voluntarily to the determination of a free and lawfull Councell, either Nationall or Univerfall. To which Propositions of the King of Navar, the most Christian King added, that if justice requires no man should ever be sentenced nor condemned without being summon'd, or without hearing his defence, which (by consent of all learned men) is according to the law of God, it was not good to decree so heaveie a sentence, without giving him warning to answer for himself, and without hearing his reasons whatsoever they were ; for if the sentence of an hundred Crowns would be censurable, nay void and of no effect, where the party had not been cited and warned to answer ; much more would a Decree be invalid which concerneth so weighty, and so important a matter as the Succession of a Kingdom. That many of the King of Navar's reasons, if they were not altogether true, were at least apparent and specious, which ought not to be pretermitted in a matter of so great Consequence, without being particularly discussed and pondered : That he alledged he had ever offered to submit himself to the determination of a Councel, and to the instruction of grave and learned men : That he claimed the priviledge of liberty of conscience granted to all French-men, from which he ought not to be excluded more then others : That he excused the imputation of being relapsed, by the powerfull fear, or rather by the violence of the Massacre of Paris, wherein to save his life he had condescended to go to Masse ; And that he urged many other things, which were not so much

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to be slighted, if for no other reason, at least that the Decree of the States might not appear to have been precipitate, and interessed, confused, disordered, and void of those respects which the ordinary course of justice requires even in the smallest things, much more in the condemning of a person of so great quality and in the inheritance of a whole Kingdom: That there was time enough to warn him, and appoint him a hearing, and conveniency sufficient to proceed legally, since that (by the mercy of God) he found himself in such a condition of age and health, that the dangers were not urgent, the business should be so suddenly determined: Wherefore it befitted so grave an Assembly, composed of the most eminent men of the Kingdom, to proceed warily, and go forward in such manner as might not appear to be an indiscreet, disorderly zeal, but piety accompanied with judgement and constant prudence.

The Deputies returned the King's Answer to their severall Orders but in vain; for the Clergy answered, that the King of Navar had many times been admonished, called, and summoned by the Queen-Mother, and by messengers from former States: that new Councils were not necessary, where the universal one of Trent had condemned the Doctrine which he followed for hereticall: that he had been instructed by the Cardinall of Bourbon his Uncle, so grave a personage, and so neer him in blood, and yet had returned to his first opinions in Religion; that finally the Pope had declared him a relapsed Heretick; wherefore it was needlesse to give him any further warning, or to make new discussions and examinations; and that the determination in hand was not so much a determination as an execution; and that therefore neither doubt nor delay was to be interposed. To this Declaration of the Clergy the other Orders consented; and therefore the Arch-bishop of Ambrun with the same Deputies related to the King, that his Answer having been debated by the States, they persisted in the same opinion, and therefore beseeched his Majestie to enact it presently.

The King seeing the obstinacy of the States, and being resolved to another conclusion then what every one believed, answered, that he agreed to the generall Vote, and that he would think of causing the Decree to be framed: and in the meantime, to weaken in some part the hopes of that attempt,

1588

The King seeing the resolution of the States against the King of Navar, procures an absolution at Rome for the Prince of Conty and Count Soissons of the House of Bourbon, which much troubles the Duke of Guise.

he wrought with Cardinal *Morefimi* the Pope's Legat to obtain from Rome the absolution of the Prince of Conty and Count of Soissons, brothers to the Prince of Conde deceased; who having lived in the Catholike Religion ever since the Massacre, had yet gone over to the King of Navar, and had born Arms for him, one in the Battel of Coutras, the other in the Conduct of the German Army; but having since repented their following of that party, by reason of its weaknesse, and for other respects, were returned unto the King's obedience, by whose persuasions they very submissively asked pardon of the Apostolike See; which humiliation being forwarded by the good assistance of Cardinal *Morefimi*, who to please the King and favour the Blood Royal took great pains in the businesse, and being helped by the earnest sollicitations of the *Marquesse de Pisan* the King's Ambassadour at Rome, it was hearkened unto by the Pope, and those Princes received absolution; which cast some rubs and difficulties in the Duke of Guise's hopes, and did partly weaken the specious reasons of the League.

Charles Emmanuel Duke of Savoy possesseth himself of the Marquesate of Savoy.

But while these things were in agitation, the minde of the King, of the Duke of Guise, and of the States, were all much troubled at the news which was brought unto them, that *Charles Emmanuel* Duke of Savoy, having entred in an hostile manner with an Army into the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*, had made himself master of it, driving out the King's Garrisons and Officers. The Duke of Savoy, a youth of a most high spirit, and much raised in his thoughts by his new union with the Catholike King, having married the Infanta *Catherine* his daughter, had taken a resolution to possesse himself of the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*, to which his ancestours by ancient succession pretended to have much right; wherefore seeing the troubles of France, and particularly the last attempt of the League in the Insurrection of Paris, wherein the Royal Majesty seemed troden under foot, and the power of that name quite overthrowen, would not neglect such an opportunity, but partly by intelligence, partly by open force, had gotten into his hands *Carmagnola* and the other strong-holds of that State, together with great provisions of Artillery and Ammunition, which as in a Magazine had been left in many of those places since the late Wars of Italy. But having boldly executed his designe, and doubting on the one side that the French would resent it, and on the other, that the Princes of Italy would

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not be well pleased, he presently dispatched a Messenger to Court to let the King know he had been constrained to take that resolution, not with a thought to offend the Crown of France, but to provide against the imminent ruine of his own State, in case the Hugonots should get footing in the Marquesate, as *Les-digueres* earnestly endeavoured; who having made himself Master of *Castel Delfino* in the Alps, had a strong inclination to seize upon the Marquesate, from whence would have ensued the infesting of Piedmont, and those calamities unto himself wherein he saw France involved by the poison of Heresie; and therefore he would keep the Marquesate until such time as that danger were past; and that Justice had weighed his reasons, being ready to restore it when the Hugonots of Dauphine being rooted out, he should be free from those just fears into which that imminent danger had drawn him, and in case his reasons should be found to be unjust. He caused the same things to be presented to the Venetian Senate, to whom as Moderatour of the Peace, he knew any such novelty in Italy would be infinitely displeasing: and the same at large were alledged by the Pope; adding to appease him the more, that this was the prologue of a War against the City of Geneva, as he desired; and to work upon him, urged the confederacy and intelligence which the King of France held with that Common-wealth.

Causes alledged by the Duke of Savoy in excuse for his surprisal of the Marquesate of Saluzzo.

But it was a wonderfull thing how much mens mindes were disturbed, and the affairs of the States of Blois altered by it: for the King and his adherents said publikely that the Duke of Savoy had been encouraged to that boldnesse by secret intelligence with the Duke of Guise, who thought by this means to deprive Monsieur de la Valette of the Marquesate, who was Governour of it: That by that price he had bought the friendship of the Duke of Savoy, and satisfied the Spaniards, who desired to have that gate shut, thereby to cut off the passage of the French Forces into Italy: and many among the Nobility believed it constantly: so that men began to murmur that it was too unjust and too unworthy a thing to persist obstinately wallowing in the blood of Civil Wars, and in the mean time to suffer the honour of the Nation to be troden under foot, and the possessions of the Crown to be violently taken away by forraign enemies: That already too much had been done to satisfy the ambition of the great ones,

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1588

and to glut the greedinesse of the factions : That it was now high time to reunite their mindes, and joyn their Forces together, to defend themselves against the insultings of forraigniers ; and that this injury was so great, that they ought by no means to defer the taking of a speedy and exemplary revenge : From which popular plausible reasons, carried by the favour of the Nobility, who were moved with exceeding great anger, the other Orders also resented it very much : so that they seemed inclined to lay aside the thoughts of Civil War, to turn their Forces against the Duke of Savoy. Many of the most understanding men thought the Duke of Guise was not privie to that intent of seizing upon the Marquesate, in that conjuncture of affairs ; for the time was not seasonable ; and this accident alone disturbed his designs, which were already prosperously on their way to the desired end : yet some reported him the Author of that enterprize, and the States were resolved to decree a forraign War, and to slacken or defer their home-bred quarrel with the Hugonots.

This did much afflict the Duke of Guise, whether he were partaker or no in the surprisal of the Marquesate : for he perceived that the diverting of those humours, and employing them in a forraign War, would settle the intestine passions of the Kingdom, and that by consequence liberty of conscience, peace, and the establishment of the Hugonots would ensue, whereby so many designs would be frustrated, and so many Plots so long beforehand contrived to suppress the Calvinists, and to establish his greatness upon the ruines of the House of Bourbon, would come to nothing ; but the War being turned against his own Confederates, which were Spain and Savoy, he saw he should by little and little fall from his authority, and that the name and credit of the Princes of the Blood would rise again, since the flourishing age of the King might give time to infinite (not yet thought of) changes. But if on the other side this thought tormented him, on the other, the reports spread abroad by the King struck him very deeply ; the universal inclination of the States troubled him ; and as the Head of a popular faction, he could not oppose nor contradict so just reasons, and so popular a Cause ; thinking that the whole foundation of his affairs would fall, if he, having always professed to protect the general good and reputation,

ration, should now be seen either to assent unto or to make small reckoning of so great an injury done to the Crown. Wherefore being by the affliction of his minde brought into a deep meditation he resolved (making use of the same arts the King did) to gain a consent to the inclination of the States, to shew himself an eager revenger of the offence committed against the Crown, and by other means to frustrate the effect of the foreign Warr, which he thought not very difficult by his arts to bring to passe: with this designe he began to raise a rumour, that the taking of the Marquessate of *Saluzzo* had been procured and plotted by the King himself, to crosse the good resolutions of the States, and to hinder the Decrees against the King of Navar and the Hugonots; and that none could more deeply resent the boldnesse of the Duke of Savoy, nor was more ardent against him then he and his Family. And in effect, seeming wonderfully solicitous for the losse of the Marquessate, he caused some of his Dependants to propose unto the States, that they should resolve to make a War with Savoy, and that not being able to go in person upon that enterprize, because he could not be so farr from Court, he desired the Duke of Mayenne his Brother might, who being appointed to follow the War in Dauphine, was already come as far as Lyons. This proposition gave great satisfaction, and did very much settle the mindes of such as were troubled, so that without much delay it was by generall consent resolved, that they should turn their Forces against the Duke of Savoy, for the recovery of the Marquessate, and that the Duke of Mayenne should go thither in person.

In the mean time, observing those ceremonies with strangers which they observed not with the King of Navar, they determined to send *Jehan* Sieur de Poigny to the Duke of Savoy, to demand the restitution of those places he had taken, and if he restored them not, to denounce Warr against him: after which absolute orders were given, both to the Marquess *de Pisani* the King's Ambassadour to the Pope, to Monsieur *de Mets* Ambassadour at Venice, and to the other Ambassadors every-where, to make grievous complaints against the Duke. The ardour of mens spirits being by degrees qualified with these determinations, this so important affair was set in such a way, as was not likely to do much harm to the prin-

They send to the Duke of Savoy to demand the restitution of *Saluzzo*, and upon his refusal to denounce Warre.

principal intentions of those of the League. At that time many doubted how the businesse of *Saluzzo* had really come to passe; for though the most common report was, that all had been done with the secret intelligence of the League, because every one knew the correspondence that was between the Duke of Guise, the Spaniards, and the Duke of Savoy; and though they of the League on the other side laboured to make it be believed that it had been the King's invention; yet the wisest opinion held for certain, that it was meerey a motion of the Duke of Savoy himself, who of a ready courage and high thoughts, would not omit that desirable occasion which offered it self; which he himself made more credible; for after the taking of the Marquessate, he caused a coyn to be stamped, in which a Centaur trampled a Crown under foot, which lay overturned upon the ground, with this word, *Opportunitas*; which was interpreted, that he would not passe by the opportunity of that conjuncture, while the Crown of France was overturned and weakened by inward divisions. True it is, that men generally beleev'd the Duke of Savoy's forwardnesse had been excited by the King of Spain's exhortations, desiring by the possession of the Alpes to cut off the passage into Italy from the French Army.

At this very time the Duke of Nevers, Generall of the King's Army in Guienne, having begun the Warr with the King of Navar, had raken Mauleon, and Montault, and though retarded by the rains of Autumn, and many other impediments, had laid siege to Ganache, a very strong place upon the Confines of Poitou and Bretagne, defended by a strong and valiant Garison put into it by the Hugonots; the favourers of the League raised a report that he had cunningly besieged Ganache (a very strong place, but of no advantage to the main businesse of the Warr) onely to protract time; whereas with those Forces fresh and entire he might presently have destroyed the King of Navar; who ill provided of men, and utterly unfurnished of money, had not force enough to make long resistance: nor was this report altogether vain, or at least improbable. Whereupon the Duke of Guise intended when the States were broken up, and his power of Lieutenant Generall confirm'd, to go in person to the Army, and forward the businesse of the War. But the determinations of the States proved more long and difficult then at first it was thought

thought they would have been ; for the affairs of Savoy, though in great part settled again, had yet left mens mindes unquiet, and had put many designes out of frame ; and which imported most, the King intent upon the ripening of his secret thoughts, did in all matters interpose long artificiall delays. It is a strange thing how chance alone was accidentally almost like to have produced that bloody issue of the States, which the King was secretly contriving in himself : for the Pages and Lackyes of the Princes and Lords no lesse divided then their Master into two different factions, and quarrelling openly every day, with the plain names of *Royallists* and *Guifsards*, it happened upon the thirtieth of November at night, while about nine of the clock they were waiting for their Lords, being all together in the low open Galleries and Courts of the Castle, that the Pages of the Cardinal of Vendosme and of the Duke of Montpensier killed one of the Pages of the Duke of Guise ; at the noise whereof all the rest taking arms, every one for his party, the King's, the Cardinal of Vendosme's, the Duke of Montpensiers, the Prince of Conty's, the Count of Soisson's, the Marechal de Retz's, and others standing on the one side ; and on the other, the Duke of Guise's, the Prince of Jainville's, the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of Elbeuf's, the Count of Brissac's, and many others, they began a most cruell bloody fray, wherein the other servants mingling themselves by little and little, and at last the souldiers, and some Gentlemen, the businesse proceeded so far, that the party of the *Guifsards* prevailing, the fight was reduced into the great Hall joyning to the King's lodgings, and above those of the Queen-Mother, where all the Lords of the Court were together. The noise was wonderful great, and the intraged voyces sounded so loud, that they were heard into the Town, and wakening those that were asleep, the generall opinion was, that the Princes themselves were fighting, and that they should be all cut in pieces in the Castle, the gates whereof were already locked ; wherefore the Cardinal of Guise, who lodged in the Town, having put off his Cardinals habit, and drawn all his dependants together, was gone armed up thither ; and on the other side, the Marechal d'Anmont, and the Duke of Longueville, having assembled the King's adherents, went the same way, and were not far from meeting one another, all the Deputies being also in arms,

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A fray happens among the Lords Pages ; one of the Duke of Guise is slain: the uproar riseth to that height, that the whole Factions are divided under the names of *Royallists* and *Guifsards*; the King himself being armed, goes to the quarrell.

1588

some for one side, some for the other; and so great was the terror and the assurance that there was a bloody conflict in the Castle, that many who fled away for fear carried the news abroad and the report came to Paris, that all the Court were cutting one another in pieces among themselves, the event not being yet known. The King having put on his arms, went out of his private lodgings (doubtfull that the Duke of Guise endeavoured by that means to prevent him,) and all his followers that had wherewithall did the same, and so being armed, they expected with more assurance to turn their assistance whither most need required. On the other side, the Duke of Guise who sate talking with the Queen-Mother, neither moved his place nor countenance, but thinking it to be what indeed it was, said so often to the Queen; and perceiving that some of his Gentlemen seeing the advantage of their party, expected some token from him to proceed further, he kept his look still firm upon the ground, turning toward the fire, and gave no signe at all of his intentions, either not assenting to the businesse, or desiring they should go on, but without his fault or order. In the mean time the *Sieur de Grillon* having commanded the souldiers of the guard to stand to their arms, made the quarrell be parted; the fire being easily extinguished, because there was no fuell added to it by the Heads of the two parties, and so in the space of little more then an hour the whole uproar was appeased, and settled in the former quietnesse; an accident that had a terrible beginning, and a ridiculous end; but shewed evident marks of the most ardent hatred, kindled more then ever between the Factions.

But things were now brought to their full maturity; for the Duke of Guise having sufficiently tryed the Deputies both in generall and particular, and being grown more secure and bold by these late tryals, began to get the businesse introduced of his being made Lieutenant General, at the request, and with the authority of the States, which was the last aim of his present hopes; and the King losing his power and reputation every day more and more, and seeing that billow which he had so often avoyded now coming to break upon him, his long patience was at length turned into fury, so that the course of so many contrivances could no longer be withheld from breaking forth to their appointed end. The

King

King had from the beginning intended to put the Duke of Guise to death, with all his chief adherents and dependants, being thereunto incited by the sense of past injuries, and the apprehension of future dangers : he was onely withheld by the respect he bore to the Catholike Religion, and his fear lest the Pope (who besides his being of a fierce resolute nature, he saw was infinitely inclined to favour the League) should make use of Spiritual weapons against him, and stir up all the Princes of Christendom to do him mischief, whom (by reason of the divisions of his Kingdom) they knew to be in a weak dangerous condition. But because he was assured that the Catholike King and the Duke of Savoy would most certainly be against him, and that the Queen of England, the Swisses and Protestants of Germany would be for him ; and that the other Princes were so far off that they could do him but little harm, he turned his minde wholly towards the Princes of Italy, among which the Pope was chief, by reason of the authority of the Apostolike See, and of the Spiritual Arms that were in his power ; and then the Venetian Senate, as well for the eminent opinion of their wisdom, as for the supplies of money which he might hope for from them in time of need : and finally, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, from whom he remembered King *Charles* the ninth had in the heat of War received considerable assistance both of men and money.

To win the Pope, and make him his friend, besides a most propense inclination which he had shewed to cause the Council of Trent to be received by the States, and the great respect which upon all occasions he had shown to the Ecclesiastical Order, he had also sent *Jehan* Marquesse of Pisani his Ambassadour to Rome ; a man of long experience, and of a dexterous mature wit, who (his wife being a Roman of the family of *Savella*) was wonderfully versed in that Court, and acceptable to the Pope himself, and to the whole Consistory of Cardinals ; by whose means he laboured not only to keep *Sixtus* favourable unto him, by all the demonstrations of duty and confidence, but also to dive into the affections of his nephews and favourites, by all those ways which his sagacity could invent. And because he conjectured that the relations of the Cardinal Legat (as one who was upon the place, and was both by the Pope and the whole world esteemed a man of singular wisdom) would have great power which

1588

way soever they should incline : he used all his endeavours to make him his friend and confident, which was not very hard to do, as well because the Cardinal being a Venetian by birth, was naturally inclined to the good and greatnesse of the Crown, and because his particular *genius* abhorred the new turbulent Counsels of the League. Wherefore the King trusting him with many secrets, and seeming to depend much upon his advice and authority, he had by his means not onely obtained absolution for the Prince of Conty and Count of Soissons to the prejudice of the League, but also having made him acquainted with many hidden things, which were managed under the name of Religion, had perswaded him to withdraw his hand from favouring the Duke of Guise: for the prudence of the Cardinal, being there present, had sounded to the bottom of those things which alwayes came to Rome covered with the specious title of Religion ; whereupon, by his relations opportunely introduced, the Popes minde was brought into so much doubt and suspence, that he often told the Spanish Ambassadors, and the Agents of the League, he could not see clearly into the affairs of France.

It was more easie to gain the Venetian Senate : for besides the many acts of friendship, shewed by that Republike to Charles the ninth in the greatest exigencies of his Kingdom, and besides the real welcoms wherewith the present King had been received in the City of Venice, which had produced a reciprocal and confident friendship between them : the proceedings also of the Senate were very much averse from the disturbers of quietnesse, and from conspirers of new designs ; and their own interests made them to desire the peace and union of the Kingdom of France under the obedience of the natural King, to the end that being so united in strength, it might counterpoise the excessive greatnesse of other Christian Potentates : Wherefore, though the King at first had made some difficulty of admitting *Giovanni Mocenigo* (chosen Ambassador to him from the Senate in the place of *Giovanni Delfino*) because he was not of the Colledge of the * *Sanii de Terra Firma* (out of which number the Ambassadors to Kings are wont to be elected) yet having in the end admitted him, he was so pleased with his discreet silence and prudent behaviour, that he contracted a great intimacy with him, and with him and the Senate passed businesse of very great trust and confidence.

But

The King admits *Gio. Mocenigo* Ambassador from Venice, though he were not one of the *Sanii de Terra Firma*.

* Magistrates so called at Venice, because they have the principal administration of affairs by land, and the care of matters belonging to Peace and War

But with *Ferdinando de Medici* Grand Duke of *Thuscany* he proceeded further : for he having newly succeeded his brother *Francesco* in that State, and having renounced the title of Cardinal to take a wife, it was at that time concluded to give him *Chrestienne* the Duke of *Lorain's* daughter, and neece to the King, who had been bred up vvith the Queen-mother ; and hastening the Ceremonies of the Marriage, *Charles* the bastard Grand Prior of France contracted her in the name of *Ferdinando*, and the Bride made her self ready to take her journey.

Chrestienne de Lorain, which should have been given to the King of Navar, is married to *Ferdinando de Medici* Grand Duke of *Thuscany*.

Things being ordered in this manner, the next businesse the King had to think on, vvas to contrive vvich vway to catch the Duke of *Guise*, surrounded vvith so many Guards, and vvith so great a number of adherents : for though he had cunningly dravvn the States to *Blois*, a City depending upon him, and far from the assistance of the *Parisians*, yet vvas the Duke come thither so strong, and so many of the Deputies depended upon his vvill, that it vvas no easie matter to set upon him. The Queen-mother vvas so ill of the Gout, that she kept her bed ; and the King troubled vvith his vvonted suspicions, had not, nor did not intend to impart that designe to her ; and therefore having taken occasion upon Sunday the eighteenth of December, vvile they vvere feasting in her lodgings for the Marriage of the Great Dutchesse, and the vvhole Court vvas busied there, he called into his ovvn closet the Mareschal d' *Aumont*, and *Nicholas d' Angenay* Sieur de *Rambouillet*, vvhom he accounted most trusty, one for the profession of Arms, the other for the Gown ; and discovering his whole designe, desired their counsel in that particular. Their opinions were not very different ; and all agreed that things were brought to that passe, that now necessity forced a resolution to bridle the attempts of the Duke of *Guise* ; but about the means which were to be used, they were not so well resolved : for the Mareschal d' *Aumont* consented to have him resolutely killed ; and *Rambouillet*, alledging the breach of Faith, and the Law of Nations, counselled to take him prisoner, and then to proceed against him in a legal way : Whereupon, not knowing how to resolve among themselves, they called the same night unto them Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, and *Lewis* the brother of *Rambouillet*, to have their opinions ; they all thinking it a very hard matter to be effected. After many hours consultation, it was at last deter-

The King desiring to free himself of the Duke of *Guise*, proposes his design to four of his most trusty Confidants, who after long consultation resolve to have him killed.

1588

determined that he should be slain, and that the businesse should be ordered in this manner following. Upon the top of the stairs in the King's Palace, there was a great Hall in which commonly the Council was wont to be held, and which (except upon such occasions) stood open and free for the ordinary passage of the Courtiers: at the upper end of the Hall was the door of the King's ante-chamber; upon the right hand whereof was his bed-chamber; and on the left, the Wardrobe; and just over against the door of the ante-chamber, was the door of the closet; from whence there was a way out into a fair room; and thence a back-stairs that went down into the Queen-mother's lodging. When the Council was held, the Gentlemen and Courtiers were wont to accompany the Lords that went in, to the Hall-door at the top of the stairs, and there they stayed, because the door was locked and guarded by the Keepers of the Council-chamber: then they used to return back into the Court, which being spacious, was commonly called * *The Bretons Porche*, because they coming often to Court about their frequent Law-suits, were wont for the most part to walk and entertain themselves in that place. The King and his counsellors resolved that the deed should be done upon a Council-day: for the Duke being then left alone without his train, with the other Lords and Councillours in the Hall, he might be called by the King into his lodgings, which at such times were wont to be shut, and without company; and being there apart, and deprived of any help, might be dispatched out of the world: for he being once dead, they feared not those dangers and tumults at Blois, which they should have done if they had been at Paris. Then treating of the persons that should execute the businesse, the King chose to trust *Grillon* the Colonel of his Guards; a fierce bold man, and for many occasions an enemy to the Duke of Guise. Having therefore sent for him, he unfolded his designe unto him with fitting words, and gave him to understand that he had appointed him to be the man that should perform the enterprise wherein consisted all his safety. *Grillon* answered with short and significant words. "Sir, I am really your Majesties most faithful and devoted servant; but I make profession to be a Souldier and a Cavalier: if you please to command me to challenge the Duke of Guise, and fight with him hand to hand, I am ready at this instant to lay down my life for your
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* *Le porche
aux Bretons.*

The answer of
Grillon Cap-
tain of the
Guards.

"service; but that I should serve for an Executioner, while
 "your Majesties justice condemns him to die, is a thing
 "sutes not with one of my condition, nor will I ever do it
 "whilest I live. The King did not much wonder at the li-
 berty of *Grillon*, whom he and the whole Court knew to be
 a plain honest man, and one that spoke his thoughts freely
 without fear of any body; and therefore replied, that it was
 enough, provided he kept the matter secret, for he had not
 communicated it to any body else, and if it should be divul-
 ged, he would accuse him for the revealing it. To this *Gril-
 lon* answered, that he was a servant of honour and fidelity,
 and one that would never discover the secret interests of his
 Master, and so going away, left the King very doubtfull
 what he should do; in which perplexity he continued till
 the one and twentieth day, when having trusted the businesse
 to *Lognac*, one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber, who had
 been brought first into the Court by the Duke of Joyeuse,
 and by his gracefull fashion, discreet carriage, and gentle be-
 haviour began to rise into the place of the *Mignons*; he with-
 out much difficulty promised with some of the Five and for-
 ty who depended nearly upon him, to do the deed most rea-
 dily. The King having settled his minde, resolved to put it
 in execution upon the morning of the three and twentieth
 day, being Christmas Eve's Eve; and being come personally
 into the Councel the two and twentieth day, he told them
 he desired some businesse that concerned him might be dis-
 patched the next morning, that with a quiet minde he might
 retire himself to perform his exercises of devotion for the holy
 Time that was at hand; and therefore he intreated all of them
 to come early to the Councell.

Lognac promi-
 seth the King
 that the Duke
 of Guise
 should be slain

In the mean time the suspicion of this businesse, no body
 knows which way, was crept so far, that a confused know-
 ledge of it came unto the ear of the Duke of Guise himself;
 who being in private with the Cardinal his Brother, and the
 Arch-bishop of Lyons, consulted whether he should give cre-
 dit to that report, and whether believing it, he should go
 from the States to avoid that danger. The Cardinal said, it
 was better to fail in believing too much, then in being too con-
 fident, and that it was good to lean to the securer side, and
 perswaded his departure so earnestly, that the Duke set his
 affairs in order to go away the next morning; but the Arch-
 Bishop

The King's
 resolution a-
 gainst the D. of
 Guise comes
 to the ear of
 the D. of Guise
 himself.

1588

A consulation
between
the Duke of
Guise, the Car-
dinall his Bro-
ther, the Arch-
Bishop of Lyons,
and the
Duke d' El-
beuf.

Bishop of Lyons opposed that resolution so stiffly, that he caused it almost at the same time to be altered. He shewed what a lightness it was to believe a rumour of fame not grounded upon any certain proof; that it might be a plot of the King's to make him go away and leave the States, to the end that all hopes, designs and practices falling at once, he might be left free from that yoke which he saw preparing for him by the consent of the States; and he being gone that should order and moderate the affections and promises of the Deputies, who should withstand the King's authority and cunning? Who should hinder the State from coming to a contrary end from what they had designed? For he being absent, the Deputies seeing themselves forsaken and left alone, would fall under the King's authority, and in reverence to the Royall Name, would make their determinations according to his pleasure, and revoke those already past, disturb matters already established, and reduce the Government to the former, or perhaps to a worse condition, to the totall ruine and utter destruction of the League; that all those of his party would with reason complain that they had been betray'd, and meanly forsaken by him, and every one by his example would think of their own interests, and to make their peace with the King, so that in the end he alone would be left forsaken and abandoned; in conclusion, that it was better (though the danger were certain) to hazard onely his life by staying, then certainly to lose both life and honour at once by going away. His departure being deferred, the Duke of Elbeuf came in, who being made privie to the businesse in debate, confirmed the opinion of the Arch-Bishop of Lyons, adding many things to prove that the Duke of Guise was so well accompanied with faithfull friends all fast united, that the King would not dare to think of so rash an enterprise; and that he wondered they should now be in so much fear of those forces, which till then they had ever undervalued and despised. Whereupon the Duke of Guise taking courage, resolved not onely to stay till the end of the Assembly, but shewed also evident signes of slighting those rumours that ran about the Court.

The evening of the twenty second being come, the King commanded Monsieur de Larchant one of the Captains of his Guard to double them the next morning, and to keep the Hall.

Hall-door, after the Lords of the Council were gone in; but that he should do it in such a manner as the Duke of Guise might not suspect any thing: Wherefore having staid with a great number of his Souldiers the same night, till the Duke came from his own Lodgings to the Kings, he went to him in the middle of the way, and beseeched him, that he would be pleased to speak a good word for those poor Souldiers, who had wanted their pay a great many moneths; that they made their address to him as the Head and Protector of all Souldiers; and that the next day he would wait upon him with the same Company in the morning, to put him in minde to speak in their behalf to the Council: The Duke answered courteously, and promised the Captain and the Souldiers to take great care for their satisfaction. The same night the King gave order to his Nephew the Grand Prior of France, to make match at Tennis the next morning with the Prince of Joinville, Son to the Duke of Guise, and to keep him in play till he received further order from him. In the morning the King made himself ready before day, under colour of going personally to the Council, and pretending he should stay there many hours, dismissed all his servants, and in his Closet there remained onely *Revol*, the Secretary of State, Colonel *Alfonso Corse*, and Monsieur *de la Bastide*, a Gascon Gentleman of very great courage, who were all commanded by him to stay there: In his Chamber was *St. Pris*, one of his old Gentlemen waiters, in the Wardrobe the Count *de Termes*, * Great Chamberlain, who was a Kinsman of the Duke de *Espérons*, and in the Ante-Chamber two Pages, an Usher that waited at the Council-Chamber door, and *Lognac* with Eight of the Five and forty, to whom the King had with very great promises signified his pleasure, and found them most ready to obey his command. It was about break of day when the Counsellors met, and there went into the great Hall, Cardinal *Gondy*, the Cardinal of *Vendosme*, the Mareschals of *Aumont*, and *Retz*, *Montbelon*, the *Garde des Seaux*, *François* Sieur d'*O*, *Nicholas* Sieur de *Rambouillet*, the Cardinal of *Guise*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and at last appeared the Duke of *Guise*, to whom Captain *Larbiant*, stepping forward with a greater number of souldiers then the night before, presented him a Petition for their pay, and with that excuse accompanied him, and brought him to the Hall door, where being entered, and the door shut,

The order taken by the King, for the killing of the D. of Guise.

The Captains invention to double the Guards, and not be suspected by the D. of Guise.

* The French translation says, *Grand Maître de la Garde-robbe.*

C c c c c

the

1588

Pelican the
Dukes Secre-
tary sends
him a Note in
a Handker-
chief, to bid
him save him-
self; but it
comes not to
his hands.

The Duke of
Guise swouns
in the Coun-
cil-Chamber:
An ill omen
of his ap-
proaching
death.

The Duke of
Guise is slain
as he lifts up
the hanging
of the Closet-
door.

the souldiers made a long lane to the bottom of the stairs seeming to stay there to wait for an answer of their Petition and at the same time Monsieur Grillon caused the Gates of the Castle to be locked, whereupon many suspected what would be the event, and *Pelican* the Dukes Secretary wrote a little note in these words, *My Lord, save your self, or your self dead*: And having put it up into a Handkerchief gave it to one of the Dukes Pages, to carry it to the Keeper of the Council-Chamber door, pretending, that the Duke had forgot to take it, when he went forth of his Chamber; but the souldiers would not suffer the Page to pass. In the mean time the Duke being come into the Council, and set near the fire fell into a little swoon, whether it were that he remembered himself of the danger in which he was, being separated from all his dependants; or that nature (as it often happens) presaging his future misfortune, did of her self give him shew of resentment; or whether (as his ill-willers said) it was because he had weakened himself too much that night with *Madam de Marmoutier*, whom he extremely loved; but being quickly recovered, Secretary *Revol* came into the Council out of the Ante-Chamber, and told him, that the King asked for him, and would have him come to him into the Closet: The Duke arose, and having with his accustomed courtesie saluted all the Counsellors, entered into the Ante-Chamber, which presently being locked after him he saw not that store of company which was wont to be there, but onely those eight Gentlemen of the Kings Guard which were well known to him; and as he went from thence into the Closet, the hanging at the door not being held up for him as it was wont to be, he stretched forth his hand to lift it up, and at that instant *St. Malin*, one of the eight, stabbed him into the neck with a dagger, and the rest presently fell upon him on every side; he striving to lay hold of his sword was never able to draw it above half way out, and after many wounds given him in the head, and all the other parts of his body, being at last struck by *Lognac* (upon whom he had most violently thrown himself) he fell down at the door of the Wardrobe, and there he breathed forth the last groans of his life, without being able to speak one word. The Cardinal of Guise, as soon as he heard the noise in the Ante-Chamber, was certain that they were about his Brother

1588

The Cardinal of Guise and Archbishop of Lyons are made prisoners, as also all the Lords and other chief adherents of the Duke of Guise.

ther; and rising up suddenly with the Archbishop of Lions, they ran both to the Hall door, to call for the help of their servants; but having found the door shut, they were staid by the Mareschals of Aumont and Retz; who giving them notice that they were the Kings prisoners, led them up a little pair of stairs into an upper room, where they were shut up and diligently guarded. At the same time the Cardinal of Bourbon, by reason of his age and weakness being yet in bed, was seized on in the Castle; as also Charles Prince of Jainville, Charles of Lorain, Duke of Elbeuf, Charles of Savoy, Duke of Nemours, and Anne d'Estre, Dutchess of Nemours, and Mother to the Guises. Then having opened the Castle gates, and redoubled their Guards very strongly, Monsieur de Richelieu, * Grand Provost de l' Hostel, went into the Town, where he took President Nully, La Chapelle Martel, the Provost of Marchands of Paris, Compan and Cotteblanche, Deputies for that City, the Lieutenant of the City of Amiens, the Count de Brissac, the Sieur de Bois-Dauphin; and at last Pelicart the Duke of Guise's Secretary was likewise taken, with all the writings which belonged to his Lord; among which, they found many Letters containing divers practices within and without the Kingdom, the accounts of moneys which he had received from Spain, which were reported to amount to the sum of Two millions of Ducats. The rest, which the King desired to get into his hands, were either favourably hid by their Landlords in whose houses they lay, or by their friends in the City, or saved themselves by several ways and means; so that they escaped the fury of that present revenge. The body of the dead Duke being laid up in a green cloth, was carried by the door-keepers into the great room beyond the King's closet, and there it was laid till further orders. These businesses were performed without much noise or tumult, every one being amazed and astonished at what was done; and the most fierce and daring among those of the League, with down-cast looks and dejected countenances, professed most perfect obedience and profound submission.

The first thing the King did, was to send Revol the Secretary of State to the Cardinal-Legat, to give him notice of all that had passed, and to intreat him to meet him at Maf: And at the same time he sent also to give account of it to the Venetian Ambassadour, shewing how great a desire he had to be

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excused

* The ordinary Judge of the King's household, his command extends to all places within six leagues of the Court.

It was reported, that the Duke of Guise had received from Spain the sum of Two millions of Crowns.

1588

The King admitting every one into his presence, speaks very resentingly.

The King says to his Mother, Now I am King of France, for I have put to death the King of Paris.

excused to the Pope, and how much he esteemed the opinion of the Venetian Senate; and then having walked a turn or two in the Closet, he thought it time to lay off the Foxes outside, which for so many years he had worn with infinite patience contrary to his own *genius*, and to take up again the generosity of the Lion, which in his younger years he had shewed in so many famous actions: And having caused the doors to be opened, and every one to be admitted into his Chamber, he said with a loud voice, That from thence forward he would have his Subjects learn to know, and to obey him: For since he had known how to resolve to punish the Heads of Insurrections, much more resolutely would he proceed against the Members: That every one therefore should from that time, forget stubbornness and rebellion: For he would be a King, not onely in words, but in deeds also; and it would be neither a new nor difficult matter to handle his sword again. So with an angry look, and a frowne countenance, he went down the stairs into his Mothers lodgings.

The Queen lying in her Bed, and very much troubled with her pain, had heard the bustle that was above in the Kings lodgings, and had often asked what noise it was; nor had any body courage enough to tell her the news. Now the King appearing, he first asked her how she did; to which she having answered, that she felt her self something better, he replied, And I also now finde my self much better; for this morning I have made my self King of *France*, having put to death the King of *Paris*. To which words the Queen replied, You have made the Duke of Guise be slain; but God grant you be not now made King of nothing: You have cut out work enough; I know not whether or no you will be able to make it up as well: Have you foreseen the mischiefs that are like to follow? Look carefully to that: Two things are necessary, Speed and Resolution. After which words, being exceedingly tormented with the Gout, and much afflicted in minde, she held her peace; and the King went to meet the Legat, that they might go to Mass together.

They met before Mass, and walking up and down, conferred a great while together; in which discourse the King laboured to perswade him that he had been forced by necessity to take that resolution. He told him, that the ends, practices, designs, leagues, and negotiations of the Duke of Guise, were better

better known to his wisdom then to others ; That by them he had been brought to such extremities , that he could not save his own life and Crown, without his death ; which as by Gods assistance, it had been happily enough effected, amongst a thousand unconquerable difficulties ; so was it conformable to the Justice of all the Laws in the World : That the heinous offences were notorious , and manifest to every one , which had been committed by him a natural subject, against the majesty of the Royal Name, and against his lawful Prince, without any reasonable occasion ; which he had long born withal and dissembled, out of his desire of the general quiet, and out of the gentleness of his own disposition : But that after the last Pacification, in which he had profusely granted more to the League, then they knew how either to demand or desire ; notwithstanding the Act of Oblivion of all things past, and the Prohibition of all such-like practices for the time to come, the Duke of Guise, persisting obstinately in his first designs, violating so many Oaths, so many Promises, and so many Sacraments reiterated among the holy Ceremonies ; and in the presence of the Assembly of the States, which represented the majestick face of the whole French Nation, had both begun again, and continued the same things, Leagues, and intelligences with Foreign Princes, receiving of moneys and pensions from Spain, agreements with the Duke of Savoy to the prejudice of the Crown, factions, and practices with the States to tie up the liberty of his Prince, to exclude the rightful Successors of the Crown, and by seditious wicked acts to transfer the whole Government upon himself; by which things he made himself guilty of High Treason, and had often manifestly incurred the crime of Rebellion ; insomuch as Justice neither could nor ought to forbear to punish him, thereby once to remove the perpetual danger and unquietness in which he kept the whole Kingdom and all good men : That the ordinary forms of judging and sentencing could not possibly be observed : For no Prisons were secure, nor Bonds sufficient to restrain his power; that no Officers would have dared to examine him, no Judge to sentence him, nor no power would have been able to execute the sentence : That the King himself was Justice, and that he had so many proofs as did more then abundantly condemn and convince him to be guilty : That he was assured he had satisfied Gods Justice, his own conscience, and the

1588

The King discoursed a long while with the Cardinal of Morcini about the Duke of Guises death.

1588

the good and quietness of his Kingdom; and therefore he intreated the Legat to represent the truth as it was unto the Pope, to the end, that the arts of his enemies might not by their false relations, transform the face of so necessary, so just an action. These things were no news unto the Legat, being fully informed of the reports already divulged; and the King's reasons contained peradventure what he thought himself: And because he firmly believed, that, the shepherd being struck, the flock would easily be scattered; the greater part of the Heads being taken, and the rest much unprovided of strength and force to resist the Kings power in so sudden an accident, not much valuing the popular commotion which he foresaw might ensue, because he thought the seditions of the people were like a fire of straw, which riseth with great violence, but presently ceaseth, and is extinguished; he judged it not fit to alienate the Kings minde from the Apostolike See, but to confirm and establish it to the protection of Religion, and with a gentle rein, and moderate respect, to withhold him from agreeing precipitately with the Hugonots: Wherefore, seeming to believe that the Pope, as disinterested and as a common father, would kindly give ear unto his reasons; he onely exhorted him to shew that his words & excuses were true, by a firm and principal argument, which was, To persevere in the resolution of protecting the Catholike Religion, and extinguishing Heresie; that by that means he might perswade the Pope, and the whole World, that he had been constrained by necessity, and not drawn by hatred to the Catholike party: Whereas, not persisting in that safe, Christian determination, he should authorize the false reports of the League, and give occasion to have it thought that his inclination to favour the King of Navar, and uphold the Hugonots, had moved him to put to death the Head, and imprison the principal Members of the Catholike party. This point seemed so important to the Legat, that he enlarged himself long upon it, till the King gave assurance by an Oath, that if the Pope would unite himself with him in minde and Forces, he would endeavour the extirpation of Heresie with more fervour then ever, and that he was firmly resolved to suffer onely the Catholike Religion in his Kingdom: After which asseveration, accompanied with effectual words and gestures, the Legat made no scruple of treating with him with the same intimacy and confidence as before, thinking he had obtained

obtained that point which would serve to satisfie the Pope, since the King, though exasperated with the injuries of the League, did yet confirm himself in his wonted obedience and veneration of Religion; and that though the Duke of Guise were removed he yet continued the Catholike Union, and the determination of making War against the Hugonots: Wherefore he gave the King no doubtful hope, that the Pope would be satisfied with his reasons: Nor did he think fit to pass any further at that meeting, but believing he should have time enough afterwards to speak about the enlargement of the Cardinals, he would not (in a time of so great distraction, and in a conjuncture wherein the Kings minde might waver) anticipate busineses unseasonably, but proceed with well-pondered counsels, first settling the publike, and then private interest.

But the King having entertained great hopes by the Legats words, and seeing that he seemed not much troubled at the imprisonment of the Cardinals and other Prelates, resolved to go forward, and to free himself from the Cardinal of Guise, a no less fierce and terrible Head of the League then his Brother had been: To which end, having found the Five and forty unwilling to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Cardinal, he commanded *du Gast*, one of the Captains of his Guard, that he should cause him to be put to death the next morning by his Souldiers. So upon the Four and twentieth day, being Christmas-Eve in the morning, Captain *Gast* being come into the Chamber, where he was with the Archbishop of Lyons, and where they had been all night in most terrible fear, confessing one another, and watching in continual Prayer, he bad the Archbishop come along with him, for the King called for him: At which words, the Cardinal believing that he was led to death, said to him, My Lord, think upon God: But the Archbishop ghesing better then he, and not willing to fail in the same Office, replied, Nay, rather do you think of him, my Lord; and going away, he was brought into another room.

The King seeing that the Legat showed no trouble at the imprisonment of the Cardinals, commands that *Lewis* of Lorraine, Cardinal of Guise, be also put to death.

A while after, *du Gast* returned, and told the Cardinal that he had Commission to put him to death. To which he onely answered, that he desired time to recommend his soul to God: And having kneeled down, he made a short Prayer; and covering his head with the lower part of his robe, he undauntedly bad him execute his Commission; when presently four souldiers armed with Partezans, slew him with many wounds; and

Du Gast, a Captain of the Kings Guard, causes the Cardinal of Guise to be slain by four Souldiers.

his

1588

The bodies of
the two Bro-
thers were
burned in
quick Lime,
and their
bones buried
in an un-
known place.

his body was carried to the same place where the Dukes Brother lay. The King doubted, that if the bodies were seen, they might occasion some tumult; and therefore having by the counsel of his Physician caused them to be buried in quick Lime, within a few hours all their flesh was consumed, and afterward the bones were secretly interred in an unknown place, removing in that manner, those tragical objects, which use to work strange and sudden motions in the common people: neither had he himself the heart to look upon them; nor did any of the Court see them after their death, except those few who of necessity were present; the King not desiring that so sad a spectacle should argue him guilty, either of cruelty, or ambitious pomp of ostentation.

The Duke of
Guise's Ver-
tues and En-
dowments,
both in body
and minde.

In this manner died *Henry of Lorain, Duke of Guise*, a Prince very remarkable for the height of his Extraction, and for the merit and greatness of his Ancestors; but much more conspicuous for the great eminency of his own worth: For he abounded with many excellent endowments; vivacity in comprehending, wisdom in resolving, boldness in executing, courage in fight, magnanimity in prosperity, constancy in adversity; popular in behaviour, affable in conversation, infinitely industrious in gaining the mindes and affections of every one, liberality worthy the most plentiful fortune, secrecy and policy equal to the greatness of his designs; a spritely turning wit, readily stored with determinations and resolves according as occasion required, and just proper for the times in which he lived. To these qualities of the minde were joyned ornaments of the body no less commendable; patient sufferance of labour, singular sobriety, a venerable, yet gracious aspect, a strong souldierly constitution, agility of members so well disposed, that he was often seen to swim in all his arms against the stream of a swift River; and wonderful activity, whereby both in Wrestling, Tennis, and Military exercises, he did far exceed the ability of all other men; and finally, such concurring union in the vigour of his minde and body, that he gained not onely an universal admiration, but extorted praises from the mouths of his very enemies. Yet were not these vertues without the defects of humane frailty: For doubleness and dissimulation were in him turned into nature; and vain-glory and ambition were so powerful over the temperature of his disposition, that from the very beginning they made

made him embrace the command of the Catholike Faction, and in proceſſe of time, from the neceſſity of defending himſelf from the King's ſubtil policies; put him eaſily upon the precipitate deſigne of attaining by moſt difficult hidden ways to the ſucceſſion of the Crown: and finally, the boldneſs of his own nature, and his uſual contempt of all others, brought him unadviſedly to utter ruine.

Lewis the Cardinal, though he came far ſhort, imitated the courage and vertue of his brother: for he always ſhewed a ready wit, a lively ſpirit, a conſtant minde, and magnanimity equal to his birth; but the turbulemcy of his thoughts, and precipitate boldneſs of his nature, took off very much from the opinion which at firſt was conceived of him: for his too much ardour, his deſire of new things, his deſpiſing of dangers, and his unquietneſſe of minde (which have ſome kinde of luſtre in a Military profeſſion) ſeemed not to have the ſame decency in a Spiritual life, and an Eccleſiaſtical habit.

The execution of the two brothers being paſt, the others that had been imprifoned were diverſly kept and guarded. The Duke of Nemours either having corrupted his keepers with money, or taking opportunity by their negligence, or by the King's aſſent and connivance, (as many thought, becauſe knowing his nature, he believed him rather more apt to hinder and diſturb, then to favour and compoſe the affairs of the League) eſcaped the fourth day from the place, where he was not very ſtrictly looked to, and by unknown ways, with onely one ſervant, went ſecretly towards Paris. *Anned' Eſte*, mother to him, and to the dead Princes of Lorain, was alſo voluntarily freed by the King, having ſhewed her many demonſtrations of compaſſion; whether he was moved with the pity of her age, or that the ſplendour of her blood, or her being born of one of the daughters of King *Lewis*, made him give her the more reſpect. *La Chapelle*, *Compan*, *Cotteblanche*, the Lieutenant of Amiens, the Count de Briſſac, and the Sieur de Bois-Dauphin, becauſe they were in the number of the Deputies (the Aſſembly of the States having made an appeal, complaining that the Law of Nations was violated, ſo far as the Deputies were Ambaſſadours and Meſſengers from their ſeveral Provinces) were ſet at liberty. But the ſame happened not to the Archbiſhop of Lyons, though he was one of the Deputies, nay Preſident of the Clergy: for the King often deſired to have him examined

1588

The Archbishop of Lyons being often examined, would never answer; alledging, that as Primate of all France he had no other Superiour but the Catholike Church.

The Cardinal of Bourbon, the Prince of Jainville, now called Duke of Guise, the Archbishop of Lyons, and the Duke d'Elbeuf, are all put into the Castle of Amboyse.

Charles Duke of Mayenne, third brother to the Guises, being advertised of his brother's death, flees from Lyons.

mined by the Archbishop of Beauvois, as a Peer of France, sometimes by the Cardinal of Condy, sometimes by the Judges of the Great Council, he had always refused to answer, lest he should prejudice the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, vvherein, as Primate of all France, he said he had no other Superiour but the Apostolike Sea; though the King and his ministers alledged that they impeached him not as Archbishop of Lyons (though so in cases of Rebellion and Treason the King pretended to have Jurisdiction over him) but as a Counsellour of State: for vvhich cause the King being exasperated, and thinking that his refusal to answer proceeded from a foul, guilty conscience, vvould not consent to his enlargement, though his Nephevv the Baron de Lux took much pains about it, and though the Deputies vvere much troubled at the King's denial. *Pelicart* the Secretary of the dead Duke, and some others of his neereft servants, vvere often examined; and having dravvn as much from them as they could, by the King's command (who scorned to defile himself with mean blood) vvere set at liberty. But the Cardinal of Bourbon, vvho vvax like a childe for the death of the Lords of Guise, and was much afflicted for his own misfortune; the Duke d'Elbeuf, vvho by despair was fallen into an excesse of melancholy, so that he vvould neither endure to change his clothes, cut his hair, or use wonted decency about his person; the Prince of Jainville, vvho by the death of his father began to be called Duke of Guise; together vvith the Archbishop of Lyons, vvere (after not many days) brought by the King himself to the Castle of Amboyse, and there, under the command of Captain du Gast, vvere left in severall lodgings, but vvith a good Garrison, and strict order to keep them fast.

At the very instant of the Cardinal's death, Colonel *Alfonso Corso* went away post to Lyons, vvhere *Charles Duke of Mayenne* the third brother of the Guises stayed, being appointed for the War in Dauphine, vvith order to take him there vvpon the sudden, and make him prisoner: but he vvvas prevented by *Camillo Tolomei*, and the *Sieur de Chaseron*, vvho being gone secretly from Blois the same day the Duke vvvas killed, and got unknowvn to Orleans, took the vvay vvowards Lyons vvith infinite speed; so that vvpon Christmas-day in the evening, about Sun-set, the Duke left the City to retire to Dijon a place under his Government, at the same time the

the Colonel entered the City by another gate, to execute the Commission he had received; and so of the three Brothers he escaped free from danger, into whose valour and wisdom all the foundations and hopes of the League were now reduced.

The death of the Queen-Mother shut up the last act of the Tragedy of Blois, who in the 70th year of her age having been long afflicted with the Gout, and at last oppressed with a slow Feaver, and extreme abundance of Catharrs, departed this life upon the fifth day of January 1589, being the Eve of the Epiphany of our Lord, a day which was wont to be celebrated with great joy by the Court, and the whole Kingdom of France.

The qualities of this Lady conspicuous for the spacious course of thirty yeers, and famous thorow all Europe, may better be comprehended by the context of things that have been related, then described by any pen, or represented in a few words. For her prudence alwayes abounding with fitting determinations to remedy the sudden chances of Fortune, and to oppose the machinations of humane wickedness, (wherewith

in the minority of her Sons she managed the weight of so many Civil Warrs, contending at once with the effects of Religion, with the contumacy of her Subjects, with the necessities of the Treasury, with the dissimulations of the great Ones, and with the dreadfull engines raised by Ambition;) is rather to be admired distinctly in every particular action, then confusedly dead-coloured in a generall draught of all her vertues. The constancy and greatnesse of courage wherewith she, a Woman, and a Stranger, durst against so potent Competitors, aspire to the whole weight of Government; having aspired, compasse it; & having compassed, maintain it against the blows of art & fortune, was much more like the generosity and courage of a man versed & hardened in the affairs of the world, then of a woman accustomed to the delicacies of the Court, and kept so low during the life of her Husband. But the patience, dexterity, sufferance, and moderation, with which arts in the suspicion which her Son (after so many proofs) had conceived of her, she knew still how to maintain the authority of Government in her self, (in so much, as without her counsell and consent he durst not resolve of those very things wherein he was jealous of her) was as it were the highest pitch and most eminent proof of her great worth. To these vertues, which appear plainly in the course of her actions here related, were added many other en-

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dowments

1589

Katherine de Medici's Wife to Hen. the Second dyed on Twelfe eve, in the 70 year of her age, thirty whereof shee spent in the Regency, and in the management of the greatest affairs and troubles of the Kingdom of France

1588

dowments, wherewith banishing the frailties and imperfections of the female sex, she became always mistresse of those passions which use to make the brightest lights of humane prudence wander from the right path of life; for in her were a most elegant wit, royall magnificence, popular courtesie, a powerfull manner of speaking, an effectuall inclination, liberal and favourable to the good, a most bitter hatred and perpetual ill-will to the bad, and a temperature, never excessively interested in favouring and advancing her dependants. Yet could she never do so much, but that being an Italian, her vertue was despised by the French Pride, and those that had a desire to disturb the Kingdom hated her mortally, as contrary to their designs; wherefore the Hugonots in particular, both in her lifetime, and after her death, blasted and tore her name with poysonous libels, and with malicious narrations and execrations: and a certain Writer (who deserves rather the name of a Satyrist then a Historian) hath laboured to make her actions appear very different from the truth; attributing often either ignorantly or maliciously the causes of her determinations to a perversity of nature, and an excessive appetite to govern; abasing and diminishing the glory of those effects which in the midst of so certain dangers did more then once securely produce the safety, and divert the overthrow of the Kingdom. Not but among so many excellent vertues, some vveeds of vvorlly imperfections did also spring up: for she vvas esteemed of a most deceitfull faith, a condition common enough in all times, but very peculiar to that age; greedy, or rather prodigall of humane blood, much more then became the tendernesie of the female sex; and it appeared in many occasions, that to attain her ovvn ends (though good) she thought no means unfit which seemed conducing to her designs, though of themselves they were unjust and perfidious. But the eminence of so many other vertues may certainly, to reasonable Judges, cover many of those defects which were produced by the urgency and necessity of affairs.

The King was present with demonstrations of extreme grief, at the last gasps of her life, which ended very Christianly, and her death was honoured with his tears, and with exceeding great lamentations by the whole Court, though the present distractions did in the hasty funerall of the

of France. The Ninth Book.

257

1588

the Mother very much hinder the wonted magnificence of the Son. Her Heire was *Christiane de Lorraine*, Wife to *Ferdinando Grand Duke of Tuscany*, and *Charles Grand Prior of France*, bastard-Son to *Charles the Ninth*, who was therefore called the Count of *Auvergne*; and to her servants she left many Legacies, but the unquietness of the times that followed, and some debts contracted by her liberality, did by divers wayes swallow up in great part both the Inheritance and the Legacies.

HISTOIRE

OF THE

CIVIL WARRS

The end of the Ninth Book.

OF FRANCE

BY HENRICO CATERRINO DAVILA

The Tenth Book





THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
CIVILL WARRES
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The Tenth B O O K.

THE ARGUMENT.

IN the tenth Book are related the Insurrections caused by the death of the Cardinall and Duke of Guise; the Union renewed in Paris, and many other Cities of the Kingdom: the Authority of command, and title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown given to the Duke of Mayenne. The King commands proceſſe to be made against the actions of the dead Princes; he continues the States, but breaks them up at last, the Deputies being variously inclined. The King strives to appease the Pope, who is highly offended at the Cardinal of Guise's death: He dispatcheth the Bishop of Mans to Rome for that purpose; but the Pope persists, and makes grievous complaints in the Consistory: The King endeavours to make peace with the Duke of Mayenne; but neither doth that designe take effect: The Duke goes to Paris, and begins severall wayes to take up arms; he establishes the general Councel of the League, and the particular one of the Sixteen at Paris: He dispatches Ministers to Rome to confirm the Popes inclination; who afterward publisheth

libbeth a Monitory against the King of France, and foment
the League exceedingly. The King being necessitated to make
Warre, agrees with the King of Navar, and concludes a Truce
with him: The Spanish Ambassadour leaves the Court, and
goes to reside in Paris with the Heads of the League; the
Pope's Legat departs also, and not having been able to per-
swade the Duke of Mayenne to consent to peace, goes out of the
Kingdom. The Warr is begun furiously in every place. The
Duke of Montpensier defeats the Gautiers in Normandy. The
Kings of France and Navar meet in the City of Tours. The
Duke of Mayenne takes Vendosme, and the Count de Brienne
prisoner; he assaults the King's Infantry in the Fauxbourgs of
Tours, and takes and possesseth himself of many Posts. The
King of Navar comes up with his Army, and the Duke going
away, takes many places in his march toward Normandy. The
Duke of Anmale besieges Senlis, fights with the Duke of Lon-
gueville and Sieur de la Noue, and loses the day. The Duke
of Mayenne to recover this losse marches towards Paris. The
King with his Army follows the same way, takes Gergeau,
Piviers, Chartres, Estampes, Montereau, Poissy, and other
places: he joyns with the Duke of Montpensier. The Swisses
and Germans raised for his assistance, arrive; hee takes the
adjacent Towns, and layes siege to Paris; where the Duke of
Mayenne and the people (having but small hopes to defend
themselves) resolve to stand it out to the utmost. Frier
Jaques Clement a Dominican goes out of the City, is brought
into the King's chamber, and stabs him into the belly with a
knife; the King dying declares the King of Navar his law-
full Successor, and perswades him to turn Catholick. The
Army, and particularly the Nobility, waver in their resoluti-
ons, at last they resolve to acknowledge the King of Navar,
provided Religion might be secured. He makes them a pro-
mise in writing to imbrace the Roman-Catholick-Faith. He
rises from Paris by reason of the wasting of his Army, makes
shew as if he would besiege Rouen, and goes to Diepe. The
Duke of Mayenne much encreased in strength follows him;
they fight at Pollet, at Arques, and under the walls of Diepe.
Supplyes come to the King from many parts. The Duke of
Mayenne marches off and goes into Picardy; the King enlarges
himself towards the Isle of France: Hee takes and sacks the
Suburbs of Paris, goes directly to Tours, and by the way
seizeth

1589

seizeth upon many places : He enters into that City ; is received with great pomp ; sits in the Parliament ; excuses to the Nobility his delay of changing his Religion ; marches into lower Normandy, and reduceth all that Province into his power.



After the bloody Tragedy which ended the year 1588, folloved a dreadfull terrible alteration of the Scene : for the newes of the death of the Lords of Guise being come the same day to Orleans, the next to Paris, and from hand to hand into all parts of the Kingdom, it is not possible to believe how much it troubled and disturbed the mindes, not onely of the common people (inclined by nature and custom to embrace all emergent occasions of change) but of all degrees, and all qualities of persons ; and, which seemed very strange, of many also who in times past had been esteemed prudent moderate men. This so great perturbation of mens mindes, produced in their first fury rash precipitate effects : for the City of Orleans, which for a long time before had held the party of the League, and moreover had been wont in all the course of the Civil Wars to be first up in Arms, having heard of the Duke of Guise's death, and the imprisonment of all the rest, by them who fleeing hastily from Blois, were gotten thither at the first stage, and particularly by the *Sieur de Rossieux* one of the Counsellors of the League ; without any determinate resolution, and without staying for a Head to order them, they took Arms openly the very same night ; and having driven away or suppressed the King's Magistrates, who endeavoured to hinder the Insurrection, they went all confusedly to assault the Fortresse, in which Monsieur d' *Entraques* his Lieutenant was for the King, with a very few Souldiers, and (as in a sudden accident) in want of all those things which are necessary to make good a place. The Citizens of Chartres did the same, though in the late Commotions it had been of the King's party ; and having taken Arms, thrust out all that favoured the King's name, or that would have opposed the Insurrection, and began to govern it self without the consent of the Magistrates. But the news being come to Paris upon Christmas-eve, at the shutting in of the day, brought first by a Post dispatched from *Don Bernardino*

Cardinal Mendoza, and afterward by Captain Hippolito Zanzano of Ferrara, one of the Captains entertained by the Duke of Guise, the Shops were hastily shut up, and the multitude in their wonted tumult ran some to the *Hostel de Guise*, where were the Dutcheffes of Guise and Montpensier, the Dukes Wife and Sister, and some to the City Gates to look for more certain news, and more distinct particulars of the business; which when they had learned by the arrival of those, who, having fled from Blois, came all running without stay to Paris; the people sometimes with howlings, sometimes with lamentations, sometimes with exceeding fierce cries, wavered in their resolutions, there not being yet any one ready to govern the violence, and direct the determinations of the confused giddy multitude: For the Dutcheffes of Guise with a Womanish softness, was all in tears; and the Dutcheffes of Montpensier, a Lady of a haughty minde, and full of bold manly spirits (who had torn the Kings name and credit more with her tongue, then her Brothers had done with their Swords, and all their practices) being from her birth lame of one foot, and subject to frequent infirmities, was then lying in her bed, and had already been indisposed for many days: Wherefore the Council of the League being come together in the midst of the tumultuous people, resolved to send for Charles of Lorain, Duke of Aumale, who fleeing from the States at Blois, out of a certain presaging fear, had staid in Paris, and that very day was retired to his devotions to the Covent of Carthusians hard by the City; at whose arrival, though late at night, all the multitude ran to his house, but onely spent the time in bewailings and lamentations.

The Insurrection of the Parisians, at the news of the Duke of Guise's death.

The next day, the whole City being in grief, they dispatched Divine Service quickly, without their wonted musick and singing, and from the Churches being come to the Townhouse, the same Council met again there; at which were present the most noted Citizens, and also many of the Magistrates; some drawn by an anxious curiosity, some driven by the fear of being torn in pieces by the fury of the multitude, and some came with a desire to finde remedy against the unbridled rashness of the common people. But it was all in vain: For instead of counsels, there being nothing heard but bitter invectives and injurious threats against the Kings name, they resolved in the first place, that till a further determination,

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tion,

Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Aumale, being made Governor of Paris by the City, arms the people, and orders them regularly under Commanders.

The Preachers detaching from the King, celebrate the Duke of Guise his Martyrdom with exceeding high praises.

tion, the Duke of Aumale should be declared Governor of the City, and that under his obedience they should from new advertisements expect new occasion of taking another resolution: Yet he not having power to do or determine any thing without the Council of *Sixteen*, and because every one cried out tumultuously, that the City ought to be kept from the machinations and violences of the *Hugonots*, and *Politicks*, who upon occasion of the slaughter of Blois, might plot against the general peace and safety; the Duke having taken the name and authority of Governor, put the people in Arms, and under their Commanders distributed them to the keeping of the principal places, taking care that the goods and houses of the Citizens might not be pillaged by the seditious rabble.

The same evening, and the next day, the Preachers thundered from their Pulpits the praises of the Duke of Guise's Martyrdom, and detestations of that slaughter, most cruelly committed by the King; in such manner, that not only the mindes of the baser people, but also of the most noted Citizens were won by their persuasions, and kindled with an infinite desire to take revenge: Which boldness both in the Preachers and people was doubled, when they heard the news of the Cardinals death also, which brought them to the highest pitch of rage and madness; so that upon the Eight and twentieth of December, being Innocents day, the Council of *Sixteen* caused a Writing to be presented to the Colledge of Divines called the *Sorbonne*, in the name of the *Provost* and *Eschevins* of the City, wherein relating how much the Lords of Guise deserved of the Catholike Church, and their being murdered by the King as Protectors of the Faith, they demanded whether he might not lawfully be said to have forfeited his Crown; and whether it were not lawful for his Subjects (notwithstanding their Oath of Allegiance) to withdraw their obedience from him, as an Hypocrite Prince, an open favorer of Heresie, and a persecutor of the holy Church, who had bloodied his hands in the sacred Order and eminent Person of a Cardinal. The Colledge of *Sorbonne* being assembled, there was no great debate about the matter: For though *Jehan Fabry*, Dean of the Colledge, a man of profound learning, followed by *Robert Vauvarrin* and *Denis Sorbin*, two of the Senior Doctors, argued, That though it were true

true, that the businesse had passed as the Writing related (which was doubtfull) yet neither for all that could the King be said to have forfeited the Kingdom, nor was it lawfull for his people to withdraw their obedience from him; so great nevertheless was the ardour of the younger men, excited by the preachings of *Guillaume Roze* Bishop of Senlis, of the Curats of *St. Paul*, and *St. Eustache*, of *Jehan Vincestre*, *John Hamilton*, *Father Jaques Commolet*, a Jesuit, *Father Bernard*, a *Fueillant*, & of *Father François de Fen-ardant*, a Franciscan; that they unanimously concurred to determine both the points, & with concurring votes declared, That the King had forfeited his right to the Crown, and that his subjects not onely might, but ought to cast off their obedience; and that providing for the Government, they justly had power to make confederacies, to impose Subsidies, raise Souldiers, dispose of the Revenues of the Crown, and to do all other things which were opportune or convenient for the defence of Religion, and their own security. They added, with the same universall consent, that the Decree of this Declaration should be sent to the Pope, that he might confirm it, and make it so authentick, that the validity of it might not at all be called in question for the time to come; after which Declaration, the people at it were loosened from the bonds of obedience, and having broken the rein of modesty, ran violently to the breaking down of the King's Arms and Statues wheresoever they found them, and began furiously to seek out all those which could be accounted dependants of his party, by them called *Nauvarrists* and *Politicks*; which insolent tumultuous search forced many quiet men, and such as were averse from those turbulent wayes, to leave their houses to save their lives; many others were faine to compound with money; and some (notwithstanding the Duke of Aumale took great pains to prevent it) lost their lives unfortunately in the businesse: while which things were done with infinite disorder, all the streets were full of arms, noyses, and confusions; and the meanest people raging against the marks of Royalty, committed scandalous and intolerable insolencies: all Churches eccho'd with voyces of the Preachers, who aggravated the parricide committed by *Henry* of Valois, no longer called King of France, but the Heretick, Tyrant, and persecutor of the holy Church; and all places were full of Libels both in verse and prose,

The Colledge of Sorbonne declares *Henry* the Third to have forfeited his right to the Crown, and his Subjects free from their oath of Allegaance.

The Kings Arms and Statues are thrown down the *Nauvarrists* and *Politicks* persecuted and Gair.

1589 which contained and amplified the same things severall wayes.

But the Councel of *Sixteen* desiring to reduce the City totally into their power, and seeing the Parliament divided, part being inclined to follow the popular commotions, part disposed to persevere in their obedience to the King, determined that the Presidents and Counsellours which held the King's party, should as enemies to the publick good, and adherents to the Tyrant, be not onely removed from their Offices, but also shut up close prisoners in the *Bastille*; foreseeing well, that if they continued at liberty, and had power to manage their affairs, it would infinitely crosse their designs, and with very great danger interrupt the union and concord of the other Citizens. Wherefore having resolved among themselves what was to be done, and brought all the Heads of the people to their opinion, upon the sixteenth of January they with a great number of armed men beset the Palace-Hall, where according to the custome the Counsellors of Parliament were met together, and having made good all the passages, and set guards at every door, they called forth *Achille de Harlay* first President of the Parliament, and all the rest by name whom they had determined to lay hold on, who being come readily forth to know what they would have with them, already presaging very well what would come to passe, the *Sieur de Buffy*, deputed to execute that businesse, gave them order to follow him; which command grounded rather upon force then reason, being by them obeyed without resistance, they were led thorow the cryes and injurious usage of the people to the *Bastille*; onely *Pierre Seguyer*, and *Jaques Auguste de Thou*, by the help of fortune secretly saved themselves; who depending upon the King's party, had laboured stoutly to keep the Parliament from meddling in the Insurrection. The favourers of the League being encouraged, and the opposers of it terrified by this vehement resolution, the remaining Presidents and Counsellours chose *Barnabe Brissson* first President and Head of the Parliament, a man of deep learning and singular eloquence, but of a violent various inclination, and therefore very subject to alter his opinions easily; and afterward the Parliament being solemnly assembled to the number of 160, they with a publick Declaration assented to the deposing of the King, and to the freeing of the City;

All the Counsellors of Parliament and Officers who adhered to the King are imprisoned in the *Bastille*.

City; and substituted new men in the places of those whom they had put out and imprisoned. Nor did the businesse end there; but to give form to their proceedings, the Parliament being assembled again upon the thirtieth day of January, they made an ample Decree to unite and combine themselves for the defence of the Catholick Religion, the safety of Paris, and those other Cities that should enter into that League, to oppose the power of those, who having violated the publick faith, had in the Congregation of the States taken away the lives of the Catholike Princes, and defenders of the holy Church, to take just revenge for their murder, and do justice to those that were injured, and finally to defend the Liberty and Dignity of the States of France against all persons whatsoever, without exception: which Decree was subscribed and sworn to by the Presidents and Counsellours of the Parliament, by the Duke of Aumale Governour, the *Prevost des Marchands*, the *Eschevins* of the Citie, and afterwards by a great number as well of the Gentry and Clergy, as of the common people; and this confederacy with the wonted name and title of the League, was also called the *Holy-Union*. After this Decree, Madam de Guise, the late Duke's Wife came to the Parliament; where having in her wonted form made her complaint, and demanded justice for the murder committed upon her Husband, and the Cardinal her Brother-in-law, reckoning up all the services which the House of Guise had done to the Catholick Religion and to the Crown; and exaggerating the cruelty of that slaughter, under the publick Faith, and in the presence of the States-General of the Kingdom: The Parliament (all the severall *Chambers* being solemnly assembled) decreed that justice should be done her; and chose two Counsellours, who with the publick solemnities should form the Proceffe; forbidding all other to meddle about taking any information in that businesse, which they added, because they knew that there was diligent inquiry made by the King's order concerning those things which had been done by the Princes of Lorain in their life-time.

A Decree is made to combine themselves for the defence of Religion, and it is called the *Holy Union*.

The Dutches of Guise comes to the Parliament and demands justice; they determine to do it her, & chuse those that should form the Proceffe.

At the insurrection of the Parliament and City of Paris, as at a Beacon or signall of War, the greatest Cities, and most warlike people of France took arms likewise, and rose with a very great and universall commotion; for as the news of the death of the Princes of Lorain, and of the resolutions of the

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1589

Places and Cities which rise and unite themselves with the Parisians.

the Parisians was divulged from hand to hand, so like a dangerous fire spreading all abroad did this popular tumult successively dilate it self, in such manner, that not onely Orleans, and Chartres, which had taken arms from the beginning, but Meaux, Crespy, the Castle of Pierre-font, Corbeil, Melun, St Denis, Pontoyse, Senlis, Creil, Clairmont, and all the Towns about the Isle of France joyned themselves to the Union of the Parisians; with the same inclination revolted the City of Rouen, with the greater part of the Parliament of Normandy, Louviers, Manté, Vernon, Lisieux, Ponteau-de-Mer, Havre de Grace, Honfleur, Eureux, Fougères, Falaise, Argentan, Montivilliers, Dreux, and except Caen, and the Country of Constantine, all the Cities and strong places of that rich spacious Province. Picardy followed the same example; where Amiens, Cambrai, Abbeville, Soissons, Laon, and many other places sided with the Union. Champagne, a Province governed by the Duke of Guise did the like; for Rheims, Troye, Vitry, Chateau-Thierry, and all the other Towns except Chalon, took part with the League without any demur. Nor were mens mindes any quieter, or the people more moderate in Bourgongne; for Dijon with the Parliament of that Province, Mafcon, Lux, and many other Towns betook themselves to the same party. The like did the Parliament of Aix, the head of Provence, which was follow'd by Marseilles, Carcassonne, and Narbonne, as also by the City of Bourges (where the Law is chiefly studied) Mans, a principal Town in the Confines of Anjou, and many other lesser Villages. In * Gascogné the Parliament and City of Tholouse took arms violently, to which many other places joyned themselves. In Auvergne the Count de Randan, with Clairmont, Montferrant, St Porcin, Isoire, and other Towns and Fortresses followed likewise the party of the Union. In Bretagne the Duke de Mercœur Governour thereof, forgetting that he was Brother-in-Law to the King, and by him enriched, exalted, and put into that Government, being drawn not onely by the interests of his Family, but his own private prétensions which by his Wife he had unto that Province, took part with the League; Nantes, a Citie of great consequence, revolting with him, as also Vannes, Quimberlay, and in a manner all that Province full of Nobility and riches. In Guienne the tumult was exceeding high, at Bourdeaux, a very great City, where

* Rather in Languedoc.

where the Governor of the Province resides, and which is the seat of the Parliament: But the *Marschal de Matignon*, who held that Government in the Kings name, with his wonted courage, and prompt resolution, made so brave an opposition, that having driven out the seditious, and got the upper hand with little blood, he retained it happily at the Kings devotion: Yet, Agen, Perigueux, and many other Towns of that Province went over to the League. The City of Lyons was the last that rose, by reason of Colonel *Alfonso Corso* his resistance, and the opposition of the Swisse and Italian Merchants: But the great abundance of common people got the best at last, so that they generally resolved to turn to the party of the *Union*, and to call the Duke of Nemours, who had escaped from prison at Blois, and had had that Government conferred upon him by the King to gratifie the Duke of Guise a while before his death.

The example of the Cities and common people was followed by no small number of the Nobility in the several Provinces, drawing with them not onely the Train of their Tenants and Peasants, but also many Castles and strong Holds, in which both for their security and decency, the Gentry use to inhabit in all parts of France: So that the party of the League was not onely grown very great by the conjunction of the principal Cities, but was also strengthened by the abetting of the Nobility, in whom for the most part the Forces of that Crown consist. By the commotion of this Universal Insurrection (as it were miraculously foreseen and foretold by the Queen-Mother upon her Death-bed) all the Provinces of the Kingdom were divided and dismembred, in such sort, that not onely Cities were against Cities, and Castles against Castles; but also Lords, Gentlemen, and meaner persons against one another, became enemies in such a furious hostile manner, that treading down the Laws, breaking the bond of common charity, and driving away the Magistrates from all places, they of themselves, without expecting order from their superiors, began a most fatal, cruel Civil War, with fire, slaughter, blood, and rapine: For neither the Commotions of the Cities, nor the inclinations of this or that particular man being yet known, every one mingling his private interests and revenges in the publike combustions, did after their own wills fortifie places that were quitted, seize upon those already fortified, take

A description of the miserable condition that France fell into by the means of the Duke of Guise his death.

1589

The names
which the
Factions gave
one another.
* *Bandes*
Blanches.

take rich men prisoners, lay wait for the lives of their adversaries, pillage the goods of the Country people, rob upon the high-ways; and with horrible unheard-of wickedness, and without fear of Justice or Form of Government, filled every thing with terror, mourning and confusion; so that all commerce being broken of it self, the Ways beset, the Gentry and Commons armed, and even the very Clergy encompassed with Guards and Weapons, sometimes under the names of *Hugonots* and *Catholicks*, sometimes of *Royallists* and *Leaguers*, sometimes of the *Holy Union* and * *White Forces*, sometimes of *Navarrists* and *Lorains*, they were as with a fatal general frenzy bent upon the destruction of their common Country.

But the King, to whom the news of these Insurrections were brought every hour from all parts, was exceeding solicitous to appease the Deputies, and to shew them the necessity he had to free himself of the Lords of the House of Lorraine: For he thought that they returning into their own Countries, with the impression of his reasons, might help very much to settle those mindes that were violently stirred up, and to restore their Cities unto the wonted obedience; and therefore did very carefully cause inquisition to be made concerning the intelligences held by the Lords of Guise, both within and without the Kingdom, about the pensions which they had received from Spain, and particularly, that they had consented to the conspiracy of the Duke of Savoy, whereby he had possessed himself of the Marquessate of Saluzzo (though beyond the Alps) a most important member of the Crown; and in this they proceeded, by the Writings, Letters and Accounts, that had been found, and the depositions of prisoners; Monsieur de Montbelon Garde de Seaux, and two Masters of the Requests, assisting to form the *Processe* and examine Witnesses.

But the secret opinions of the States were divers, though they all resulted to the same end: For those who before held for the King, being confirmed and encouraged by what had passed, stood more boldly and stoutly for the Royal Authority, and that all things might be concluded according to his intentions: But those that were for the League, and that depended upon the House of Guise, being in fear for themselves, sought all manner of means, to the end, that the Congregation of the States breaking up of any fashion, they might have leave

to depart freely ; having resolved afterwards to dispose of themselves according to their own inclinations, notwithstanding all that should be determined in the Assembly, as things extorted violently by fear and force : Which though the King perceived by more signs then one, and knew clearly, that every one, making a fair shew, endeavored to withdraw himself and depart ; yet desiring to justify his actions, he again confirmed the Edict of the *Union* in the States, hoping to take away all suspicion from the Legat, who did very much press for that Declaration, and from his Catholike Subjects, of his adhering to the Hugonots, or of laboring to procure the King of Navar's succession, whilst he was disobedient to the Roman Catholike Church. Afterwards the Edicts being confirmed which had been made for the moderation of Taxes, and lessening the number of Offices, in all other things he kept on the same way, being diligent to shew, that he had done all of his own accord, and not as having been constrained by the Duke of Guise. Finally, many Decrees were made about the form of Judicature, and other matters touching the ease and relief of the people ; and in this manner the States concluded ; the most suspected of them, with deep dissimulation striving (in emulation of one another) to shew themselves the King's dependents, and affectionate to his service : Among which, were the Count *de Brissac*, the *Sieur de Bois Dauphin*, *Bernard* the Advocate, and others, who as soon as they were gone from Blois, joyned again unto the party of the *League*.

The King, besides the frequent news of so many Insurrections, was infinitely troubled at the loss of Orleans ; for he took great thought about it, and had labored with all possible diligence to keep it, as a City that was near unto him, seated upon the great road of Paris, and very convenient to make the seat of the War : And though presently after the death of the Lords of Guise, he had sent thither first Monsieur *de Dunes*, Brother to Monsieur *d'Entraques*, and then the Marechal *d'Aumont*, with some of the Souldiers of his own Guard, yet *Claude de Lorain*, Knight of Jerusalem, Brother to the Duke of Aumale, being come to assist the People with supplies sent by the Parisians, the obstinacy of their sollicitousness in assaulting it, was so great, and so great the want of Ammunition, and other things necessary to defend it, that in the end of January, the Marechal *d'Aumont* marching away with Four hundred

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1589

men, gave way that some few who remained should render it up unto the people; and so that City was left totally in the power of the League.

But above all things, the means of appeasing the Pope kept the King in greatest perplexity: for though the Legat, knowing all things that had passed in France, shewed himself from the beginning very favorable to his party, and ready to represent what had been done advantageously for him at Rome; yet was he not certain what the Pope would think of it, being far from the place, and perchance having received an ill impression, both by the relations of the League, and the ill Offices of the Spaniards: Wherefore presently after the Cardinal of Guise's death, he dispatched most particular informations to *Jehan de Vivonne*, Marquess of Pisani, his Ambassador at Rome, that he might have wherewithal to answer those things which might be objected, and wherewithal to make good his reasons; and having before sent *Girolamo Gondi*, a Florentine to the Pope, to intreat him to make the Cardinal of Guise his Legat at Avignon, now changing his Commission, he gave him order to take Post, and make all possible haste to Rome, to excuse the death of the same Cardinal unto the Pope, and if need were, to intercede for his absolution for it.

SIXTH 5. being told of the Cardinal of Guise's death, is highly offended, and answers the Kings Ambassadors very sharply, who came to excuse it to him.

But the Pope having received the news of the Duke's death first, seemed to make no great reckoning of it; and turning to the Cardinal of Joyeuse, who was there present, he said, See what becomes of such men as commit errors, and afterwards know not how to look to themselves. But four days after, the news being arrived of the Cardinals death, and the imprisonment of the Cardinal of Bourbon, and Archbishop of Lyons; being a man of a most fierce precipitate nature, he broke forth into so great wrath, that thundering on every side, he caused the Ambassadors to be called before him, to whom with very sharp words he told the news he had received, complaining beyond measure of the King, That he had had the boldness, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Immunities, and contrary to the Priviledges of the dignity of Cardinal, and contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane, to put a Cardinal to death, and imprison closely two most principal Prelates; at the same time highly threatning the Cardinal-Legat, who being present, had not withheld the King from so heinous an offence. The Marquess de Pisani, and *Girolamo Gondi* (who was then arrived) with

with modest and obsequious, but yet constant and grave discourses, laid open all the King's reasons, the crime of high-Treason which the Cardinal of Guise had incurred, and whereof the Cardinal of Bourbon and Arch-bishop of Lyons were likewise guilty; their forces and power whereby the King was so far disabled to punish them with the wonted forms in a judiciary way, that they a few moneths before had unworthily driven him out of his own Palace, and made him fly unknown from the City of Paris to save his life: the state of affairs brought to such extremities by the conspiracies managed by the Brothers of Lorain in the States, that unless the King as a *Ward* would be brought into subjection, or deprived of his Crown, he was necessitated to cause them to be punished, though without form of judgment, yet not without most apparent reason, their crimes being most heinous and manifest, which he as King and Head of Justice had power to judge and punish in any manner whatsoever: That if nothing else, the very contempt they had shown of Religion, in making use of so many solemn Oathes, and Sacraments of the holy-Church as means to deceive him, had made them unworthy of the protection of his Holiness, who might easily inform and certify himself by many proofs, that it was not to protect and defend the Catholick Faith (which no man could hold in greater veneration then the King) but for their own ambition, and to usurp the Kingdom from the lawfull Heirs, they had so often, with the losse of so many mens lives disturbed and distracted the whole Kingdom: Finally, they added, that the King was an obedient Son of the Church, desirous to satisfy the Pope in all things possible, and that therefore he had sent *Girolamo Gondi* to intreat and beseech his Holiness to grant him his blessing, in token that he was appealed and pacified. The Pope, neither perswaded nor appeased, replied, that *Girolamo Gondi* had been dispatched about another business, and that he knew it very well; that the King was so far from submitting to his obedience, and suing for absolution, that persevering yet in his sin, he still kept prisoners the two chief Prelates in all France, who were immediately under the Apostolick See, and that if the Cardinal of Guise and the rest had offended so much, as the Ambassadors reported, the King might have demanded justice from him to whom it belonged to judge them, and that

1589

he should have known very well how to administer it : And because the Ambassadors answered, that they were Ambassadors, and publick persons, and therefore ought to be believed in whatsoever they represented touching the King's desire, and the Blessing which they demanded in his name : The Pope replied, that they were Ambassadors to treat of matters that concerned the affairs of the Kingdom of France ; but that contrition and confession in *Foro Conscientiae* were to go before absolution ; and that therefore it was needfull to send an especiall Embassie, and a person expressly for that purpose ; that in token of his repentance he ought first to set at liberty the Prelats that were in prison ; that the King and the Ambassadors sought to deceive him, but they should be assured they had not to do with a young Novice, but one who even with the shedding of his blood was ready to uphold the dignity of the Holy-Chair ; and having with sharp words, and sharper looks dismissed them, he caused the *Consistory* to be called the next morning, in which, with a vehement Oration, and full of resentment, he accused the King in presence of the Cardinals, reprehended those who excused and defended him, and threatned severely to punish Cardinal *Morefmi*, who forgetting the person he represented, had without any sense of the affront, suffered the liberty and dignity of the Holy-Church to be trampled under foot : then electing a certain number of Cardinals who were to consult about those matters that appertained to the Kingdom of France, the chief whereof were the Cardinals, *Serbeloni*, *Fachinetto*, *Lancellotto*, *Castagna*, and *Sancta Severina*, he set the businesse in a high reputation, and filled the whole world with exceeding great expectation.

Sixtus Quintus chuseth a congregation of Cardinals, who were to consult about the affairs of France.

In the mean time the affairs of the League gathered strength, and took form in France ; for the Duke of Mayenne being departed secretly from Lyons the same night that he heard the news of his Brother's death, doubting (as it was true) that the King had taken order, and would send to lay hold on him, came much perplexed and uncertain of his condition into the Province of Bourgogne, which was governed by him, and retired to Mascon, from whence he began practices with the other Towns of that Province, and particularly with the City and Castle of Dijon, commanded by the Baron *de Lux*, Nephew to the Arch-Bishop of Lyons ; and having found the

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City, Parliament, and Governour of the Castle ready to receive him, and to run his fortune, recovering courage, he went thither, from whence he presently sent unto the Pope the * *Commendatory François Din* Knight of Jerusalem, a man vers'd in the Court of Rome, and one of the chief ancient abettors of the League, to the end that he might complain about the death of his Brothers before the Holy-Chair, and beseech the Pope, that he would take into his protection the relicks of the Catholick party, extreemly trodden down and afflicted. While the Duke stayd there, not well resolved in his thoughts, Letters came from Madam *de Montpensier* his Sister, which gave him notice of the revolt of the Parisians, and of all the adjacent Towns, and exhorted him to take heart, and putting himself into the place of his Brothers, to become head of the *Union*, with assured hopes, not onely to revenge their death, but happily to prosecute the contrived and begun design of the League. This exhortation, and these letters added to the news of the revolt of Orleans and Chartres, confirmed the Duke's courage in such manner, that the Kings letters, written very kindly to him, which came to his hands a while after, had not power enough to make him yeeld to peace, which, at first perhaps he would have greedily embraced. The King writ, that he had been constrained by necessity to forget his own nature, to free himself of those conspiracies which the Duke and Cardinal his brothers had plotted against him, and in a manner brought to a conclusion; that neverthelesse he had not been so severe as any other would have been, satisfying himself with taking away the principall Heads, and leaving all the rest alive, who he hoped might acknowledge and amend their former errors; that he had not been moved by any hatred or passion, for he had always loved, favoured, and exalted their Family, as he desired to do again for the time to come; and that therefore he prayed him not to let himself be guided and transported by his affection to his Brothers, but to remember that he had been forced by those attempts, which he certainly knew had ever been unpleasing to him, as one averse from the ambition and evill designs of his Brothers; that for that reason he had ever desired to exalt him, and had always conferred upon him the commands of his Armies, because he knew him to be farr from those wicked arts which the others had intended to practice; He exhorted him to persevere in that good and laudable resolution,

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* The French says *Commandeur*.

Un Commandeur is one that having Ecclesiastical livings may not marry, and yet is not compelled to be a Priest; as the Grand Prior of France, and all the Knights of St. John's in Jerusalem. *Commines lib. 7 cap. 9.*

The King writes kinde letters to the Duke of Mayenne, promising him very great things.

1589

not to make himself an instrument to divide the Catholike party, and tear in pieces their commou Countrey, nor to joyn himself to the ambition of factious men, from which even in the fervour of his youth he had ever been averse: but shewing that he made more account of the general good, and his own duty towards his Prince, than of those private passions which use to draw and govern mean vulgar spirits, he would sincerely unite himself to him to preserve the peace of the Catholikes, and make War against the Hugonots; which if he would consent unto, he offered him all manner of security, and the most reasonable satisfaction he could desire. But the Duke's minde was already set upon other thoughts, never believing that he could be secure, much lesse favoured by the King, who gave him those fair words, because he was escaped out of the net; and seeing the great distractions of the Kingdom, he hoped for a much higher power and greatness then what his brothers had possessed: wherefore, his inclinations and hope meeting both together in the same end, and thinking that it so became his honour, he leaned toward revenge and the command of that faction; which resolution was absolutely concluded, after that Madame *de Montpensier*, not valuing her own health, nor the inconveniency of the season, came with great speed to *Dijon*, whose vehement effectual exhortations, and the Letters of the Duke of Aumale and many others of the faction exciting him, he at last determined to consent to the taken up of Arms, and to prosecute the designs of the League, making himself Head of the *Holy-Union*.

The Duke of Mayenne, notwithstanding the Kings promises, being perswaded by Madame *de Montpensier*, his sister, makes himself Head of the *Holy-Union*.

The resolution being taken, he presently gave order to the Sieurs *de Rhosne*, *de St Paul*, *Chamois* and *d'Eschavoies* to recruit their Regiments of French Foot; and began to summon the Nobility and Gentry his dependents, and to win the hearts of the people in every place. And because the foundation consisted in the City of Paris, the Duke determined to go thither with Madame *de Montpensier*, the way being now secure by the taking of the Castle of Orleans, and by the revolt of Bourges, Troye, and Chartres. The Duke passed thorow all these Cities, gathering Forces, and drawing men together; some raised with his own money, some brought in by his friends and adherents, and some furnished by the people; and being already grown to the number of four thousand Souldiers and five hundred Gentlemen, he came upon the fifteenth of February

bruary into the City of Paris. There the Duke and *Ghetis-
lier d'Anmale*, putting themselves willingly under his author-
ity; and the Council of the *Union*, with most ready consent
of the Citizens, acknowledging him for their Head; the Par-
liament having assembled all the * *Chambers*, *Bernabe Brissot*
first President of the *League*, making the Proposition, declar-
ed him Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of France,
giving him (except the name) the very power and authority
which uses to be natural to their Kings; which yet they intend-
ed should continue but till the States-General of the King-
dom should determine otherwise, they being appointed to
meet in the City of Paris in the Moneth of July following.
Thus the Duke of Guise's death did with admirable facility;
and the universal inclination of that party, produce that power
in his brother, which he with so many toils and so long machi-
nations had so eagerly labored for in his life time, yet never
could obtain it for himself. Upon the Two and twentieth of
February, the Duke took possession in the Parliament of this
extraordinary dignity, having taken a publike Oath, to protect
and defend the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion against
every one. To preserve entire the State belonging to the
Crown of France, To defend the Priviledges of the three Or-
ders, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons; and, To cause
the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom to be observed,
as also the Authority and Power of the Parliaments. After
which Oath, many Prayers and Processions having been made,
he chose and appointed the Council of the *Union*, consisting
of Forty of the most eminent perspicuous persons of the
League, which, with his assistance, was to treat of, and conclude
all the most weighty businesses; the Council of Sixteen being
nevertheless still left, and particularly appointed for the espe-
cial Government of Paris.

Having taken the command of the *League* upon him, the
Duke began to increase the Body of his Forces to form an Ar-
my of them, with which he might march whither need should
require. But in every Province he allotted both Forces and
Commanders to order the affairs of the *League*, and to make
War against those who were yet of the Kings party. *Br-
tagne* was governed by the Duke de *Mercoeur*, who, not at all
moved with the Kings, and his Sisters exhortations, to unite
himself unto them, was very strong and powerful, having
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1589

* Or, several
Courts.

The Duke of
Mayenne be-
ing come to
Paris, is de-
clared Lieute-
nant General
of the Crown
of France.

The Council
of the *Union*
is chosen, con-
sisting of For-
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1589

with his authority made all that Province to revolt, except the Parliament of Renes, and some few Towns and little Castles. In Normandy it hapned otherwise: For though the greatest part of the Towns had declared for the League, yet the Nobility held of the Kings party; so that the Heads were few and divided: The Sieur de la Londe at Rouen, Andre Brancace Sieur de Villars at Havre de Grace, Long-champ at Lisieux, and the Baron d'Eschaufour in the Country of Perche: Wherefore the Duke sent the Count of Brissac thither with authority to command them all. The Duke of Aumale, who was Governor of it, went into Picardy, a divided Province, yet one of the most favored by the League, because it bordered upon the Territories of the Catholike King. The Count de Chaligny, and Col. St. Paul, an old servant bred up in that family, went into Champagne, a Province destined (in succession of his Father) to the young Duke of Guise, who was yet in prison. The Viscount de Tavannes, an old experienced souldier, had order to command in Bourgogne, the particular Government of the Duke of Mayenne. The care of Lyons was given to the Duke of Nemours, and in his absence to his Brother, the Marquess of St. Sorlin. The command of Berry continued under the Sieur de la Chastre, who being Field-Marschal in the Duke of Nevers his Army, as soon as he could free himself of that obstacle, followed the party of the League as he had formerly done. The Count de Raudun held the command in Auvergne; and in Provence, the Marquess de Villars, and the Sieur de Vins, an old adherent to the House of Guise. The Dukes of Joyeuse (Father and Brother to him that was slain in the Battel of Coutras, fighting against the King of Navar) had the Government of Gasconne; in which Province, except the City and Parliament of Tholouse, the party of the Confederates was not very strong; and in Dauphine, Languedoc, and Guienne, the League had but very slender Forces. But before all these preparations, the Duke dispatched Lazare Coqueille, Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, to Rome; and with him were gone two Doctors of the Sorbonne, to confirm the Decree of their Colledge, by which they had determined, That the King had forfeited his right to the Crown; and that his Subjects might justly withdraw their obedience from him; the Duke foreseeing well that the popu-

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lar Cause, wholly founded upon the pretence of Religion, was to look for, and take its increase and nourishment from the Apostolick Sea, and the Popes approbation.

But the King, who, afflicted with his wonted melancholly, though he dissimled it, had since the death of his Mother been many days troubled with a Bloody Flux, was no less solicitous, concerning the affairs at Rome, then the Duke of Mayenne, as well because being a very great honorer of Religion, he could not be satisfied to live disobedient to the Apostolick See, as because, making the same judgment as they of the League, he saw that the greatest foundation of the adverse party consisted in the approbation and encouragement from Rome: Wherefore, though he had caused absolution to be given him for the death of the Cardinal, by vertue of a Breve granted to him a few months before by the present Pope, to make himself be absolved in all reserved cases by his own Ordinary Confessor; yet seeing that that was not enough, he sent Claude de Angennes, of his beloved family of Rambouillet, Bishop of Mans, a man of profound Learning, and singular Eloquence, to the end, that being informed of all his Reasons, he might, as his Solicitor, sue for an absolution from the Pope, and endeavor to reconcile him to the Apostolick Sea; to which (so he might but secure himself) he was ready to give the most exact satisfaction. The Bishop of Mans came to Rome, and having conferred with the other Ambassadors, they went together to receive audience from the Pope; where after words of complement, full of most deep submission, they first argued that the King had not incurred any Censure, not having violated the Ecclesiastical Liberties and Immunities; for the Cardinal was guilty of the crime of Rebellion, in which case the Prelates of France, notwithstanding any dignity whatsoever, are understood to be subject to the Secular Jurisdiction; and so much the rather, because he having been a Peer of France, his causes naturally ought to be judged in the Court of Peers, which is no other but the great Court of Parliament, with the assistance of the Princes and Officers of the Crown: So that if the King had infringed any Jurisdiction, it was that of the Parliament, and not the Ecclesiastical one, which hath nothing to do with the Peers of France: But because this reason was not onely disapproved by the Pope, but that also he seemed more displeased and offended at it, alledging, that the eminency

The Bishop of Mans is sent by the King, on purpose to demand absolution for the Cardinal of Guise his death.

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1589

and Priviledges of the Dignity of Cardinal, were immediately subject to the Pope, and no other; the Ambassadors began to dispute, that the Kings of France could not incur Censure for any Sentence they should give; and urged the Priviledges of the most Christian Kings, and the Jurisdiction of the Gallick Church. But this incensed the Pope so much the more, who had them take heed how they proposed things that had a touch of Heresie, as this had; for he would cause them to be punished. To which, though the Marques replied, that as Ambassadors they could not be medled withal, nor punished, and that no fear should make them forbear to propose the Kings right; yet, having received Commission to appeale and not to exasperate the Pope, they alledged in the third place, That the King, by vertue of the Apostolick Breve granted to him by his Holiness, had caused himself to be absolved; and therefore they insisted onely, that his Holiness, knowing the Pardon he had granted him, would either confirm it, or not be displeased, if the King, valuing it as he ought, had made use of it in a reasonable ocrasion. For not having, in the heat of danger, considered so particularly; and having never had any intention to offend the Jurisdiction of the Apostolick See, after he had been made sensible of it, he being moved with scruple of Conscience, had prostrated himself at the feet of his Confessor, and had begged and obtained absolution, for as much as need should require, though he thought he had not transgressed effectively. To this the Pope answered, that the Breve was granted for things past, but could not extend to future sins, the absolution whereof cannot be anticipated: That such a case as this, in which the Apostolick See was directly offended, and all Christendom scandalized, was not comprehended under that Breve; and that the Exposition was to be demanded from him who had granted it, which now he declared, affirming, that it had never been his intention to enable the King to receive absolution for his future faults; and for so evident a violation of the Dignity of Cardinal.

This Treaty having been often repeated, and discussed with great allegations of Right and Authority, in the end, the Ambassadors were contented to Petition in writing for the Popes absolution; who expressed a desire to have it so, and that it was the means to appease and satisfie him. Wherefore, after

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good Offices done by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors in favour of the King, having received order from their Princes to take great pains in his behalf, the Bishop with a Petition of a very submissive form demanded absolution of the Pope; who with pleasing words answered, That he would willingly grant it, when he should be assured of the King's contrition, whereof he would have this token, that he should set at liberty the Cardinal of Bourbon and Arch-Bishop of Lyons, it being vain to grant him absolution for one thing whilest he persisted in the act of another, which did infer the same prejudice to the Apostolick See, which he could not dissemble. At this the Ambassadors, and those that favoured them, were exceedingly perplexed, conceiving themselves to have been deceived, and thinking that another kinde of moderation ought to be used towards a King of France; wherefore laying together all those reasons already alledged in the former Conferences, they concluded, that the King by setting those Prelats at liberty, should but increase the fire in his Kingdom, with the evident danger of his own life and Crown, and that therefore it was not fit to free them: To which the Pope replied, that they should be sent prisoners to him; for if he found them guilty, he knew which way to punish them: but the Ambassadors answered; first, that the judgement of things in his own Kingdom belonged to the King; and then that the whole State (thanks to their Conspiracies) was so disturbed, that they could not be sent; for all the Country neer the Alpes, and round about the place where they were being up in arms, it was not possible to remove them, nor to conduct them securely, and that therefore the King was not obliged to impossibilities. But the Pope obstinately persisting in his demand, the Ambassadors agreed at last to write about it into France, and insisted that in the mean time, the King having humbled himself, and submitted to the Apostolick See, the Decree of Sorbonne ought to be revoked and nullified, being not onely exorbitant and unjust, but insolent, and prejudiciall to the Holy-Chair, whereof those Divines made so little reckoning, that they had dared to determine a point of so great consequence as the deposing of a King; a thing, which though it should be granted to appertain to the Ecclesiasticall power, yet would it be simply proper to the highest power, which is in the Vicar of Christ, and not to that of a

1589

petulant Colledge consisting of a few passionate corrupted persons: but neither could this be obtained; for the Pope confessing that the Decree was presumptuous, and worthy censure, said that he would reserve himself to do it when the King had given him full satisfaction.

This seemed very strange to the Ambassadors, and seeing that they had proposed all those spirituall satisfactions which they (even to the prejudice of the Crown) could offer, with so great humiliation, that more could not be desired from a King, they intended to try another way; and the Marquesse, whose Wife was a Roman, began by means of that alliance to treat with *Donna Camilla* the Pope's Sister, offering (amongst other rewards which the Pope's kindred should have, if by their means the absolution was obtained) to give the Marquessate of Saluzzo in Fee-farm to *Don Michele* his Nephew, which the King proffered (the peace being made with the Catholics of his Kingdom) to recover at his own charge from the Duke of Savoy; but neither could this prevail with the obdurateness of the Pope; partly, because the Marquessate was now in the power of another, nor could it be regained without a tedious War; partly, because he saw the Kingdom involved in so great a distraction, and the Catholick party so strong, that he doubted whether his absolution would be able to settle and restore its peace. Moreover, about this very time the Abbot of *Orbais* was arrived at Rome, sent by the Duke of Mayenne, the Dutchesse of Nemours, Madame de Montpensier, and other Heads of the League, on the one side to magnifie the Forces of the *Union*, into which almost all the chief and most noted Cities of France were entered, with an infinite concourse of the Nobility and Commons, so that now the King was thereby, not in writing, but in deed deposed and robbed of his Crown; and on the other, to complain of the inclination which the Pope shewed to absolve *Henry of Valois* (so they called him) whereby he, who was Head of the Catholick Church, and to whom more then to any other it belonged to promote the *Holy-Union*, contracted for the defence of Religion, and the liberty and dignity of the Apostolick See, seemed to make but small account of it; that the imputations of rebellion and treason which were cast upon the memory of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise were false and vain; for they had never taken arms against the King,

The Abbot of Orbais sent to Rome by the Duke of Mayenne treats of the affairs of the League very effectually.

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nor conspired any thing against him ; but alwayes with due obedience and veneration of the Royal Name, had sustained and defended the Catholick Religion, against the powerfull plots and forces of the Hugonots : that it was known how *Francis the Duke* their Father had lost his life in the service of the Crown, and of the Church of God, as also the Duke of Aumale, their Uncle, slain fighting under the walls of Rochel for the Catholick Faith : that it was likewise certain how much the Duke of Guise had laboured, suffered, and endured bearing arms for the King's service, and for Religion : that he had all his life-time born the scarrs in his face of the wounds he had received fighting against the Army of the *Reiters*, for the defence of the Provinces and Confines of the Kingdom : that he had defended the City of Poictiers against the long siege of the Hugonots, led up the first Squadrons of the Army, fighting victoriously against them at *Jarnac* and *Moncontour* ; that, last of all, with a handfull of men, he had exposed himself, and the lives of all his souldiers against that formidable Army of the Lutherans of Germany, conquered it, and dispersed it for the safety of the Kingdom, and of all Christian people ; nor in all those toyls and dangers had he ever pretended any other thing but to serve the King, and defend the Catholicks from the imminent oppression of the Hugonots : that if the King went from *Paris* upon the insurrection of the Parisians, the fault was his own, in having put a garison into a City where there never had been any, and in having gone about to take away the lives of the chief Citizens ; but no conspiracy of the Duke of Guise's, who rather had appeased the people and quieted the tumult ; that since then the King had been reconciled, and had agreed to the pacification, wherein the Lords of Lorain had neither demanded, nor obtained other, then that the publick exercise of the Hugonot Religion might be taken away, and that warr might be made against them ; and though some little shadow of suspicion should have remained, the King ought to have forgotten it, after so many oaths taken, among the sacred ceremonies ; and not to make two most innocent Princes be murther'd under the Publick Faith, for no other cause but to foment the Hugonot Forces, and suppress the Catholick party, and the Religion of God. But though the Duke and Cardinal had committed some errour, what crime could be objected against the Cardinal of Bourbon, a most

1589

most innocent peacefull old man, who was most cruelly kept prisoner? That these were arts and violent wayes to take away that prop also from the Catholick party, and to reduce the Succession into the relapsed, excommunicate Hugonot Princes; that the Pope ought to oppose his authority to this so evident designe, to punish what was past, and provide against the future; not being faulty to so many people, who had unanimously resolved to spend their lives for the defence of Religion, and to piece up and restore the trodden-down honour of the Holy-Church: that it became him, being the Shepherd to go before his Flock, and encourage them all to so holy, so pious a work; but that it was as unseemly, that while all took arms boldly, he being so far from danger, should be more affraid then all the rest. With these reasons the Princes of the League endeavoured to animate the Pope, and he receiving news daily from many places of the tumultuous insurrections in France, as a man not well vers'd in Government, and ignorant how easily popular commotions are extinguished, gave the King already for absolutely lost, nor would he shew himself a favourer of the weaker side, to the dishonour of himself, and of the Apostolick See, as the Spanish Ambassador, and those of the League, did perpetually urge unto him.

In the mean time the King, anxious and solicitous about the determinations at Rome, kept his resolutions in suspense, and seemed to have laid down the courage of a Lion, which after the death of the Duke of Guise, he made shew to have taken up again; for the Duke of Nevers, who made war in Poitou against the Hugonots, having in this interim taken Ganache, could not after the news of the death of the Lords of Lorain, keep his Army (composed for the most part of men depending upon the League) from dissolving of it self; and therefore the Duke being returned to Court, the King straightned for money, and inclined to an agreement, did not think of setting his Army again on foot, but minded onely thoughts of peace, having desired the Cardinal Legate to interpose for the attaining of it, promised to referr all busineses to the Pope's arbitrement; which condition the Legate having made known to the Duke of Mayenne, and moved him to yeeld to a Truce, that the accommodation might be negotiated at Rome, he denyed to consent unto it, alledging that he could

The Legate
prouds a
Truce to the
Duke of May-
enne; but he
refuseth it.

could no more trust him, who notwithstanding so many Sacraments and Ceremonies, violated the Publick Faith, and the Law of Nations, in the face of the Assembly of all the States of France; and that this was another trick of the Kings, to gain the benefit of time, by means of the Truce, being now unarmed and unprovided: That the Legat ought not to make himself the instrument of that deceitful policy; for it tended to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, and of Ecclesiastical Liberty, perfidiously trampled under foot and violated; but that it was rather fit to expect the resolutions from Rome, where he had given the Pope information of all occurrences. But having at the same time received the Duke of Mayenne's refusal of the Truce, and the Ambassadors Letters from Rome, which contained the Popes stiffness and obstinacy in desiring to have the prisoners; and the King not knowing how to release them without fomenting the present distractions: For it was certain, that they of the Union, having already declared him to have forfeited his Crown, would have elected the Cardinal of Bourbon King; the face of affairs was altered; and the King thinking he had used all possible means, even to his own dishonor, to appease the Pope, began to change his resolution, lest he should be suppressed without defence, by the power of his enemies. This necessity was so apparent, that even the Duke of Nevers, who had ever perswaded him to satisfy the Pope, lest he should divide the Catholike party, had not any reason to alledge against it; the urgency of affairs did by force constrain all opinions to take to one side or other: Wherefore the Count de Soissons, who, a few days before, had defeated some Troops of the League, being come to Blois with certain Forces, and having begun to introduce a Treaty of Agreement with the King of Navar, applied himself diligently to that business. The King (as he had always been) was averse from this Agreement; his nature being (as a man may say) incompatible with the commerce of the Hugonots: But necessity shewed, there was no other way; and all his Counsellors said with one accord, That it was needful for him to resolve, and take some course, if he would not be left alone, between two potent enemies; who, one on this side, and the other on that side of the Loyre, had made themselves masters of all places: And with what Moneys, with what Friends, with what Armies,

1589

Armies, and with what Forces, could he at the same time contend with both Factions? That it was clear, which way soever he turned himself, he should have one enemy before him, and another behinde him; and that his Kingdom being divided, and likewise foreign Princes, between the two Religions, he with a new example should have them both his enemies: That in this division, whilst others usurped the Royal Authority on either side, he remained without Forces, without Treasury, without Money, and that he was now what he had ever feared to be, *dry between two Rivers*: That he had done as much as well he might to appease the Pope: That he had forgotten his own dignity, to agree with those that were up in Arms, and to give such satisfaction to Rebels and Despisers of his Name, as they deserved not: That he had with unheard-of patience, borne the injuries of the people, the invectives of the Preachers, the villanous insolencies of the Factions, the presumptuous Decrees of the Sorbonne, and exposed the Royal Majesty to the pleasure of the remnants of the House of Guise: That he had done that at Rome, which never any King had yielded to do, not onely to ask absolution in writing for a reasonable, just, and necessary action, but also offered to refer all differences to the Popes arbitrement: What was there more to be done? but onely (by reason of the appetite of the Spaniards, who governed all in the Court of Rome, and of the fierce obdurate nature of the Pope) to expect to be miserably torn in pieces by his enemies without defence, and to have those outrages committed upon his own person which had been done unto his Statues at Paris and Thoulouse? That now indeed was the time to shew the Heart of a Lyon, and, making use of the King of Navar's assistance, *De inimicis suis vindicare inimicos suos*: That this was neither a new, nor an unheard-of thing: That King Charles his Brother often, nay, he himself, in leis extremities, had granted peace to the Hugonots; and that the last breach was not occasioned by his will and consent, but by the conspiracies and violences of the League: That he had in vain taken away the lives of the Brothers of Guise, if he must be in the same fear of them now they were dead; and if, that obstacle being taken away, he endeavored not to bridle the seditious, to recover his own power; and finally, to restore peace and tranquillity to his Kingdom.

And

And the King of Navar already knowing, that the occasion required, and necessity forced the King to that resolution, did by favorable Writings and Declarations, open the way unto it : For many Towns of Poitou and Xaintonge having yielded themselves unto him after the departure of the Duke of Nemours, he had in all of them, forbidden any harm to be done unto the Catholicks, and wheresoever he had to do, suffered them to enjoy liberty of conscience, favoring and honoring the Clergy, and giving way every where, that Mass should be publickly celebrated without any hinderance ; and being come to Chastelrault, which together with Niort he had taken by composition, he published a *Manifest*, whereby detesting the Rebellions and Insurrections of the people against their natural King, he proffered, submitting himself to his due obedience, to take Arms against them ; and exhorted all those of his party to follow him in so good a work ; shewing to all the world, what their minde had ever been, and how they had fought simply, not for any interests, but onely for Liberty of Conscience. After which Protestations and Declarations, because the King had justified his actions in writing, and set forth the occasion of the death of the Lords of Guise, and that the Duke of Mayenne had done the like on his side, endeavoring to lay a fair colour upon their taking up of Arms, and upon the proceedings of the League, a Truce was begun to be treated of with the King of Navar, by means of the Duke of Espernon, who after the death of the Guises was returned to his former greatness with the King ; and after having supplied him with One thousand two hundred Gascon Firelocks, under the command of Colonel *Moncassin*, had sent the Abbot *del Bene* to him about the present business. But because many difficulties arose, and that the King concurred in it, as it were, perforce, Madam *Diane d'Angoulesme*, his Bastard-sister, a Lady of great wisdom, and well versed in matters of Government by the experience of times past, was employed to treat about this Accommodation, which as soon as it was known unto the Cardinal-Legat, he made great complaint of it to the King himself, shewing him how contrary it was to the promises which he had often made to him, that notwithstanding the death of the Lords of Guise, he would not forbear to make War with the Hugonots ; upon which ground he had endeavored by favorable advantageous relations,

1589

The King of Navar grants Liberty of Conscience in those places he had taken, and publisheth a *Manifest*, offering to take Arms against those that rebelled against their natural King.

The Duke of Espernon returned into his former Greatness, treats a Truce with the King of Navar.

Cardinal *Mezini* the Legat makes grievous complaints unto the King.

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1589

tions, to promote his affairs to the Pope and Court of Rome, which now would become vain, to the lessening of both their reputations, nay, to their blame and infamy, if the Agreement with the Hugonots should be so easily concluded; and that the Arms destined against them, should be turned to the destruction of the Catholick party; and of those that depended upon the Apostolick See, and the Popes authority. But the King, concealing the depth of the business from the Legat, denied that he had concluded any thing with the Hugonots; but that, if he should do so, the fault was not to be imputed to him, who was still the same, and always ready to pull down Heresie; but to the obdurateness of the Pope, who obstinately denied to absolve him, and fomented the Insurrections of those that rebelled against him; and to the stubbornness of the Duke of Mayenne, and the rest of the League, who abhorring Peace, had refused to refer the differences to the Popes arbitrement: That he had desired no better, nor more certain witnesses then himself, to whom he had ever imparted his thoughts sincerely, and upon whom he had imposed the trust of negotiating that business: That he should consider the great straights into which he was reduced by the wickedness of others, and not attribute that to Will, which was forcibly extorted by meer necessity.

The Spanish Ambassador departs from Court without taking leave, and goes to Paris.

But *Don Bernardino Mendouza*, the Spanish Ambassador, as soon as it was divulged, that an Accommodation was treating with the Hugonots, went presently away from Court without taking leave; and being come to Paris, made his residence there, as Ambassador with the Lords of the League. The Legat stood doubtful, believing it not good to forsake the King, and deprive himself utterly of the hopes of keeping him with the Catholick party; and on the other side, fearing he should be reproved, if he shewed himself less jealous of Religion, then the Spanish Ambassador had done: And yet thinking that the assistance of the Physician was there most needful, where the danger of the disease was greatest, he resolved to stay till he saw the event of things, not failing in the mean time to write, and present his opinion at Rome. But his person being suspected, his counsels were so much more; the Pope accounting him rather a Criminal, then a Legat or Ambassador. There were often meetings between him and the Cardinal of Vendosme, who, though the Cardinal of Bourbon

Cardinal Morosini stays with the King; and the Pope falling into suspicion of him, accounts him guilty.

Burbon his Uncle and Benefactor were a prisoner; yet in respect of the interests of his Family, had never left the King, and there was present with them *Rene de Beaulieu* Arch-Bishop of Bourges, a Prelate of deep wisdom and copious eloquence, who being driven away by those of his Diocese, for having gone about to withstand their insurrections, was retired to Court, and many times the Duke of Nevers likewise was at the conferences. All of them could have wished the King would not have made a Peace with the Hugonots; but the Pope was so obstinate, the Duke of Mayenne so stubborn, and the insurrections so great through the whole Kingdom, that though they all abhorred it, yet none of them durst blame that agreement. Wherefore Madame *d'Angoulême*, having treated personally with the King of Navar, and then being come to Blois, negotiated with the King himself; the differences were in a manner composed; for the King of Navar, intent upon the great conjuncture of the present occasion, to rise again with his party, and fight under the King's Standard and obedience, against those enemies which had so many years kept him down, had accepted all conditions imposed on him by the King, and they onely disagreed in this, that a place, being to be assigned unto him upon the Loire, to the end that he might pass and return with his Forces, as need required; the King would have given him *Gergeau*, or *Pont de Sey*, weak Towns, and hard to be made good, and he demanded *Saumur*, a City seated in a convenient place near *Tours*, and which might easily be fortified and defended; yet he insisted upon this modestly, and rather by way of request, then condition or article of agreement.

The peace is concluded between the King of France and the King of Navar.

Two weighty accidents did absolutely necessitate the King to conclude the Treaty; one, that Captain *du Gast*, Governour of Amboise, to whom, after he had killed the Cardinal of Guise, the other prisoners had been delivered into custody, being dealt withall by those of the League with infinite promises, and put into doubts and jealousies, began to stagger; for the Arch-Bishop of Lyons had made him believe, that the King, to shift off the fault of the Cardinal of Guise's death from himself, had alledged at Rome, that Captain *du Gast* had of himself, for some private injuries caused him to be slain without his order, and that now likewise for private covetousnesse he kept the other Prelates in prison without

Capr. du Gast who killed the Cardinal of Guise treats an agreement with those of the League by the perswasion of the Arch-Bishop of Lyons.

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1589

any order. Wherefore that vain suspicious man having easily believed this invention, treated an agreement for himself, and to release his prisoners; so that the King being driven into great anxiety, was fain to give him thirty thousand Crowns of that little money he had by him, to recover them out of his hands, and to keep him from freeing them, and from going over to the party of the League, which he could hardly obtain of him with so great a reward; and it was necessary to distribute the prisoners into several places, with several guards, and with a much greater charge; for the Cardinal of Bourbon was sent to *Chinon*, the Duke of Guise to *Tours*, the Duke of Elbeuf to *Loches*, and the Arch-Bishop (*du Gaff*, not being to be perswaded otherwise) remained alone in the Castle of Amboise.

The prisoners given in custody to Captain *du Gaff* Governor of Amboise, are sent to several fortresses, under safer guards.

The other Accident which did much perplex the King, was the tumult in *Tours*, one of the chief Cities of *Poitou*, seated upon the *Loire*, and in which he had designed to establish the foundation of his party: for the people being stirred up by many favourers of the League, and by certain Friars, with their wonted suggestions, began to make an uproar, and to rise against the Magistrates, the common people having been perswaded, that that Town was to be assigned to the King of Navar, for his habitation: wherefore the King with the Marechal d'*Aumont*, the Count de *Soissons*, and that small company he had about him, leaving *Blois*, was fain to run toward that danger: which being diverted, and the business of that City settled, he began to see clearly that it was necessary to take resolution, and that the delays of Rome did too much prejudice the state of his affairs, reduced to the extreme hazard of an evident suppression.

The Truce is concluded for a year between the most Christian King and the King of Navar.

So cutting off all delays, the Truce was concluded for a year between the most Christian King, and the King of Navar, with these conditions: That the publick exercise of the Catholick Religion should be restored in all places held by the Hugonots, without any exception: That the Goods of the Clergy should be restored to them, wheresoever they were, and that all prisoners which were in their hands should be set at liberty: That the King of Navar should be obliged to serve the King personally, with four thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, wheresoever he should be commanded; and that all the Cities, Towns, and Places of his party should observe the

the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, obey the Parliament, and the King's Magistrates, and receive all those Ordinances which the present King had made, or should make. On the other side, that the King of Navar should receive the City of Saumur, and keep it in his power, to have a passe over the River Loire, that might freely be his own; which nevertheless, he should be obliged to restore at the King's pleasure without any contradiction. Which capitulations after they were agreed upon and ratified, *Beaulieu* the Secretary of State delivered up Saumur to the King of Navar, who gave the Government thereof to *Sieur du Plessis Mornay*, his old Confident.

The same Truce was made in Dauphine between Colonel *Alfonso Corso* on the King's part, and Monsieur *de Lesdigniers*, for the King of Navar, and they united their Forces for their common defence. The Hugonots rejoiced exceedingly at this reconciliation, magnifying their faith and obedience toward the Royal Majesty, to the confusion of those who, till then, had published and defamed them as tumultuous and disobedient Rebels.

And truly, it was a thing worthy of very great wonder, and one of the secret mysteries of God's Divine Wisdom, that the King of Navar being weak, and forsaken of all, reduced into a narrow corner of the Kingdom, and for the most part in want of things necessary for his own maintenance, so that he was fain to live more like a Souldier of fortune, then a great Prince; his enemies by too much eagerneffe in pursuing him, and by too ardent a desire to see him utterly ruined, should labour to plot so many waies, to raise so many Warrs, to treat so many Leagues, to make so many conspiracies, and practise so many arts, from all which resulting to his advantage, his greatneffe and exaltation did as it were miraculously succeed: for there was no man versed in the affairs of France, and far from the passions of both parties, who saw not cleerly, that if the King had been suffered to live, and rule as peaceably as he ought to have done, the King of Navar would by little and little have been destroyed and brought to nothing; for peace and length of time would absolutely have dissolved that little Union which was among the Hugonots, and by those occasions and necessities which length of time would have produced, the obstinacy of the Rochellers, wherein

wherein the sum of affairs consisted, would finally have been overcome and broken; and the King a most bitter enemy to heresie, would in a manner insensibly by divers arts have rooted it out and destroyed it: whereas, on the contrary, the revolution of the Wars and Factions did not onely foster the stubbornnesse of the Hugonots, who were so much the more hardened to resist, by how much they thought they were wrongfully persecuted; but also in the end made way for the King of Navar's reconciliation with the King, and with the French Nobility; furnished him with arms and power; and at last, contrary to his expectation, and the naturall course of things, opened him a passage to attain unto the Crown.

As soon as the Truce was concluded, though but in words onely (for the writing was not published till many dayes after) the King being resolved to change the course of his proceedings, to shew himself, and to reassume indeed the face of a Lion, dispatched the *Sieur de la Cuelle* to the great Duke of Thuscany, to intreat him to lend him two hundred thousand Duckats to make a levy of Swisse Infantry, and German Cavalry, with which, by reason of the alliance lately contracted (for the Lady *Chrestienne* his new Dutchesse was but then passing into Italy to her Marriage) the great Duke was ready to pleasure him, having sent a hundred thousand to Aulbourg by Cavalier *Gnecchiardini*, and promised the rest as soon as the Leavy was begun; wherefore the King dispatched Monsieur de Sancy to the Switzers, he having been many years Ambassadour in that Country, with Commission, if he could not have the ten thousand Foot he required from the Catholick Cantons, by reason of the opposition he doubted he should receive from the Spaniards, to make his Leavies in the Protestant Cantons; and at the same time appointed Gaspar Count of Schombergh to raise a Body of German Horse; who for fear of being taken by the Enemies, took a long, and (in the end) a fruitlesse voyage. He sent also *Jaques Auguste de Thou* to the Emperour, under colour of condoling for the Queen-Mother's death, and upon the same pretence *Pierre Forget Sieur des Fresnes*, newly chosen Secretary of State, into Spain; but the true intent was, that the one might dispose *Rodolphus* not to meddle in those Leavies which were to be made in his name in Germany; and that the other might, if he

he could in some measure withhold the Catholick King from the open favor which he was seen to lend unto the *Union*, to which *Mendoza* did manifestly perform the office of an Ambassador.

Having thus provided in the best manner he could for matters without the Kingdom, he began to take care of those within it; and having called all the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliaments of Paris, Rouen, and Dijon, who were fled from the popular fury, he determined, that the Parliament of Paris should reside in the City of Tours, that of Rouen in the City of Caen, in the same Province of Normandy, and that of Dijon at Chalons, a City also of the same Dutchy of Bourgongne, and then by a most severe Edict, declared them all Rebels, who being chosen to the dignity of the Parliaments, should continue to reside in those Cities and places which had withdrawn themselves from his obedience, and forbad all men to have any recourse to them to seek for justice, declaring all sentences to be void, which they should pronounce under the name and title of Parliament. The same Declaration he made against the Duke of Mayenne, against the Duke and Chevalier de Aumale, and others, who having caused Cities to revolt, took Arms against him; intimating to them, that if within the term of fifteen days they returned not to their due obedience, desisted not from disturbing and molesting the Kingdom, and laid not down their Arms, they should be judged guilty of Rebellion, and should be so declared, with the confiscation of their estates. After these writings, followed actions; and having appointed Governors in all Provinces, he gave Commission to make Levies, to draw Soldiers together, and that the War should be begun in every place: The Count de Soissons was made Governor in Bretagne; the Duke of Montpensier in Normandy; the Marechal de Matignon, Lieutenant to the King of Navar, in Guienne; the Marechal of Momorancy, in Languedoc; Monsieur de la Vallee, Lieutenant to the Duke of Espemon, in Provence; Alfonso Corso in Dauphine; the Count de Tavannes, Lieutenant, in Bourgongne; the Duke of Longeville, Governor of Picardy; the Marechal d' Aumont of Champagne, and Monsieur de Tinteville his Lieutenant; Filibert Sieur de la Guiche of Lyons; Monsieur de Montigny of Berry; Monsieur de Sourdis in Beaufle; the Sieur de Entraques in the Dutchy of Orleans;

1589

Cardinal Morisini the Legat, as soon as the Peace is concluded with the Hugonots, departs from Court, to go out of the Kingdom.

leans; and with himself he kept the Marechal *d'Annon* to command the Army; and gave order, that the Duke *d'Espernon*, and the King of Navar, should come unto him; the agreement with whom, after some delay, was accepted, and published the 28 of April.

But after the Peace was concluded, and before the publication of it, the Cardinal-Legat, not thinking it decent for him to stay longer near the Kings person; and on the other side, not being willing, by his presence and residence, to authorize the League in the taking up of Arms, resolved after many doubts, to go towards Moulins, and thence out of the Kingdom, as soon as he should have received orders from Rome, where he knew himself to be wonderful ill thought of by the Pope, and his name blasted by those who favoring the affairs of the League, endeavored to make his counsels be excluded. And yet the King, after he had tried all means to make him stay in his quarters, and excused his agreement with the King of Navar by the urgency of necessity; and after he had promised that howsoever he would persevere in the Catholick Religion, which received rather help, then any hurt at all from the Accommodation with the Hugonots; at last he prayed the Legat, that he would once again try the Duke of Mayenne, by meeting personally with him, and endeavor to bring him to an agreement; since that, neither by means of the Duke of Lorain, to whom he had written, nor by means of Madam de Nemours, with whom he had caused the Queen to treat about it, had he been able to make him vouchsafe to lend an ear to any Treaty of Peace. And that all the World might see his desire to remove the necessity of agreeing with the Hugonots, and to take away the credit from the Arms of the League, he gave the Cardinal a Paper subscribed with his hand, which contained those things he was contented to grant to the Lords of the Union.

He offered the Duke of Lorain the Cities of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, under the title of Government, and promised to use his endeavors to get the Heir of Bouillon in Marriage for the Count de Vandemont, by which means he might gain the possession of Jametz, and Sedan, places so considerable, and so much desired by those Lords. He was contented to leave the Duke of Mayenne the Government of Bourgogne, To confer all the Governments of Cities and Fortresses in that Province

1589

Province upon such as he should name, To permit that it should pass in the same manner to his eldest son, To give him an Hundred thousand crowns ready money, To satisfy those debts he was run into upon the present occasion, and a pension of Forty thousand crowns *per annum*. To the Duke of Guise, the Government of Champagne, St. Dizier, and Rocroy for the security of his person, Twenty thousand crowns of annual pension; and Thirty thousand of Ecclesiastical revenues for one of his Brothers, whom he would endeavor to get advanced to the Dignity of Cardinal. To the Duke of Nevers, the Government of Lyons, and Ten thousand crowns a year. To the Duke of Aumale, *St. Esprit de Rue* for his security, and likewise Ten thousand crowns in pension. To the Knight his Brother, the Generallhip of the Infantry, and *Twenty thousand franks a year. To the Duke of Elbeuf, the Government of Poitiers, and Ten thousand crowns pension. He referred himself to the Pope for the Declaration of the Edicts and Agreements made in times past, and was contented, that as a friendly Mediator he should compose all differences; leaving it to his own liberty, if he pleased, to joyn the Venetian Senate with him, or the Great Duke of Tuscany; being contented, if he took the Venetian Senate, that the Duke of Ferrara, Uncle to the Lords of Guise, should be added for the League: And if he chose the Great Duke, that they on the other side should take the Duke of Lorain, the Head of their Family.

* Two thousand pound sterling.

But neither did this writing produce any effect: For the Duke of Mayenne having had an Interview with the Legat at Chateau-dune, refused to give ear to Peace, excusing himself, that he could not accept of any Condition without assembling the States of the League, and all the Princes of his Family, to have their consent unto the business; and added, that he could no more have commerce nor security with him that had violated his Faith. This he said, because he thought himself much superior to the King in strength, and because the Catholick King, and the Duke of Savoy promised him assistance of men and money; and at Rome the affairs inclined already to favor him.

The Legat moves the Duke of Mayenne to an Accommodation, who refuses to hearken to it.

But the news of the Truce with the King of Navar, and then of the Legats departure, being come to Paris; it is impossible to believe the hatred that sprung up from it, against the

1589

The Parisians
at the news of
the Truce be-
tween the
King and the
Hugonots, be-
sides many
publick signs
of contempt,
forbid the
King to be
prayed for
any longer in
the Canon of
the Mass.

the King, and all those that followed him, and the exorbitant demonstrations of it which were made, even to the prohibiting by publick Decrees, that in the Canon of Mass they should pray any longer for him, as the custom is to do for all the Kings of France, and as the Catholick Church doth often very piously, especially in the Solemnity of Good-Friday, for Hereticks, Pagans, and Idolaters: And it is impossible to relate the innumerable company of Libels, Writings, and Declarations Printed and divulged against him, which were neither limited by any reason, nor bridled by any modesty. But the noise of Arms which were clattering in every place, did quickly drown that of the Libels and Sermons.

The first encounter of War, was in the Province of Normandy. The Duke of Montpensier, Governor for the King, was gone to the City of Caen, whither the Counsellors and Presidents were fled from Rouen, and *Pierre Segnier*, and where by vertue of the Kings Edict they had placed the seat of the Parliament. At the Dukes coming, all those Lords and Gentlemen ran thither, who followed the Kings party, and by his order the Sieurs de *Lorges*, de *Colombieres*, de *St. Denis*, and the Baron de *Ally*, had raised four Regiments of Foot; so that he had under his Colours Three thousand Foot, and Eight hundred Horse. With this Army, which increased daily, the Duke resolved to besiege *Falaife*, a considerable place, and defended with a Fortress or great Tower called the *Dongon*, being assured, that that Town once taken, *Argentan*, *Vire*, and the other places about Caen would presently yield themselves, whereby that City which was very populous by reason of the new concourse of Clients, and of the number that were come thither for refuge, might have the greater means of subsistence. But the second day after their departure from Caen, there had like to have hapned a great tumult among his own men, which if it had fallen out, would have diverted the whole enterprize. *Jehan de Hemery* Sieur de *Villiers*, commanded the Army in the Office of Camp-Master-General, he who in the first Wars had, by assaulting *Danfront*, taken the Count de *Montgomery*, who afterward by order from King *Charles*, was executed at Paris. The Vanguard was led by the Count de *Torrigny*, son to the Marechal de *Matignon*: The Sieur de *Baqueville* commanded the Light-horse; and the Rere was led by the Count de *Montgomery*, son to the aforementioned; so that

The Duke of
Montpensier
begins the
War against
those of the
League, and
besieges the
Falaife.

that between him and the Camp-master-General there was very little correspondence, fomented on the one side by the Catholick party, and on the other by the Hugonots. It happened, that marching thorow the enemies Country, it was necessary to quarter close, that the Country people who were up in arms, might not have opportunity to do mischief to those they should finde stragling, whereupon *Villiers* was constrained to appoint straighter quarters to the Count *de Montgomery* then the Hugonots (little accustomed to the discipline of War, and used to the liberty of plundering, which they commonly called *la picoree*) thought fitting; wherefore having torn the billet which was brought him by his Quarter-Master, the Count enlarged himself above three miles from the Army, and would needs lodge in certain Villages where he had full conveniency to feed his Horse; which being told to *Villiers*, he sent to command him to return to his quarters, the discipline of War so requiring, as also the order given by the Duke of Montpensier; to which the Count having answered arrogantly enough, *Villiers* commanded his Quarter-Master to be laid hold of, made him presently to be hanged up for having had the boldnesse to assigne other quarters then those appointed by the Camp-master-General; and having given the Duke notice of the businesse, he caused the Count *de Torigny* with the Van-guard to draw into order, to force the Count to return to his appointed quarter; and there would have happened some great mischief (*Villiers* being resolved, whatsoever came on it, that he would be obeyed, and the Hugonots on the other side being obstinate to defend their action) if the Duke himself getting on horse-back, had not by his presence quieted the businesse, having with resolute words commanded the Count *de Montgomery* to obey; who the next day after, under colour of going into the Confines of the Country of Constantine, where his estate lay, to defend certain Castles of his own from the incursions of the Duke *de Mercœur*, left the Army; and the charge of leading the Reer-guard was given to the *Sieur de Hallot*, and the *Sieur de Cresveœur* his Brother.

After the tumult was appeased, they proceeded with order and military discipline, the Duke not suffering any injury to be done to the Country people, nor any thing to be taken away from them, except viſuall; for it was necessary

1589

(his souldiers not being paid) to take free quarter upon them. The siege was laid to Falaise, and they began to batter it with a Culverin and two Canons, with assurance they should take it if it were not quickly relieyed: but the Count *de Brissac*, who not having been able to get into Angiers his Government, had been sent by the Duke of Mayenne to command in that Province, being accompanied with some Gentlemen, and other his dependants, to the number of 300 Horse, went to assist the *Gantiers*, that he might be able in time to relieve that place.

The *Gantiers* country people up in arms to the number of 16000, fight for the League

The *Gantiers* were Country people, who at first had taken arms against all souldiers that passed thorow their Territories, to prevent the losses and outrages which they might suffer by them; and after having received an impression, that the King was cause of all those miseries, and that to the calamities of War he added the burthen of impositions, they had taken part with the League, and having broken the ways, made up passages with barrs and pales, and fortified their Towns and Villages, were up in arms to the number of sixteen thousand, and called themselves *Gantiers*, because they had first begun their insurrections in a Town called *la Chappelle Gantier*, to which afterwards Vimotier, Bernay, and many other lesser Towns had united themselves. They had chosen three Commanders, the Barons *de Maillot*, and *d'Eschamfourd*, and the Sieur *de Longchamp*, Governour of Lisieux, they had appointed Captain *Vannartell* their Sergeant-Major-General, and exercised themselves with order and military discipline in the profession of arms. The Count of *Brissac* obtained that four thousand of these men, so arm'd and disciplin'd should go with him to relieve Falaise; and thinking the number sufficient to accomplish his designe, with those Horse he had with him, besides an hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, under Captain *Valage*, and two Field-pieces, he marches that way, believing that the Duke of Montpensier, lest he should have those Forces behinde him, and Falaise before him, would retire, and then he might fortifie it better, and put in a stronger Garrison. But the *Gantiers* being come within four Leagues of Falaise, quartered in a great Bourg, which they fortified at the entry of the great high-way towards the enemy with their two Pieces, and with a Barricado made with barrells full of earth and soil, that they might not be unexpectedly assaulted without defence,

defence; and the Count *de Brissac* at a little distance from them, but out of the great high-way, took up his quarters, and sent forth parties of Horse to scour the Country.

Villiers, the King's Field-Marshal, little valuing the number of those inexperienced tag-rag fellows, having been out himself to discover their quarters, perswaded the Duke of Montpensier presently to raise the siege, and without delay to assault the Enemy; and the Duke desirous to try the encounter, and being very confident of *Villiers* his experience, quitting the siege the same night, and drawing off his Canon from the wall, resolved to assault the *Gantiers* the next morning. *Villiers* ordered the assault on this manner; that the Culverin and the Canon should play along the great way upon the Enemies Barricado and Field-pieces, and that then the Infantry should make the assault severally under their Colonels upon that part; that the Duke of Montpensier with his own Troop should fall on by a way that led into the field on the right side; and the Count *de Torgny* with the Cavalry of the Vanguard by another on the left hand; and that the Sieurs *de Surenne*, and *de Baqueville* with two Bodies of Horse should stand ready to oppose the Count *de Brissac*, if he with his Horse should make any attempt to divert the assault. The Culverin and Canon hitt so luckily, that they beat down all the Enemies Barricado, and took off the head of Captain *Vaumartell*, who was encouraging and ordering his souldiers: whereupon the signe was presenly given, to assault the enemy on all sides. The Duke of Montpensier, a brave generous Prince, trotted on at the head of his Cavalry to attaque the Enemy; but whatsoever the occasion was, leaving the place appointed him on the right hand, he came to fall on just in the place where (the Barricado being thrown down) the Enemies two Pieces were planted, which had not yet given fire, and he was in great danger to have many of his men slain, and that the assault would have a bloody issue. The winde was very high, by reason whereof, together with the noise of the Armies, no mans voice could be heard; so that the Duke would certainly have been in danger, if *Villiers*, setting spurs to his horse, running full speed to overtake him, and hitting him with his truncheon upon his helmet to make him stay, had not told him his errour, and brought him by a plain free way to charge the enemy in the Flank; which the Count

1589

Montpensier
defeats the
Count de Brif-
fac's forces,
who came to
divert the
siege of Fa-
laise.

Count de Torigny having done likewise on the other side, and the Infantry in the Front (where about twenty soldiers were slain by the Faulconets) the enemy was defeated in lesse then an hour with the losse of about two thousand men, all their baggage, Colours and Canon. The Count de Brissac, who during the conflict, appeared upon a hill hard by, seeing himself without comparison inferiour in force, retired streight to Falaise, without making any further attempt; having, though with so great a slaughter of his men, made way to relieve that place, and the Kings Army victorious, quartered that night in the adjacent Villages.

It was debated in the Council of War, whether they should return to the Siege of Falaise or no; but the opinion of Villiers prevailed, who (the Count de Brissac being within it, with the rest of his Forces) thought it would be a difficult, and a tedious businesse, and advised that the Army in the heat of the Victory should prosecute the *Gautiers*, to take their places, and pull up the root of that Insurrection; for that obstacle being taken away, there would be no Forces left in the Province which could hinder them from taking in the Towns. With this resolution, the Army increased with above four hundred fresh Horse, marched towards the *Gautiers*, who being resolved to make resistance to the last man, put themselves in three places, Vimotier, Bernay, and la Chapelle Gautier, into which the Commanders shut not up themselves, but Longchamp retired to his Government, and the rest gave out, that they went to the Count de Brissac to prepare assistance.

Vimotier was first assaulted, where with small trouble, it being an open place, the Bourg was entred, above a thousand of the *Gautiers* slain, and those that fell into the enemies hands alive, having taken an oath not to bear arms any more, but to follow their tillage, were set at liberty; so that having found very great gentlenesse and good order in the Army by the care which the Duke and Villiers used, in punishing those who dared to commit any outrage or insolence, they were quietted, and returned to the managing of their own affairs. Greater was the difficulty in assaulting Bernay, which was both walled round, and had the best men within it; but the Canon having battered from morning till noon, the Foot made the assault, which having been stoutly received by the

defen-

defendants, they renewed the Battery the next morning ; and having made a wider breach, many Gentlemen alighted from their horses, and put themselves in the head of the Infantry, to facilitate the assault: Wherefore it being valiantly redoubled in the morning, the service lasted hot and bloody for the space of four hours ; at last young *L'Archant*, and the *Sieur de Baqueville* entered the Town, and after them the whole Army, putting the *Gautiers* to the sword, whereof a very great number was slain ; and a house being set on fire by a boy of Colonel *St. Denis*, who for that fault was condemned by *Villiers* to suffer death, the greater part of the Town was burned to the ground. There were killed on the Kings side, the *Sieur de la Fountain*, one of *Villiers* his Adjutants, 14 Gentlemen, and about 100 Souldiers. The prisoners upon the same oath and conditions were set at liberty. But the remainder of the *Gautiers*, reduced into *la Chappelle*, seeing their companions defeated, and that the Commanders appeared not with relief from any place, resolved to yield themselves ; and having sent two Curates of their *Parishes*, they were received to mercy on the same terms: whereupon, leaving their Arms and Colours, they returned to their houses, and to their wonted employment of Tilling the Earth.

This was the first prosperous success of the War, and the news thereof was carried with great joy to the King to Tours, where he was busie in increasing his Army, and giving order about his Interview with the King of Navar. To which purpose the *Sieur du Plessis-Mornay* was come to the King a great many days before, and the Abbot *del Bene* was likewise gone to the King of Navar ; nor were they yet fully agreed concerning the place or manner of their meeting : For the King would rather have desired the Hugonots should make War apart ; and also the King of Navar was unwilling to come to Court, being dissuaded by those about him, who ceased not continually to put him in remembrance of Paris, and the danger of the Massacre of *St. Bartholomews* day. But necessity took away those doubts, by the coming of the Duke of Mayenne ; who serving in a popular Cause, and desiring to put his name in reputation, to confirm and increase his party, having left Paris, was come to Chasteau-Dune, and there made up his Army from all parts ; which, with two Regiments sent by the Parisians, was Eight thousand Foot, and Two thousand Horse. His first exploit was upon the City of Vendosm, a great Town,

1589

The *Gautiers* being fortified in three places, after they had fought a long time, some are cut in pieces, and some yield.

and

1589 and of the King of Navars Patrimony, and into which, the Counsellors of the Great Council were reduced by the Kings order, as into a place which he thought secure; but the Governor holding secret intelligence to go over to the League, the Duke of Mayenne sent the *Sieur de Rhosne* thither unexpectedly with Two thousand Foot, and Six hundred Horse, who being brought in according to the agreement, made himself master of the City, and took prisoners all the Magistrates of the Great Council, and many clients who followed them, and who were fain afterward with great sums of money to free themselves.

Vendosme taken by the League, by agreement with the Governor.

Vendosme being taken, and it being believed (as it was probable) that the Duke would proceed further, the King set forward the Duke of Espernon with the Vanguard of his Army toward Blois, to the end, that lying in the way, he might hinder the march of the enemy: But the Duke doubting lest the City might remain a prey to the Duke of Mayenne, went thither with all the Foot, and left the Count *de Brienne* with the Horse, quartered upon the way that leads from Blois to Amboise near unto *St. Oryn*. The Mareschal *de Annoni*, with the rest of the Army incamped near the City of Tours, to keep it sufficiently guarded: And the King dispatched the Abbot *del Bene* the second time, to hasten the King of Navars coming; who, when he had sent the *Sieur de Chastillon*, General of his Infantry before, to present his duty to the King, and to receive his commands, at last waited upon the King himself in the * *Parc du Plessis*, without the Walls of Tours; where being met by the King, he not onely alighted from his horse a great while before he came near him; but as soon as ever he was come unto him, kneeling down, he would by all means have kissed his feet; but the King having raised him up, and embraced him closely, laying aside all former enmities in a moment, led him talking along into the City, passing thorow the Army that was imbattelled, and thorow the people which were come out of the Gates, and with infinite applause, and loud acclamations of the Soldiers, they went unto the Kings Lodgings, every one admiring, on the one side the Kings courtesie, and on the other, the King of Navars submission and obedience. The next day, after two long hours of secret conference, the King of Navar returned to his Forces which were yet quartered beyond the River: And the King having put the Foot into

* Or, *Plessis les Tours*. The Interview between the most Christian King, and the King of Navar at Tours.

into the Suburb of *St. Syphorien*, kept onely his Guards in the City, and the Nobility about his person.

But the Duke of Mayenne seeing Blois so strengthened by the Duke of Espernons arrival, that there was no hope at all to take it; leaving that City, and the Duke of Espernon, he passed on with his Army as far as *Chasteau Renard*, but seven leagues distant from Tours, and from the Body of the Kings Army: And having had intelligence, that the Count de *Brienne* staid at *St. Omer*, where he quartered carelessly with small Guards, his forces (according to the liberty of the times) being dispersed and divided in those Villages, he marched nine leagues out of his direct way with infinite speed, and coming unexpectedly, found the Count so negligently unprovided, that many of his men were cut off and taken prisoners in a moment, and he in great disorder fled away, and shut himself up in the Town, without any provision to defend himself; where the Duke being arrived, and having with equal haste planted his Cannon, though the Marquess de *Canillac* (who as General of the Artillery commanded the Works which were made there) and many of the stoutest Soldiers lost their lives; the Count de *Brienne* was yet fain to yield himself, he being kept prisoner: But the Soldiers, upon promise of not bearing Arms for a certain time, were set at liberty.

The Count de *Brienne* being defeated and taken, the Duke of Mayenne resolved to assault the Camp of the King himself, thinking that not being united to the King of Navar, and the Foot not well fortified in the Suburb of *St. Syphorien*, a vast uneven place, it would not be very difficult to overcome it, if the assault were unexpected: Wherefore having raised his Camp upon the Seventh day of May in the evening when it began to grow dark, bringing two Culverins along with infinite trouble, he arrived near Tours with all his Forces about Sun-rising. The Kings Foot were quartered in the Suburbs; and because the place, being something low, was commanded (as by a Cavalier) by a Hill, on the top whereof were certain houses, Colonel *Moncafin*, who led the Van, drew a line about the houses, and placed himself there with a strong Corps de Garde, to keep the enemy from possessing it, it being just in the way that comes from Blois and *Chasteau Renard* straight to the Town. The Duke of Mayenne having caused his Army to make a halt in the Plain beyond the Hill, to give his Soldiers

1589

to conduct
the Duke
of Mayenne
to the
Camp of
the King
of Navar
and the
Foot not
well
fortified
in the
Suburb
of St.
Syphorien
a vast
uneven
place
it would
not be
very
difficult
to overcome
it if the
assault
were
unexpected

The Duke of
Mayenne de-
feats the
Count de Bri-
enne, and takes
him prisoner.

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a little

1589

The Duke of Mayenne assaults the Kings Army at Tours, where they fight a long time. The King himself orders and disposes his Soldiers, puts himself among those that fight. At last, supplies coming from the King of Navar, the Duke of Mayenne gives off the enterprise.

a little rest, who were tired with the length and speed of their march, sent two Regiments before, commanded by the *Sieurs du Chesean* and *du Bourg*, to make themselves masters of those houses which annoyed and obstructed all the Highway. These arrived very unexpectedly; yet not so much, but that they were discovered by the Scouts: Wherefore having put their Arms in a readiness on both sides, there began a very fierce skirmish, just at the very time when the King being come to visit that post was there present. His presence did much good: For besides his being ready to dispose matters in good order for the fight, the *Sieur de Montigny*, who was with him, ran at the first noise of the shot into the forefront of the Battell, and by his words exhorting, and by his example animating every one to do their duty, did confirm the courage of those Guards; who remembring that they fought in the Kings own fight, made so gallant resistance against the greater number of the enemy, that their fury was bravely repelled, till relief came up unto them. The King not at all dismayed, but with a free secure countenance, though he was unarmed, and but slenderly attended, causing the Regiments of *Jasay* and *Rabempie*, who were upon the right and left hand of the skirmish, to be supplied with Ammunition, commanded them to charge the enemy; and having himself drawn up, the Swisses led by Colonel *Galati*, he sent them presently to guard the City: For he was no less in fear of an uproar within the City, then in doubt of the assault without. Above all things, the King was most troubled to restrain the Gentry, who, stirred up by their courage and thirst of honor, desired to engage themselves in the action; and falling on scattered and dispersed, were without doubt likely to receive some great mischief: But he opposing both his own command and person to the violence of their forwardness, staid and withheld them; and putting them in order in small squadrons, kept them near himself, that he might be able to assist in more places then one, if need should require.

In the mean time, the Duke of Mayenne had planted his Culverins upon the Hill, and with his furious shot had forced the defendants to quit the post of the little houses, where the *Sieur de Montigny*, who fought in the first squadrons, received a Musket-shot, Colonel *Jasay* was slain, and above Two hundred Soldiers: But though the enemy had the higher ground, and

and that the Duke still brought up fresh Forces where there was most need; yet *Moncaffin* and *Rubempre* continued stoutly disputing it, with an infinite thick hail of Musket bullets, whereby many fell on either side. But the Duke having commanded on the Regiments of *la Chataigneraye*, and *Ponsenac*, made up of the old souldiers of the late Duke of Guise his Brother, and both the Kings Colonels being wounded, the Foot began to retire, and the Enemy putting courageously forward at last made themselves Masters of all the Suburb. The King desiring to have it recovered, left with so little provision he should be besieged in the City, which was all he had left behind him, commanded Monsieur *de Grillon*, who as Colonel of his Guards commanded the Infantry, that he should make a charge to drive out the Enemy. *Grillon* advanced valiantly with the flower of his men, and two gallant Squadrons of Gentlemen advanced with him, who having alighted from their horses by the King's permission were ready to fall on with Sword and Pistol. These at their arrivall renewed the battell; and having in their first charge recovered one of the streets of the Suburb, made so fierce a conflict, that they fought with various fortune, and very great obstinacy, till the declining of the day, at which time the Duke's Artillery playing hotter then ever from the higher ground, and *Olande Chevalier d'Anmale* being come with two fresh Squadrons to relieve his party, *Grillon* very much wounded, and his men spent, with the toyl of the whole day, were constrained to quit the Suburb, and retreated to defend the Bridge, upon which the King himself was, with all the Nobility that attended him. The fight was fore and sharp; but some small field-Pieces being planted at the entry of the Bridge, they kept back the Enemy, who being already Masters of the whole Suburb, strove most eagerly to get possession of it.

But whilst they fought with doubtfull event, and equall courage on either side, the King of Navar having suddenly had intelligence of the businesse, was moved with his whole Force to relieve the King, and that delay might not hinder the effect of his intentions, he had sent Monsieur *de Chastillon* before, with fifteen hundred of the best Foot of his Army, who arriving about Sun-set, marched readily to the place of Battell. They being come in fresh, and desirous to make themselves remarkable in the most dangerous service, repelled the

1589

violence of the enemy in such manner, that night coming upon them, put an end to the businesse, as it were with a common consent, expecting the next dayes light. The defence of the bridge was given in charge to Monsieur *de Chastillon*, because his men were freshest; and the King, with the Duke of Monbason and the Mareschal *d' Aumont*, betook himself to guard the City, having with him the Swisse Infantry, and the Nobility of the Court. There were killed that day above four hundred souldiers on the King's side, and many Commanders, *Chevalier Berton* Nephew to Colonell *Grillon*, and *St Malin*, the same who with his dagger gave the first wound to the Duke of Guise at Blois. Of the Army of the League were slain above a hundred, but onely two Commanders, and few persons of quality. The *Chevalier d' Aumale*, as Generall of the Infantry to the League, was left to make good the Suburb they had taken, and the Marquesse *de Piennes*, with his Regiment, drew up just over against the Sieur *de Chastillon* at the entry of the Bridge; both sides labouring all night with infinite diligence to entrench themselves.

Many outrages were committed in the Suburb, both to things sacred and profane; nor were the Souldiers of the League more modest against Churches and Monasteries, then the Hugonots would have been if they had entered it, though the Duke of Mayenne by nature averse from military insolencies, did strive with all possible diligence to hinder them: but the licence of a voluntary Army which is unpaid, is very difficult to be restrained. They lay in continuall suspicion, and many alarms were given all the night; but upon Thursday the ninth of May the Regiments of *Charboniere* sent by the King of Navar to their relief, appearing about break of day, and it being known that he himself was hard by, advancing with the rest of his Army; the Duke of Mayenne having lost all hopes of making any further progresse, caused his dead to be buried, and leaving the Suburb which he had taken, retreated in good order to his former quarters.

This day (though they lost the Suburbs) seemed very remarkable, and gave exceeding great hopes to them that followed the King's party, because after so many years of ease and rest, they saw in him a fearless Majesty, first putting his Army in array himself, though with but a little Company, and utterly unarmed; and then (having taken his arms at the

the head of his Nobility) in overseeing and ordering the Fight, providing against all accidents, and reassuming that name and authority of a Generall, which having been practised by him with so much glory in his younger years, had by reason of his hidden designs been for a time utterly laid down.

But on the other side, the Duke of Mayenne, and all those of the League making use of the outward appearance in having taken the Suburbs, and beaten out the King's Infantry from their Post, with writings published in print fit for the popular cause, did by all manner of wayes magnifie and augment every circumstance of that action, amplifying the number and quality of those that were slain, exalting the valour of their own souldiers, boasting of the death of *St Malin*, as a miracle of publick vengeance, and prognosticating within a while an absolute victory to their party.

But about the same time they received a much greater losse; for the City of Senlis ten leagues distant from Paris, and very opportune for the state of present affairs, which at first had taken part with the League, having now declared for the King, and called in *Guillaume de Momorancy*, Lord of *Thore*; there passed not many dayes before the Duke of Aumale, knowing there were but small Forces there, resolved to lay siege unto it, thinking assuredly to take it before it could be relieved: wherefore having called unto him the *Sieur de Balagny* Governour of Cambray, and those Gentlemen which in Picardy and the Isle of France followed his party, with seven hundred Horse, and nine thousand Foot (but most of them tumultuously listed in Paris under the command of the *Sieur de Meneville*) and nine pieces of Cannon, sat down before it the seventh day of May. The besieged defended themselves stoutly from the beginning; and the next day after the Enemy had entrenched, they made so bold a sally, that above a 100 of the Parisians were slain, and among them, the *Sieur de Chamois*, an old servant of the House of Guise: but after the Artillery was planted, there being but small store of ammunition in the Town, and none of those things which were necessary for their defence, they called the Duke of Longueville to their relief, who with *Monsieur de la Nove* was come to Compeigne. But the Forces were very unequall, and the Gentry of the Province was not met together; wherefore the besieged were forced

St Malin who gave the first wound to the Duke of Guise at Blois, slain in the Fight at Tours; his death is boasted of, as a miracle, and as a presage of Victory.

1589

The Duke of
Aumale besie-
ges Senlis;
Monsieur de
Longueville
goes with
small forces
to relieve it,
and raises the
siege with a
great slaugh-
ter of the
Leaguers.

forced to treat of yielding, being destitute of all hope to hold out longer, and being as it were assured they should not be relieved; and yet news being come to Compeigne, that the besieged were capitulating, the Gentlemen began to intreat the Duke of Longueville, that he would lead them on to fight, thinking it a great affront to them to suffer that Town to be lost before their very faces without striking a blow. The Duke of Longueville was a young Lord, and one who though full of spirit, did yet refer all things to the advice of Monsieur de la Noye, and of the Baron de Guiry who commanded the light Horse. These thought the inequality of Forces so great (for they had not above eight hundred Horse, and lesse then two thousand Foot) that they esteemed it extremely folly to adventure themselves, especially if the Enemy drawing into battalia, should plant their Canon before them. But so obstinate was the forwardness of the young Gentry, who were grieved to stand idle without doing any thing, that the Commanders resolved to go within sight of the Enemy, and expect the opportunity of some occasion, believing it easie to retreat without danger, as they thought it most difficult by any means to relieve the Town. Being come to the top of a hill which over-looks the Plain where the City stands, they saw that the Duke of Aumale having had notice of their coming, began to draw up his Army in the field, which *la Noye* being advanced before all the rest, began diligently to observe, and perceiving (as a souldier of very long experience) the unreadiness of his men, who went confusedly into their ranks, with their Pikes tottering unsteadily, (a wonted manifest signe of inexpert souldiers) and above all, that having left their Artillery, either for want of knowledge in the affairs of War, or too much confidence, they were deprived of so great an advantage, he turned back to Guiry, and told him that the Enemies faintnesse did almost perswade him to hazard the encounter, which being heard by the Gentry, and the Duke of Longueville desirous to make his youth renowned by some glorious exploit, all prayed him to yield unto that motion, and he taking courage from the boldnesse and forwardnesse of them all, having drawn the Cavalry into five Divisions, commanded out the Musketers, with three Fauconets, which they had brought along, to begin the battell in the Plain. The Fauconets were so hidden and encompassed by the Foot, that

that they were hardly seen; and marched so fast, that keeping pace with the Soldiers, they were not discovered by the enemy: Wherefore the *Sieur de Balagny* that led their Vanguard, being inconsiderately advanced, his Squadron at the first encounter was so torn and disordered by the Artillery, which gave fire three times very happily, that before they had time to rally, the *Baron de Guiry* rushing upon them with his Light-horse, and the *Sieurs d'Humieres*, and *Bonivet* following with two valiant Squadrons of Gentlemen, he was not onely forced manifestly to give ground, but to turn his back without resistance: Which beginning being followed by the Duke of Languerville, and on the other side by the *Sieur de la Noye*, they routed the Cavalry, which made small opposition; and having pursued it not above three hundred paces, they wheeled about, and fell in upon the Parisian Infantry; which being charged in the front by *La Noye's* Muskettiers, and there being no Commander who knew how to order them securely in time of need, their ranks being broken, they never defended themselves, but having cast away their Pikes and Muskets, began to flee in disorder; in which flight, being pursued by the Cavalry, and the besieged at the same time falling out on their Rear, there was a very great slaughter of them; the Field won, the Trenches entred, the Artillery taken, which were kept by the Conquerors, with above thirty Colours. Of the Kings Army, not above Twenty men were slain, and no Officer of note: The Army of the League lost above One thousand and two hundred, and among those, the *Sieur de Meneville*, an old servant of the House of Guise, who making resistance where the Artillery was, received a Musket shot thorow the side.

The Duke of Aumale loses the day, with his Artillery, Baggage, and thirty Colours.

The Duke of Aumale retired to St. Denis, not having the heart to carry that news to Paris; which being related by the *Sieur de Balagny*, filled the whole City with infinite terror, insomuch as *Madam de Montpensier*, and *Madam de Guise*, could hardly confirm their fickle mindes; as easily lost, as ready and forward to rebel. But the Council of the Union being come together, they resolved to call back the Duke of Mayenne as soon as possibly they could, not being confident of any other bodies sufficiency to deliver them from the danger of the enemies Army, which much increased since the Victory, overran all the Country.

The Duke of Mayenne, after he had left Tours, having

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1589

no hope by longer stay, to be able to make any progress against both the Armies joyned together, had marched back with very great speed towards Normandy; and being come to Alançon, a great important City, had (in a manner unexpectedly) gotten it by composition; by which he reaped this benefit, That the Duke of Montpensier, already victorious in that Province, could not turn to unite himself with the Kings forces, and increase his Camp any more: And therefore having taken Alançon, he intended to pass on further, with certain hopes, that he should every day make greater progress: But the sum of all affairs consisting in the City of Paris, and seeing that people not onely straitned for victuals, because the Duke de Longueville cut off all passages, but also dejected, discouraged, and without his presence; ready to break out into some tumult, he resolved to leave all other attempts, and return presently to settle it. So with his whole Army, making great marches, and without offering at any enterprise by the way, he came in the beginning of June into the Isle of France, which invirons the City of Paris.

In the mean time, the King, to whom Poitiers had lately revolted, having put his men in order at Châtelraut, resolved to pass the Loyre, and, marching toward Paris, either to straighten that City, or meet the enemy if he advanced to fight in the open field. The King of Navar with his forces led the Vanguard; and before all, the Sieur de Chastillon with the *Avant Couréurs*. The King commanded the Battel; with whom were the Duke of Montbason, the Marshalls of Biron and Aumont, Monsieur d'O, and many other Lords and Commanders. The Duke of Espernon brought up the Rere-guard. At the Kings second quarters, he received Letters from Monsieur de Sancy by an Expres, (who coming disguised along by-ways, brought them secretly put up in the cover of a Breviary) by which he gave him to understand, that having obtained from the Swisses of the Canton of Berne, not onely to leavy men; but also a certain sum of money lent him, upon promise, that the King should defend them, and those of Geneva from the molestation of the Duke of Savoy; he had raised Ten thousand Foot of that Nation, Two thousand German Horse, and Three thousand French Firelocks; and that having begun the War with the Duke in the confines of Geneva, and engaged the Canton of Berne to make

Monsieur de Sancy having raised great Forces in Switzerland, and begun the War with Savoy, marches toward Paris against the Leaguers.

make resistance in those parts, till the King having dis-intangled his affairs, could be able to assist them with powerful Forces; he being come into the Territory of Langres, was marching thorow the Province of Champagne the straight way to Paris.

This news did not onely rejoyce the King, who was solicitous about that business, but the whole Army also; there being no man but believed, that with those Forces they should in a few weeks be able to curb the Insurrections of the League.

And the Kings intent upon that celerity which he thought necessary above all things, made present dispatches several ways; to the Duke of Longueville, and Monsieur de la Noye, commanding them that having gathered as many Forces as possibly they could, they should move without delay, to meet that Army in Champagne; and gave the Duke of Montpensier direction to follow the Duke of Mayenne (who from the confines of Normandy was turned toward Paris) and come to joyn with him in some convenient place. This order being taken, they continued their intended voyage, with so general a gladness in the Army, that they held the Victory in a manner assured.

But this common joy was something troubled by the misfortune of the Count de Soissons, who having been dispatched by the King with Monsieur de Laval, to command in Bretagne, while he was about to unite himself in the City of Rennes, with the Gentry of the Province who expected him, being lodged carelessly, and with slender Guards at Chasteau-Gyron, was assaulted about midnight by the Duke de Mercœur; who coming from Vitry with his Forces, had marched a great many leagues thither; where, after such resistance as the place would permit, and his strength was able to make, the Count at last was taken prisoner by the enemy. By this accident the King was forced (though he was not in a condition to diminish the Body of his Army) to send some number of men into that Province, under Henry of Bourbon, Prince of Dombes, son to the Duke of Montpensier, who being a youth of but tender years, began to give proof of a generous spirit, and of a very great courage.

The Army marched on its way with very great order; and the Vanguard being come to Beaugency, upon the One and twentieth day of May, the Sieur de Chastillon with his

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Troops

the Count de
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1589

The *Sieur de Savense* going with 400 horse to joyn with the Duke of Mayenne, is routed by the *Sieur de Chastillon*, and taken prisoner.

Troops advanced to get intelligence, and discover the ways of the Country, while at the same time Monsieur de *Savense* marched with Three hundred Lances, and One hundred Light horse to joyn with the Duke of Mayennes Army. He not being advertised of the Kings arrival, having left *Bonneval* a very rich Monastery within the Territories of *Chartres*, went on his way. But the parties sent out before on each side, having met, and begun to skirmish without knowing one another; the *Sieur de Chastillon* stronger in Forces, and more ready to fight, fell on and charged *Savense* so on all sides, that having killed an Hundred and fifty of his men, who fought valiantly, he with Sixty Gentlemen was taken prisoner; and having received two wounds in the encounter, died of them within a few days after.

The King takes *Gergeau* and *Piviers*.

Chartres voluntarily sets open the Gates.

The Pope by a *Monitory* declares the King liable to censure, if within 60 days he releases not the Prelates, and does not Penance for the Cardinal of *Guise's* death. The King troubled at it, fasts forty hours.

Thus matters going on prosperously, upon the Three and twentieth they encamped at *Gergeau*, a Town of a convenient bigness, plentiful, and which hath in it one of the principal Bridges of the River *Loire*. In this place commanded the *Sieur de Jalanges*, who being summoned to yield, and not to hazard the battery of a Royal Army, having refused to do so, the Cannon was planted, and after not much difficulty, the Wall being entred forcibly by assault, he was condemned presently to be hanged. The Town was sacked by the Army, and the defendants cut in pieces; the King, contrary to his nature, using very great severity, as one who often alledged, that he made not War against a lawful enemy, but persecuted the obstinate stubbornness of Rebels. After the taking of *Gergeau*, followed that of *Piviers*, where the same rigor was used against the Magistrates of the place. Wherefore *Chartres* not staying so much as for a Summons, set open their Gates, received the King with all his Army; and having driven out the dependents of the League, submitted it self to his obedience.

Thither the news was brought by the *Sieur de la Cluette*, how the Pope by a *Monitory* had declared, that the King should incur censure, if within the term of Sixty days he released not the Prelats out of prison; and if within the same time he made not his due submission for the death of the Cardinal of *Guise*; which struck the King so deeply, that he was above Forty hours without Eating or Drinking. This last resolution had been obtained by the Dean of *Rheims*, who lately dispatched

1589

dispatched to Rome by the Duke of Mayenne, had by amplifying, not onely the reasons of the League, but also the Forces of the Confederates, and the King's weakness, at last induced the Pope unto it, so much the more easily, after the report was divulged, that the King treated an agreement with the King of Navar, and was about to call the Hugonots unto his party. The *Monitory* was posted up in Rome upon the three and twentieth of May, and within a very few dayes after published at Meaux, ten leagues distant from Paris, the Bishop of which place was made High-Chancellour by the Duke of Mayenne in the Councel of the *Union*. The King was so grieved for this determination of the Pope, that it produced an universal sadness, and the progresse of the Army was very much slackened by it. Wherefore the Arch-Bishop of Bourges began publickly to comfort him, saying, That as the Pope ill-informed, by the suggestion of the Confederates, believing what they did was out of zeal to Religion, had pronounced that Sentence: so when he should be better informed, and assured that they fought for passion and ambition, and not for the Apostolick See, nor for the Faith, he certainly, as a common Father, would change his opinion. But the King, after a deep sigh, replied, That he thought it very hard, that he who had ever fought and laboured for Religion, should be rashly excommunicated because he would not suffer his own throat to be cut by the arms of his Rebel-Subjects; and that those who had sacked Rome, and kept the Pope himself prisoner, had never been excommunicated: to which the King of Navar, who was present, answered; But they were victorious, Sir: Let your Majesty endeavour to conquer, and be assured the censures shall be revoked; but if we be overcome, we shall all die condemned Hereticks. The King assented, and all the by-standers did the like; and upon that hope, order was given the Army should march, and having laid siege to Estampes, and that Town being taken by assault, the King very much exasperated, and moved by his naturall melancholy, now outwardly stirred up by so many provocations, caused all the Magistrates to be hanged, and gave the pillage of the Town freely to the souldiers. From Estampes the King being desirous to shut up all the passages of those Rivers that were fit to streighten the City of Paris, marched on with the body of his Army to besiege Poissy, and

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The King of
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1589

the Duke of Espernon enlarging himself with the Reer, took, and with the same violence sacked Montreau upon the River *Tonne*. Poissy made very little resistance, and the Town yielding it self, the King was Master of that brave spacious Bridge, which there gives passage over the *Seine*, by the help whereof he was able to enlarge himself on both sides the River. In this place the Duke of Montpensier, who had followed the track of the Duke of Mayenne out of Normandy, without receiving any opposition, joined with the King's Army, who intended to make that Town his Magazine, gave the Government of it to the *Sieur de Villiers*, and leaving his Baggage, Ammunition, and part of his Artillery there, put in a Garrison of 2000 Foot.

Poissy being taken and manned, the King of Navar, with his Van-guard went without delay to besiege Pontoise, in which Monsieur *d'Alincourt* was Governour, and with him the *Sieur de Hautfort*, put in also by the Duke of Mayenne, to supplie what should be defective; these having fortified a Church which stood in a corner of the Town, and reduced it to the form of a *Raveline*, stood constantly upon their defence. The first force was employed against the Church, which battered and assaulted, and no lesse resolutely defended, maintained it self for the space of nine daies: at the end of which, *Hautfort* being killed with a Cannon-shot, the Church was also taken and utterly demolished, and the defendants retired to make good the walls. But the *Sieur d'Alincourt* being wounded in the shoulder, and the most valiant of the Defendants being slain by the violence of the Artillery, and in the fury of a bloody assault, the rest were necessarily forced to yield; who marched out of the Town upon the four and twentieth of July, with this condition, that they should not bear arms again in service of the League, till after three moneths.

The next day after the taking of Pontoise, the forreign Armie arrived at Poissy-bridge; for Monsieur *de Sancy*, being first met by the Count *de Tavannes* with five hundred Horse in the Confines of Bourgongne, and then in Champagne by the Duke *de Longueville*, and the *Sieur de la Noue* with twelve hundred Horse, and two thousand French Muskettiers, had advanced with great diligence; nor durst the Duke of Mayenne, who had made shew that he would oppose his passage, meet

meet him with so much weaker Forces; so that upon Saint James's day they passed the bridge at Poissy, being received with great joy, and provided for, with great plenty, to refresh themselves, by Monsieur de Villiers, who had caused many carts full of Wine, and provisions, to be brought beyond the bridge, to welcome the Swisses and the Germans. The next morning, which was Saint Annes day, the King desired to see them, and view them in their Divisions, largely spread over the fields; and being accompanied by the King of Navar, and the Duke of Montpensier, he welcomed and cherished the Commanders with great familiarity, honouring them with such warlike presents, as the state of things, in the fury of arms would permit. There were ten thousand Swisses, two thousand German Foot, two thousand *Reiters*; to which the Forces of the King, the Duke of Longueville, the Duke of Montpensier, the Baron de Ginry, and the King of Navar being added, the Army amounted to the number of two and forty thousand fighting men. The terror of this Army made all the places thereabout to yield; and the bridge of St Cloud, a place within a league of Paris, having had the boldness to shut their Gates, upon the nine and twentieth day, was victoriously forced open, and the relief which the Sieurs de Bourdaisiere, and Tremblecourt had attempted to put into it, with two Regiments of Foot, and four hundred Horse, was likewise furiously driven back by the Cavalry.

The Affairs of Paris were already reduced into an exceeding ill condition; for all the Bridges being lost, all the neighbouring Towns surrendered, all the passages of the River stopped, and the City streightned on all sides, there was no other hope left then what the presence of the Duke of Mayenne and of the Army afforded; which was all shut up within the circuit of the Suburbs of Paris. The army was 8000 French Foot, and 1800 Horse; but so great was the scarcity of victual, & the terror that had seized every one by reason of the King's prosperous successes and severe resolution, that within two dayes the French Foot were reduced to five thousand, and the Germans demanding meat and money, began to threaten that they would go over to the Enemies Camp. Nor were the inhabitants, more resolute, or more unanimous then the souldiers; for the common people following the ordinary course, as they had been precipitate to rebell; so hoping by their meanesse and

The Swisses arrive and joyn with the King at Poissy.

The King with a victorious and numerous Army lays siege to Paris, having taken all those places that furnish it with victual.

1589

and obscurity to lie hid, and escape unpunished, were easily induced to submit themselves to the King; and those who from the beginning had been inclined to his devotion, but durst not declare themselves, now by his being so neer, and by the danger of the rest, being become bold and fearlesse, began to perswade the people through the severall quarters, and to put them into such despair of the present affairs, that the Duke of Mayenne was no lesse troubled with the inconstancy of the Parisians, then with the potent Forces of the King; yet shewing courage answerable to the greatnesse and urgency of the necessity, he dispatched young *Meneville* to the Duke of Lorain (to whom *Jamets*, having been besieged by him a whole year, was at last surrendred) desiring him to come personally to his relief, and had given order that four thousand Germans leavied by his Commission, should make haste to joyn with him, that they might advance together to raise the siege of Paris. But these Succours were too late, too far off, and too uncertain; for the Germans were yet in their own Country, the Duke of Lorain was not well resolved what he should do, the reputation of the League was suddenly fallen in every Province, and the people, the first violence of their passion being over, and they full of infinite fear, thought every where of returning to the King's obedience, who having taken *St Cloud*, had himself begirt the *Fauxbourg* of *St Honore*, and all that side of the *Lovre* to the River; and the King of Navar on the other side besieged from the *Fauxbourg* of *St Marceau*, to that of *St Germain*. The Duke of Mayenne was quartered in the *Fauxbourg* *St Germain*, and defended both *St Marceau*, and *St Victoire*, having caused his posts to be shut up every where with trenches: the *Sieur de la Castre*, with the Germans and a Regiment of Walloons guarded the *Fauxbourg* of *St Honore*, *Montmartre*, and *St Dennis*, which was likewise enclosed and fortified with trenches. In the City of the Dutcheffes of *Nemours*, *Montpensier*, and *Guise*, with the Preachers (though much fallen in courage and reputation) were busie in animating the people, who appeared manifestly sad and dejected. *Monsieur de Rhosne* executing the Office of Camp-Master-General, ran up and down to every place: and the Priests and Friars had taken up Arms, putting themselves generally upon Military duty.

The City of Paris being in so great a straight, and in so much

1589

much terror (a thing very well known to the King, by the frequency of those which ran every hour from the City to his Camp) upon the last day of July, would needs personally view the enemies posts; and by the advice of the Mareschal d'Anmont, and Monsieur de la Noue, who were with him, resolved to refresh his Army the next day, and upon the second of August to assault their Works on every side; being not onely confident of a happy issue, but as it were certain that the Germans would mutiny, and that many in the City would take up Arms on his side; some out of their old constant inclinations, and some by their present services, to cancel their former faults and insurrections. In his return toward St. Cloud, stopping his horse upon a Hill, from whence he saw all the City distinctly, he broke forth into this saying. *Paris, Thou art the Head of the Kingdom, but a Head too great and too capricious; it is necessary, by letting Blood, to cure thee again, and free the whole Kingdom from thy madness: And I hope, that within a few days, here shall be neither Walls nor Houses, but onely the very Footsteps of Paris.* And there was no man who did not already make that Prognostick: And the Duke of Mayenne being resolved not to outlive his ruine, had determined to get on horse-back with the Sieurs de Rhosne, and de la Chastre, and to die honorably by fighting, in that space that lies between the modern Walls of the Town and the Suburbs, which they saw they could not defend.

A saying of the Kings, who having been to discover the enemies Works, said a place from whence he looked upon the whole City of Paris.

But as in the revolutions of this War, strange marvellous Accidents have still hapned; so an unexpected and unthought-of Chance, provided against the exigency of that danger, which neither the prudence, nor valor of the Commanders, were able to prevent. There was in Paris, one *Jaques Clement*, a Frier (of the Order of St. Dominick, which commonly are called *Jacobins*) born of mean parentage in a Village called Sorbone, in the Territory of the City of Sens, a Young-man, about Two and twenty years of age, and always thought by his Fellow-Friers, and many others that knew him, to be a half-witted fellow, and rather a subject of sport, then to be feared, or that any serious matter of consequence was to be hoped for from him. I remember, that (having been often to visit Frier *Stephano Lusignano*, a Cyprian Bishop of Limisso, and Brother of the same Order, when the Court was at Paris) I have seen him, and heard the other Friers make sport with him. This fellow,

The Birth, Age and Condition of *Jaques Clement*, a Frier of the Order of St. Dominick.

1589

The King is
called Henry
of Valois the
Tyrant, and
Persecutor of
the Faith.

fellow, either led by his own fancy, or stirred up by the Sermons which he heard daily made against Henry of Valois, called the Tyrant, and persecutor of the Faith, took a resolution to hazard his life in attempting some means to kill him: Nor did he keep this bold thought of his secret, but cried out among his Fellow-Friers, That it was necessary to take Arms, and cut off the Tyrant: Which words, heard by them with their wonted laughter, he was in derision called Cap. Clement by them all. Many provoked him, by telling the Kings proceedings, and how he was coming against the City of Paris: To whom (while the Army was far off) he would answer, That it was not yet time, and that he would not take so much pains. But when the King began to draw near, he passing from jests to a serious determination, told one of his Fathers that he had a bold inspiration to go and kill Henry of Valois, and desired him to counsel him, if he should execute it. The Father having imparted this business to the Prior, who was one of the chief Counsellors of the League; they both answered, That he should take good heed, it were no temptation of the Devil; that he should fast and pray, begging of God to enlighten his minde what he should do. Within a few days he came again to the Prior, and the other Father, telling them, He had done as they advised him, and that he found in himself more spirit then ever to undertake the enterprize. The Fathers (as many said) having conferred about the business with Madam de Montpensier; or (as they of the League will have it) of their own proper motion, exhorted him to the attempt, affirming to him; That if he lived, he should be made a Cardinal; and if he died, for freeing the City, and killing the Persecutor of the Faith, he should without doubt be canonized for a Saint. The Frier ardently excited by these Exhortations, labored to get a Letter of Credit from the Count de Brienne, who, having been taken at St. Ouy, was still prisoner in the City, assuring him, That he was to speak with the King about a business of infinite importance, and which should redound to his very great contentment. The Count not knowing the Frier, but hearing how the City stood affected, and that many plotted to bring in the King, believing the business to be true which he professed to deal in, made no difficulty of granting him the Letter; with which departing upon the last day of July in the Evening, he went from

from the City into the Kings Camp, where he was presently taken by the Guards; but he saying, he had business and Letters to communicate to the King, and having shewed the superscription, was brought to *Jaques de la Guesle*, the Kings Attorney General, who executed the Office of Auditor of the Camp. The *Sieur de la Guesle* having heard the Frier, and knowing, that the King had returned when it was dark, from discovering the enemies works, told him, It was too late for that night, but the next morning he would bring him to him without fail; and that in the mean time, he might stay for his security in his Lodgings. The Frier accepted the invitation, supped at Table with *la Guesle*, cut his meat with a new Knife, with a black Haft, which he had about him; Eat, drank, and slept without care. And because a Prophecie ran not onely thorow the Army, but thorow the whole Kingdom, That the King should be killed by a Frier; he was asked by many, if perchance he came for that end: To whom he answered without disturbance, That those were not things to be jested withal in that manner. In the morning upon the first day of August, *Monsieur de la Guesle* went to the Kings Lodgings very early; and having told him the Friers desire to speak with him, was commanded presently to bring him in, though he was not yet quite ready, but still without his Buff-coat (which by reason of his Arms he was wont to wear) and having on onely a thin Taffaty Doublet all untrussed. The Frier being brought in, while they both withdrew to a Window on one side of the room, he delivered the Letter from the Count *de Brienne*, which the King read; and having bid him proceed to tell his business, he feigned to feel for another Paper to present it; and while the King stood intently expecting it, he having drawn his wonted Knife out of his sleeve, struck him on the left side of the Navel, and left all the Blade buried in the wound. The King feeling the blow, drew forth the Knife, and in drawing of it, made the wound wider, and presently struck it himself up to the Haft in the Friers Forehead, who at the same time (*La Guesle* running him thorow with his Sword) fell instantly dead; and was no sooner slain, but *Momperat*, *Lognac*, and the *Marquess de Mirepoix*, Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, who were present at the fact, threw him out of the Window, where by the common Soldiers he was torn in pieces, burnt, and his ashes scattered in the River.

1589
Frier *Jaques Clement* having advised with the Prior, and others of his Order, resolves to kill the King, and to that end goes from Paris.

A Question made to the Frier, and his Answer.

Upon the first of August the Frier brought in to the King, gives him a Letter; and then drawing a Knife, thrust it into his Belly.

The King strikes the same Knife in to the Friers Forehead. *Monsieur de la Guesle* runs him thorow; and being cast out of the Window, he is torn in pieces.

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1589

The King was carried to his Bed, and the wound was not thought mortal by the Chirurgions: Wherefore having called his Secretaries, he caused an account of the business to be given to all parts of the Kingdom, exhorting all the Governors not to be dismayed, for that he hoped he should be cured within a few days, and be able to ride: The same he did to the chief Commanders and Principal Officers of his Army; and having presently sent for the King of Navar, committed to him the care of his Army, and the diligent prosecution of the enterprise. But at night he felt wonderful great pain in his wound, and fell into a Fever: Wherefore having called his Chirurgions, and search being made, they found his Intraills were pierced; so that they all agreed his life could not last many hours. The King, who desired to know the truth, being told his danger, caused *Estienne Boulogne* his Chaplain, to be called, and with very great devotion, made Confession of his sins: But before Absolution, his Confessor having told him, that he had heard the Pope had published a *Monitory* against him; and therefore he should satisfy his Conscience in the present extremity: He replied, That it was true; but the *Monitory* it self contained, that in case of death he might be absolved; that he would satisfy the Popes request, and promised faithfully to release the prisoners, though he should believe it would cost him his Life and Crown: With which satisfaction, the Confessor absolved him, and gave him the Sacraments the same night. The King feeling his strength decay, caused his Chamber-doors to be set open, and the Nobility to be brought in; who with abundance of tears and bitter sighs, shewed publick signs of their grief: And turning toward them, the Duke of Espernon, and the Count *d'Anvergne* his Nephew standing by his Bed-side, he said with an audible voice, That it troubled him not to die; but he was grieved to leave the Kingdom in so great disorder, and all good men afflicted and persecuted: That he desired no revenge for his death; for from his first years, he had learned in the School of Christ to forgive injuries, as he had done so many in times past: But turning to the King of Navar, he told him, That if that custom of killing Kings should grow in use, neither should he by consequence be long secure: He exhorted the Nobility to acknowledge the King of Navar, to whom the Kingdom of right belonged; and that they should not stick at the difference

ference in Religion; for both the King of Navar, a man of a sincere noble nature, would in the end return into the bosome of the Church, and the Pope being better informed, would receive him into his favour, to prevent the ruine of the whole Kingdom. At last he imbraced the King of Navar, and said, repeating it twice over: *Brother, I assure you, you will never be King of France, if you turn not Catholick, and if you humble not your self unto the Church*; after which words, having called his Chaplain, he in the presence of them all rehearsed the Creed after the use of the Roman Church, and having crossed himself, began the *Miserere*, but his speech failing him in these words, *Redde mihi letitiam salutis tui*, he yielded up the ghost contentedly, having lived thirty six years, and reigned fifteen, and just two moneths. In his death ended the line of Kings of the House of *Valois*, and the posterity of *Philip the Third*, surnamed the *Hardy*, and by vertue of the *Salique Law*, the Crown devolved to the Family of *Bourbon*, nearest of the Blood, and descended from *Robert Count of Clermont* the second son of *St Louis*.

The death of *Hen. the third*, upon the first of August at night, Anno 1589, he having lived 36 years, & reigned 15, and two moneths: the House of *Valois* ended in him, and the Crown devolved upon the House of *Bourbon*.

The whole Army being wonderfully grieved at so sad, so fatall an accident, and especially the Nobility, who accompanied the death of their Prince with tears, which came from the bottom of their hearts: but on the other side, the *Parisians* shewed profuse signes of joy, and some among the Great ones, who had till then worn mourning for the death of the *Lords of Guise*, did again put on their gallantry and their feathers, and leaving off black, clothed themselves in green; though the *Duke of Mayenne*, with the wonted moderation of his prudence, far from such like demonstrations, minded onely how to excuse himself and divulge with all diligence, that he had no hand in the businesse, and that it was directly and immediately the Hand of Heaven; which neverthelesse was believed by few; for the opinion which was conceived, was not to be rooted out of mens mindes, it being unlikely that the chief men of the *Union*, and particularly the *Prior*, a trusty Counsellour of the *Grand-Council* of it, should not have conferred about the fact with the Princes, and with their privacy exhorted, and with effectuall motives spurred on the simplicity of the *Frier*: but as the factious occurrences of *Civil Warrs* are full of Lyes and fabulous inventions, others added many fictions to the truth, which a certain Writer, per-

1589 haps through ignorance, or heedlesnesse, or else through hatred, hath not shunned to publish in his Writings.

The Vertues
of King Henry
the Third.

But howsoever it were, it is indeed a thing worthy of very great consideration, to think how the singular vertues and eminent qualities of so brave a Prince should come to so cruell, so unfortunate an end; from thence to learn this excellent lesson, That the skilfulness of the Pilot avails but little, if the winde of divine favour, which with eternall Providence governs mortall affairs, help not to bring our actions into their desired port: For in *Henry the Third* were all amiable qualities, which, in the beginning of his years, were exceedingly revered and admired; singular prudence, royall magnanimity, inexhausted magnificence, most profound piety, most ardent zeal in Religion, perpetual love to the good, implacable hatred to the bad, infinite desire of doing good to all, popular eloquence, pleasantnesse becoming a Prince, generous courage, valour, and wonderfull dexterity in arms; for which vertues, during the reign of his Brother, he was more admired and esteemed then the King himself. He was a Generall before he was a Souldier, and a great States-man before he came to years of maturity; he made war with power, deluded the experience of the most famous Commanders, won bloody Battels, took in Fortresses, that were held impregnable, gained the hearts of people far remote, and was renowned and glorious in the mouths of all men: yet, when being come to the Crown, he sought out subtil inventions to free himself from the yoke and servitude of the Factions, both parties conceived such a hatred against him; that his Religion was counted hypocrisie; his Prudence, a wicked craftinesse; his Policy, meannesse of spirit; his Liberality, licentious and unbridled prodigality; his affability, was contemned; his gravity, hated; his name, detested; his private conversations, imputed to enormous vices; and his death, being extremely rejoyced at by factious men and the common people, was rashly judged to be the stroke of Divine Justice.

After the King's death, the Army remained that day as it were astonished and stupified; nor were the Parisians in lesse wonder and amazement, when by an unexpected accident they saw themselves left quiet that day, wherein with terror, they looked for nothing, but their utter desolation. But the King of Navar being gone presently to his lodging at St Cloud,

Cloud, though he had determined in his minde to assume the arms and title of King of France, was doubtfull, solicitous, and very uncertain what might come of it; for the Hugonots that depended on him, were few, and weak, and if he should seem to acknowledge the scepter from them, he should without question alienate the stronger, and more numerous party. In the Catholicks he could have but little confidence, differing from them in Religion, not having gained them by the merit of former benefits, having ever been far from them, nay their Enemy, and not so much as known by sight unto most part of them, until that time. As for the forreign Forces, he knew not what they would resolve to do with themselves, being under Commanders of small credit and authority, without Commissions from their Princes, and for want of money, rather in a condition to mutiny and disband, then to yield obedience to him, that had not means to satisfie them: for the King of Navar, newly come out of that narrow corner, where he had been shut up so many years, was so far from being able to pay them, that he had not wherewithall to maintain himself; and in the dead King's Treasurie was found very small store of money, the gulf of War having swallowed up both the Revenues which were gotten in, and those summs which his friends had lent him in times of great need. To this was added the disgusts which many chief men had against him: the Duke of Montpensier, though of the same Family, yet in respect of Religion, whereof he was most observant, had very little correspondence with him, not being able to endure, and counting it a shame to the whole Family, to see him encompassed with Hugonot Ministers and Preachers. The Count *d'Anvergne*, Bastard of France, a young man, of fierce nature, for slight occasions, as quartering of souldiers, and dividing of spoil, was scarce wont to salute him; Monsieur *de Vitry*, Monsieur *de Villiers*, and many others, who in times past had received benefits from the House of Guise, & had lately served the deceased King, because their courage would not suffer them to be called and accounted Rebels, now that respect, and the bond of obedience being loosened by his death, could in no wise bend their mindes to follow an enemy to the House of Lorain; and which imported most of all, the Duke of Espernon, who, as the custom is, hated and persecuted all those who he thought might remove him from the degree he held

1589

The King of Navar having many Lords in the Camp ill-affected to him in respect of Religion, and other private causes, is in great perplexity.

1589
Causes of hatred between
the King of
Navar and the
Duke of Espernon.

held, or get before him in his Masters favour, had broken almost openly with him in the King's life time: for the King of Navar having taking notice that the Duke of Espernon bore him ill will, and aimed to put him in disgrace with the King, as a man of an open courage, and free speech, had complained manifestly of him, saying, That if he thought to use him as he had done the Lords of Guise, he would not endure it: and Espernon on the other side, had said more then once, that the King of Navar was wont to make warr not in Royall Camps, and with military discipline, but like a Freebooter, or a Plunderer; and that all outrages and insolencies were committed by the Hugonots; and at the taking Estampes, having found a souldier of the King of Navar's own Troop of Dragoons, who to steal the *Pix* out of a Church, had thrown the Sacrament upon the ground, he killed him presently, with his own hand; so that between them there was no very good intelligence. For all these reasons the King of Navar was surrounded with straits and difficulties, not being assured what might succeed upon his Declaration; and so much the rather, because he knew many were secretly come from Paris into the Camp, to work upon the mindes of such as were discontented, and that the Duke of Mayenne would give to all very large conditions.

But if the King was tormented with these doubts, and involved in these cares, the mindes of particular men were no lesse troubled and perplexed; for the Hugonots, doubted that the King would make more account of attaining to the Crown, then of persevering in their Religion, and therefore feared he would easily reconcile himself to the Church: and the Catholicks seeing him environed by *du Plessis Mornay*, *des Amours* a Minister, and the *Sieur de la Nove*, and many others who were firm Calvinists, and calling to minde past experiences, believed he would not forsake that Religion, and those men with whom he had lived long, and sustained the difficulties of his adverse fortune; and many of each Religion were drawn and byassed by diverse severall interests.

The affairs of the Army being so uncertain and distracted, the Catholicks, who were the greater part, gathered themselves together the night before the third of August, to consult what resolution they should take. Here their opinions were different; for many thought best to follow and uphold the Crown

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by all means in the King of Navar, that they might not wrong the justice of his Cause, and violate the Salique Laws, but conserve the Kingdom in the lawful Succession: They said that by doing otherwise, it was necessary either to divide the Kingdom among so many Petty-Kings, as there were armed Princes and Pretenders; or else submit themselves to the rule and arbitrement of strangers: That this was the true way to foment discord, and make the Civil Wars perpetual, to the destruction of the publick, and of every particular man, and to expose their common Country to new dangers, fatal accidents, and most cruel slaughters: That the hand of God was plainly seen; which favoring the justice of his Cause, had in an opportune conjuncture armed him with Forces, reconciled him with his good Subjects, and put him miraculously in a condition to be able to attain to, and defend his Crown: That it was a pious thing to follow the Motives and Disposals of Heaven, and to leave the care of future matters to Divine Providence: That by the Laws of God, Princes were to be born without, and not to be despoiled of their Rights and Inheritance for any particular defect: That the King of Navar was an ingenuous Prince, full of clemency, modesty, and sincerity: That in him there was no cause to fear a violent or tyrannical power, but to hope for a good and lawful Government; and liberty of Life and Conscience, which he till then had granted to every one: That finally, it was a thing unworthy of the French Name and Nobility, to adhere to Rebels, who had impiously imbrued their hands in the bowels of their Prince, and with manifest wrong and violence endeavored to deprive and despoil the Blood Royal of the lawful Succession of the Crown: But on the contrary, That it was an action worthy the name of *Cavaliers*, which they professed, to vindicate his just blood, unjustly shed by his Subjects, and to maintain the true and lawful Heirs of the Crown in the possession of the Kingdom. The Authors of this opinion were the *Sieur de Rambouillet*, the *Baron de Guiry*, and especially the *Duke of Longueville*. But many others argued on the contrary side, That they ought to observe Divine, before Humane Laws; and that the health of the Soul was always to precede transitory worldly things; that the respect of Religion in the succession of Kings was ancient: For, that depends upon the Law of Nature, and this

The Catholics assemble themselves to consult about the future King.

1589

this upon the Particular Constitutions and Positive Rights of Nations : That the example of England was very near and remarkable, where the Princes alteration of Religion, had caused the destruction of the Catholicks, and the alienation of the whole Kingdom from the Apostolick See : That the miseries of Wars, and the calamities they bring along with them, might be ended in a short time ; but the danger of losing their Faith and Souls, extended it self to their Children, and Grand-children, and to their whole posterity for ever, which would receive an eternal loss, and prejudice, by their present connivence : That it was true, Princes were to be born withal, though wicked, and of a different Religion ; but that was meant by such as were already placed and established in the Throne, not of such as were to be received and established anew : That the King of Navar had by many means, with a thousand intreaties, and redoubled reasons, been perswaded by the States-General, and by the earnest desire of the late King, to change his Religion, and yet could never be drawn from Calvinism : And if he would not leave it in his extreame necessity, it was not to be hoped, that he would do it in the prosperity of fortune ; That what was said of his nature and qualities, were very true ; but that he was so exceedingly affected to his Religion, that he would think he did well in forcing mens consciences : And though he had not a tyrannical minde, yet one of a different nature might perchance succeed him : That at that present it was fit to foresee the future, and not to alienate a most Christian Kingdom from its obedience to the Pope, and from the Fellowship of the Church of God : This Argument was held by Monsieur d'O, the Sieur de Maury his Brother, Monsieur d'Entragnos, Dompierre the Field-Marshal, and the greater number of the Assembly.

Between these two contrary opinions arose a third, as it were in the middle of the balance, held by the Marechal de Biron, the Duke of Luxembourg, the Duke of Espemon, and the wisest among them, That the King of Navar should be declared King of France, and that they should serve and uphold him in that quality ; but upon assurance, that he would change his Religion, and embrace and maintain the Roman Catholick Faith : And this motion was drawn from the Will and Prudence of their dead King, who at his death had declared him lawful Successor ; but had also at the same time admonished

The Catholicks resolve to declare the King of Navar, King of France, upon assurance, that he would change his Religion.

monished him, that he should never be King in peace, if he embraced not the Roman Religion.

1589

This resolution was in a manner generally followed, and charge was given to those that had proposed it to let the King understand, with all modesty, what they had determined. The Duke of Luxembourg accompanied with the rest, carried the Message, and told him, that the Princes, Lords, and Officers of the Crown, together with the Catholick Nobility that was in the Army, which were the greatest and best part of the Kingdom, were ready to acknowledge him King of France, to serve and maintain him against every one, since God and Nature had called him to the Crown by a lawful Succession: But withal they besought him, that for the general contentment and reasonable satisfaction of all his Subjects, for the good, peace and tranquillity of his Kingdom; for the honor of his own Person, and for that which became the Title of a most Christian King, he would be pleased to turn to the Catholick Religion, and to come again into the bosome of the holy Church, to take away the pretences of his enemies, and the scruples of conscience of his servants, to the end, that he might be served, obeyed and honored with the universal applause of them all: That His Majesty would not think this their proposition, and most humble supplication, strange; for it would appear much more strange to their consciences, and to the whole Christian World, That one should be established K. of France, who was no Catholick, as all his glorious Predecessors had been, from *Clouis* the first King that received Baptism.

The Duke of Luxembourg delivers the resolution of the Catholick Lords, in the Camp, to the King of Navar.

The King, though he was much troubled and perplexed in minde, yet either preferring his Religion before the Crown, or knowing, that by pleasing his new Catholick Subjects, he should displease the Hugonots his old adherents, took also the middle way, and answered, That he returned thanks with a most sincere French heart to the Nobility, for their acknowledgment of his Right: That he knew them to be the principal member of the Crown, the foundation of the Kingdom in time of War, and the establishment of his Scepter: That he embraced them all with tenderness of heart, being ready to requite their duty and fidelity, both in publick and in particular: But desired they would not think it strange, if he did not so presently satisfy their first requests, because the quality of the thing demanded, required a convenient time of advice, and

The King thanks the Catholicks, and his answer about changing his Religion.

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1589 the ripeness of a grounded resolution: That he set a greater value upon his Soul and Conscience, then upon all earthly greatness: That he had been brought up and instructed in that Religion, which yet he held to be the true one; but nevertheless, he would not therefore be stubborn and obstinate: That he was ready to submit himself, either to a General, or National Council, and to the Instructions, which without paliating the Truth, should be given him by learned conscientious persons. But that these were Motives which proceeded from God, effects of the maturity of time, and which ought to be labored for in peace and tranquillity, and not amidst the noise of Arms and War, and with a Dagger at a Mans Throat: That he had a firm resolution to endeavor the satisfaction of his Subjects, and the contentment of his Kingdom; but that conjuncture was not proper to put his good desires in effect, lest his action and declaration should seem feigned and counterfeited, and extorted by force, or else perswaded by worldly interests: Wherefore he intreated them to stay till a fit opportunity; and if in the mean time they desired any condition or security for the maintenance of the Catholick Religion in the same condition it was at that present, he was ready to give them all the satisfaction they could wish for.

The Sieur de la Noue a Hugonot, tells the King, that he must never think to be King of France, if he turn not Catholick.

With this Answer, the Deputies returned to the rest of the Catholicks assembled in the *Hofel de Gondi*; and the King with his most intimate friends retired likewise to consult. The Sieur de la Noue, a man of great experience in worldly affairs, though he were a Hugonot, told the King freely, That he must never think to be King of France, if he turned not Catholick; but that he should endeavor to do it with his reputation, and without doing injury to those who had long served and upheld him. On the other side, *du Plessis Mornay*, and the Ministers stood for Liberty of Conscience, and the Cause of God, against earthly greatness; and, magnifying the Forces of their party, told him, That they who had so many years defended and preserved him, would also be sufficient to establish him in the Kingdom. The King knew that these were swayed by their own interests, and, joyning in opinion with Monsieur de la Noue, resolved within himself to turn Catholick; but as a generous and magnanimous Prince, would not seem to do it out of ambition, or constraint; and he believed the Proposition he had made to the Catholicks to be very reasonable;

sonable; so that he was determined to continue that resolution, adding onely the prefixed limits and circumstances of time.

God seemed miraculously to inspire the same thought into the Catholick party; for though many of them, and particularly some Prelates that were in the Camp, did oppose it; yet the greater part kindled with a just indignation for their King's death, could not hear of any agreement or accommodation with the League: wherefore, it was at last concluded, that the King, taking a prefixed time for his conversion, should secure the state of the Catholick Religion, and that upon those terms they would receive and follow him.

The Deputies having carryed this resolution, and treated along time with the King and his Councillors, at last a Writing was mutually agreed on between both parties, whereby the Catholick Princes, Lords, Officers of the Crown, Nobility and Souldiers on the one side, acknowledged *Henry of Bourbon* to be their lawfull Prince, and took an Oath of fidelity to him as King of France, promising him due obedience, and to serve and uphold him against every one: And on the other side, He swore, and promised, upon the word of a King, to make himself be instructed within six months, in the Catholick Religion, by an Assembly of conspicuous persons; and if need were, to call a Nationall Council, to the Decrees whereof he would humbly submit himself; and in the meantime promised to maintain the same Roman-Catholick-Apostolick Religion inviolate, not to innovate or change any thing in it, of what kind soever, but to protect, defend, and secure it with all his power; to dispose of Ecclesiasticall Benefices and Revenues (in the manner observed by the Kings his Predecessors) to fit, and sufficient persons, of the same Religion; to cause the use of it, and the ceremonies thereof to be publick and principall in all places under his jurisdiction, as he had established in the Agreement made with the late King, in the moneth of April last past; that he would put no Officers, nor Governors, but such as were Catholicks in those Towns which were under his obedience, nor in those which for the time to come should submit themselves unto him, or should be taken; except onely those places which had been already granted to the Hugonots; that he would admit none

The Catholicks of the Camp swear fidelity to the King by a writing signed and established, and the King swears to the maintenance of the Catholick Religion by the same writing.

1589

to any Dignities, Offices of the Crown, or Magistracies whatsoever, but such persons as publicly professed the Catholick Religion; that he would conserve and maintain the Princes, Peers of France, Ministers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, Cities, and Corporations, and the three States of France in their wonted Beings, Priviledges, Immunities, Prerogatives, Offices, Places, and Magistracies, without any prejudice or innovation whatsoever; that he would endeavour to take just and fitting revenge for that parricide committed upon the person of King Henry the Third, by severe exemplary punishment, and the destruction and extirpation of disobedience and rebellion: finally, that he permitted his Catholick Subjects to send an Ambassadour to the Pope, to inform him of the reasons why they had acknowledged him, and sworn fidelity unto him, and to sue for, and obtain those things of the Apostolick See, which they should think convenient for the universal good of the Kingdom.

Upon the fourth day of August this Writing was signed by the King, on the one part, and on the other by most of those that were present in the Camp; and was afterward authorized and registered in the Parliament of Tours, according to the form which was wont to be observed by those Courts in the times of former Kings. Thus the necessity of present affairs, and the fresh passion for the King's death, settled this accommodation, which at another time would certainly not have been composed.

The Duke of
Espernon
standing upon
precedency,
will not sign
the Writing,
but departs
from Court.

Yet was not this Agreement able to retain every body; for the Duke of Espernon, who under colour of contending for precedency with the Mareschals of *Biron*, and *Dumont*, had not signed the Writing, because they, as Mareschals, being in the Camp, pretended to signe first, and he as Duke and Peer of France pretended the same, doubting he should be ill used by the King, and that in his present wants, he would either by intreaties, or force, wring some money from him, (whereof he was known to have very great store) alledging that he had obtained leave from the late King to return to his Governments, departing the next day from the Army with his Troops, and with many who following the example, took that occasion to return to their own houses; and having made his journey thorow Tourain, he passed by Loches, and came at last to Angoulesme. *Jehan* Sieur de Villiers, who had the Govern-

Government of Poissy, a man very zealous in the Catholick Religion, and who in his younger years had been exalted by the Lords of Guise, those obligations ceasing which he had to the late King, gave up his Government, with the Artillery and Ammunition of the Army to *Filebert Sieur de la Guiche*, who by order from the King received it, and with two hundred Horse, and many Gentlemen that followed him, retired into his own Country; and the same did many others severally. *Monsieur de Vitry*, with a bolder resolution (which nevertheless was also followed by many) went over to the League without any demur, alledging that he saw no certainty at all in the Kings promises, and that he would not bear arms against the Catholick Religion in favour of the Hugonots: and the common souldiers, some out of impatience, some for want of money, some for fear of future sufferings, began of themselves to disband scatteringly in such a manner, that by the seventh of August the Army was diminished above half in number, and decreased still daily. The same was feared of the Swisses; but the *Mareschal de Biron*, who now followed his old inclination more then ever, did by reasons and intreaties induce them to promise that they would follow the King for the space of two moneths, till they should receive new Commissions from their *Cantons*; towards which, reasons and intreaties prevailed not so much, as a good sum of money, which the King borrowed of his friends and divided secretly among their Commanders: so that without demanding further pay, but living upon free-quarter, they followed the King's Name and Colours very quietly. Nor were the Hugonots more firm, or better satisfied then the rest; for having conceived hopes that the King, who had been bred up, nourished, defended and maintained by them, would, now he had attained the Crown, exalt their Religion, put Offices and Dignities into the hands of his ancient Confidants, and trust more in those Forces which had made him victorious among a thousand dangers, then in the doubtfull conditionall promises of the Catholicks; now they saw the contrary, accused him of ingratitude: and had it not been that they hoped he did but temporize till he were settled in his Kingdom, and that then he would do quite contrary to what he had promised (which belief was by him cunningly fomented in his conferences with them) they would without doubt have utterly forsaken him; and

Many Lords, & a great part of the souldiers, following the Duke of Espernons example, leave the Camp, so that by the seventh of August the Army is decreased to half the number.

1589

and yet for all that opinion, very few followed him, and those unwillingly enough; for many, because they thought not themselves secure, others out of anger and discontent disbanded, and returned in great abundance to the Cities of their party.

But the King having accommodated his minde, and fitted it to the present necessity, having assumed the Name and Arms of King of France, and not being able to make new expences, made use of the late King's household-stuff, the same purple serving to mourn for his Predecessor, which he till then had used for the death of his Mother; and knowing that mens mindes were yet not well settled under his obedience, and that his own weaknesse was despised of many, he by the vivacity of his wit, by the readinesse of his answers, and by the familiarity of his conversation, behaving himself rather as a Companion, then as a Prince, and with large promises making up the wants of his present condition, endeavoured to satisfie all, and to win the love of every one, seeming to acknowledge the Kingdom, and the reputation of his actions sometimes to this man, sometimes to that man, severally, and professing to be ready earnestly to embrace those occasions of requitall which should represent themselves: To the Hugonots he seemed to lay open, and trust his most intimate thoughts, and to acknowledge the foundation of his hopes to be in them. To the Catholicks he did very great honours, speaking with much reverence of the Pope, and the Apostolick See; alwayes honouring the Ecclesiasticall Order, and shewing himself inclined to the Roman Religion, gave signes of a sudden undoubted conversion. To the common-people, he shewed himself compassionate of their burthens, and of the calamities of War; and to the meanest of them, excused the necessity of taking free-quarter upon them for his Army, laying all the fault upon his Enemies. To the Gentry with words and gestures full of respect, he gave the glory of true French-men, of preservers of their Country, and restorers of the Royall Family, alluring every one by these arts to follow him; eating in publick, setting open his most private lodgings to every one, not concealing the necessity of his private condition, and proposing those things in a jesting way, which could not so well be discovered in serious Counsels.

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But the Army being already reduced to so small a number, that not onely the siege of Paris could not be continued, but that it was needful to provide speedily against the imminent danger which was so near (for the League since the Kings death, increased every moment in strength and reputation :) He being in private with the Mareschals of Biron and Aumont, the *Sieur de la Noue*, and the Duke of Montpensier, (who having quieted his conscience by the Kings promise, had for the interests of their common Family, firmly resolved to follow him), consulted a long time what course would be least prejudicial to take in that present condition. And because he had no means to keep the whole Army together, which though he had been able to do, would within a few days have been inferior to the Forces of the League; they determined, that the King, with the Duke of Montpensier, and the Mareschal de Biron, should retire into the Province of Normandy; that the Mareschal d' *Aumont* should go into Champagne, and the Duke of Longueville with Monsieur *de la Noue*, into Picardy, to keep those Provinces faithful, and to reunite themselves when time and occasion should require.

The King of Navar raises the siege from Paris, and divides his Forces into convenient places.

But the King knowing the vast structure of the League, and how difficult the burden of Civil War is to be born, desired to try the hope of an agreement with the Duke of Mayenne, not being willing in any manner to be faulty to himself, or to neglect any possible means of settling himself in the Crown; wherefore many men being come into the Camp for several interests, he made use of the occasion; and hearing that one *Bigot*, a near servant to Monsieur *de Villeroy* was there, he caused him to be brought unto him by the *Sieur de Chastillon*, and bad him to let his Master know, that he desired infinitely to speak with him, and that if he would chuse the place of interview, he should have a Safe-conduct sent him, and all necessary security.

The *Sieur de Villeroy* had taken part with the League, not onely out of anger, because he was so suddenly dismissed from Court, but because the Government of Lyons after the death of Monsieur *de Mandelot*, was, contrary to the promises the King had made him, given first to the Duke of Nemours, and then to Monsieur *de la Guiche*, putting by *Alincourt* his son, who upon that hope had married the Daughter of *Mandelot*: To which, causes of discontent he added, for a more potent excuse,

1589

The King desires to speak with *Villeroy*, who was gone over to the League: The Duke of Mayenne will not consent to it: They treat by a third person, but nothing is concluded.

cuse, that all his Land lying within the Territories of Paris, and his Court-Pension being taken from him, he knew not how to maintain himself, if he joyned not with that party, wherein he might enjoy the Revenue of his Estate. But how-ever it were, *Bigot* having delivered the Kings Message, he not being willing to do any thing without the Duke of Mayennes leave, told him what Message he had received from the King: But the Duke would not let *Villeroy* go to the meeting, alledging, that it could not be done so secretly, but it would be generally known, and by consequence those of his party would suspect something, and fall into a jealousy: That affairs were in a very hopeful condition, and that it was not good to disturb them inconsiderately, being they might easily be crossed; and therefore onely gave way, that he might receive a Gentleman in his house at Paris, and treat with him, if the King were pleased to send one for that purpose. With this Answer *Bigot* returned to the Camp; and the King not scorning any kinde of means to advance his fortune, and to let the Catholicks know that he desired Peace, sent presently the *Sieur de la Mar-filliere* his Cabinet-Secretary.

He not having been able to obtain leave to speak personally with the Duke of Mayenne, told the *Sieur de Villeroy*, that the King had sent him expressly, to assure the Duke of his good inclination to consent to Peace, and to represent unto him, how necessary it was for the general good: That he did very much esteem the Dukes person, and desired to make him his friend, and to have him near him in an honorable degree of favor suitable to his condition: That the Duke ought now to lay aside his vain hopes of seeing him totally abandoned and forsaken: For all the Princes, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, and others, that were both in, and out of the Army, had sworn Allegiance to him, and promised him their assistance, he having satisfied them in what concerned Religion, by a reciprocal promise made in writing, the copy whereof he left with the *Sieur de Villeroy*, to shew unto the Duke: That not onely the Hugonots, but even the Catholicks of the Army themselves, were much displeased with the Duke for the Kings death, and had solemnly sworn to prosecute their revenge, till they were fully satisfied: That he had promised the same, and was interessed in it; so that if so universal a good and benefit, as the Peace of the Kingdom did not make him

him yield, and also mollifie the hearts of those that were offended, he should not be able to do it afterwards, under colour of any other excuse; and that therefore the Duke should think upon it, and embrace this occasion of regaining the affection of so many Catholicks, and so much Nobility, who the respect of Peace being taken away, would for ever be his bitter irreconcilable enemies: Finally, That he should propound some Conditions; for the King was extreemly disposed to satisfy him in whatsoever was possible. Which things being told the Duke by Monsieur de Villeroy, he had commission to answer, That the Duke had no private enmity with the King, and for his own part honored, and held him in the highest veneration; but that Religion and Conscience would not suffer him to enter into that Treaty with him: That if his late Brothers had in the Kings life-time taken Arms to hinder the Crown from falling to a Prince of a different Religion, as by the Duke of Alancous death, they doubted that it might; now that the necessity was more urgent, and the danger already present, he could not lay down those Arms that were taken up, without doing injury to the memory of his Brothers, to his own conscience, and to the solemn oath he had taken: That he had engaged his faith, and given his life to the Publick Cause, when he had accepted the Office of Lieutenant-General of the State; and that having declared and acknowledged the Cardinal of Bourbon King, to whom the Kingdom had been judged to belong, he could not break his faith to him, nor resolve of any thing till the said Cardinal were at liberty, and all those of his party assembled together: That if the Kings death had made him so many enemies, he hoped God would defend his innocence; but his contentment was so great to see the death of his Brothers revenged, that he was very willing to undergo all the hatred he had gotten by it: That he ought not, nor could not give counsel to that King against whom he had taken up Arms: But he might easily know, that the liberty of the Cardinal of Bourbon, and his conversion, were necessary to precede the Treaty. With these general terms *la Mafilliere* returned to the King, at the time when because he was able to stay no longer, he raised his Camp from St. Cloud, and the Towns adjacent.

The resolutions after the Kings death had been no less doubtful and perplexed in Paris, then they had been in the

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Kings

1589
Madam de
Montpensier,
and others,
exhort the
Duke of May-
enne to make
himself be de-
clared King
of France.

Kings Camp: For the Duke of Mayennes friends and kindred, especially Madam de Montpensier, exhorted and counselled him, to make himself be elected and declared King of France, by the party which he commanded; urging to him, that he ought not to omit that so great, so opportune occasion of transferring the Crown into his Family, which had formerly been possessed by his Ancestors, he being already acknowledged the Head, and obeyed by the principal Cities of the Kingdom, by so great a number of the Nobility, and by the greater part of the Clergy: They said, the Controversie was between him, already acknowledged and obeyed by those of his party, and a Prince of a different Religion, whose Inheritance might with reason be called in question, both because of the distance of degrees, and of his being an enemy to the Church; for which considerations he would never be sincerely loved, nor firmly obeyed, by those very Catholicks that seemed to adhere unto his party: That indeed now at first they had out of anger for the Kings death, been perswaded to follow him; but that Catholicks and Hugonots, being incompatible among themselves, it would not be long before the memory of former hatreds would be renewed, by which their blood being again set on fire, they would quickly be separated and divided by the interests of Conscience, and their own natural enmities: That it was necessary to provide a manly, warlike, and Catholick King, to whom they might securely run, as from time to time they should grow discontented, finding their error, and leaving that party: That the Cardinal of Bourbon, decrepid with old age, and kept in prison, was in neither of those conditions fit for that business: That the Duke would be accused of want of courage, if he should be faulty to himself in so fair an occasion: For they are poor spirited men, that count excess of Moderation a vertue; whereas men of a noble minde, love and favor, bold and generous designs: That there was both honor and profit in it, nay, also possibility and conveniency; and that the Duke could neither be excused to himself, nor to his posterity, if he neglected that good which God so miraculously presented to him: They urged, that to declare the Cardinal of Bourbon King, was the true way to establish the King of Navar in the possession of the Crown; for so they confessed the Kingdom to belong to the House of Bourbon; and the Cardinal dying, who was already in the

last

last minutes of his life, the lawfull Succession could not afterward be denyed to his Nephew; and though the pretence of Religion remained, that was an objection which he would be able to take away at his pleasure, by turning Catholick, and hearing one Masse; and though he should persevere in his Religion, yet the other Princes of that House, who were Catholicks would succeed, and suffer no opposition; that it was best to oppose the very first point, and assume unto himself that which he inconsiderately went about to confer upon another: that now the opportunity was ready and easie, which perchance within a few dayes would not be so; for the King of Navar had promised to turn Catholick within six moneths, and in the mean time it was possible his Nephew the Duke of Guise might be set at liberty, who being heir of the Family, might perchance oppose his Greatness, his own interests having more power with him, then the respects which was due to his Uncle's age and many labours: that it was needfull to undertake boldly, and suddenly, before the King of Spain, the Pope, the Duke of Loraine, and Duke of Savoy had time to think, and lay their plots to turn the course of affairs their own way; for he being once elected and declared, they would be necessitated rather to maintain him, then take part with the King of Navar, a Heretick, and an enemy to Spain for Navar, to the Pope for Religion, to the Duke of Loraine for the Duke of Bouillon's lands possessed by him, and to the Duke of Savoy for the protection of Geneva, and for the Marquisat of Saluzzo; finally, they argued, that since the toyle and dangers were certain, and that he was to bear the weight of them, it was much better to undergo labour and hazard for his own interests and greatness, then to promote the exaltation of another, and to uphold a frail, weak, imprisoned, unknown Prince, from whom he was not certain to obtain any thing.

This specious counsel favoured by self-love, was opposed by *Villeroy* and president *Jannin*, with whom the Duke consulted about all things; not that they did alledge against it either Right or Justice (things of very small consideration when the debate is about a Kingdom) but onely urging the impossibility: That the Parisians, the people, and Cities of his party were terrified with the late businesses, having seen the Duke so few dayes before brought to the last extre-

The Duke of Mayenne dissuaded by *Villeroy* and others, doth not embrace the counsel of making himself to be elected King of

1589

mities, and looking desperately with them for his own destruction: That they had lost much of the opinion they had, and were not now so ardent as they were at first in the cause of the *Union*. That they desired to have a Prince powerfull in men and money, that might be able to defend them, and secure them from the King of Navar and his party; and therefore they had turned their eyes, some upon the Duke of Savoy, some upon the Duke of Lorain, many upon the King of Spain himself; nor did any thing else withhold them but the right and justice of the Cardinal of Bourbon, esteemed the lawfull Successor (for these considerations move, and are able to do much more among the common people then in the mindes of the great Ones); which respect being taken away, there was not like to be any who would not rather chuse to obey a King of Spain, held so potent a Monarch, and that had so many wayes to gratifie and reward his Subjects, then a petty Duke of Mayenne, who had no other strength then what the *Union* of those Forces afforded, who had elected him their Head; with what force, with what moneys, with what Armies would he maintain the Crown against the King of Navar, and the greatest part of the Nobility united with him, with those of the King of Spain, of the Pope, of Savoy, or of the Duke of Lorain? The House of Bourbon being excluded, there was none of them but pretended better right to the Crown then he; for the *Infanta* of Spain was Daughter to a Sister of the deceased King, the Duke of Savoy Son to one of his Aunts, the Duke of Lorain was head of the Family, and had Sons by another Daughter of France; and the Pope, if he were moved by zeal to Religion, ought to be more pleased, by how much a more powerfull Prince it had to defend it; and if he were moved by interests, he might hope for much more from any of those other Princes, then from the weaknesse of the Duke of Mayenne; That an enterprise was not to be undertaken, which was neither generous, favourable, nor magnanimous, but rash, precipitate, and dishonourable, which, together with the losse of his fortune, would cost him also his life.

This counsel prevailed with the Duke of Mayenne, as well for these considerations, as for two other reasons; one that *Don Bernardino de Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassadour did in a manner openly contradict his election; wherefore by

reason

reason of the Authority and Forces of the Catholick King, he thought it would be impossible to effect that which he should attempt against his will: the other, that if it should be discovered that he suffered himself to be swayed by his own interests, and not by the respects of Religion, and the generall good, he feared he should be forsaken by the Pope, and all the Confederates, and particularly by the Parisians: For which reasons he chose rather to expect the maturity of time, and in the interim to cause the Cardinal of Bourbon to be declared King, towards whom he saw the common inclination bent, and leaving the Name and Arms of King to him that was old, weak, and which imported most, a prisoner; to keep the force and authority of Government in his own hand, being certain, that by how much the more favourably he should be nominated and elected by the League, by so much the more closely and warily would he be kept and guarded by the King of Navar, and by consequence, so much the longer would the supreme authority remain in him; in which time, either by his death, or some other occasion, and perhaps by the help of Victory, more easie and expedite opportunities might offer themselves; hope in the mean time serving to spur on the other pretenders, whose assistance would either be quite taken away, or very much cooled, if they should see that place possessed at the very first, which they were plotting to procure for themselves.

Thus the Duke preventing the peoples desire, and the Council of the Union, was the first that declared the Cardinal of Bourbon King of France, with the Name of *Charles the Tenth*, and so caused him to be declared in the Parliament, in the Councell of the Union, and to be proclaimed in the streets of Paris, retaining to himself the name and authority of Lieutenant-General through the whole Kingdom. This Declaration was pleasing and plausible to the people, who were thereby well settled and confirmed to continue the War, as they said, for the liberty of their King, and to root out the dangerous seed of Heresie; it was well approved of by the Spaniards, who desired to gain time to dispose of their affairs; but above all, it was a great satisfaction to the Pope, who in the same point saw both the lawfull Succession safe, and the preservation of Religion.

The Cardinal of Bourbon being declared the lawfull King by

The Cardinal of Bourbon, who was prisoner at Chignon, is declared and confirmed King of France by the League, and called *Charles the X.*

1589

by the Councel of the *Union*, the Duke of Mayenne by a lofty Edict, full of high words, exhorted every one to acknowledge that King which God had given unto the Kingdom, to yield him due obedience, and to endeavour with all their might to free him from that imprisonment in which he was detained by his Enemies; he commanded that every one should tye himself by oath, before the Officers of his Province, to live and die in the Catholick Religion, and to defend, protect, and confirm it; and pardoned all those who within the term of fifteen days should separate themselves from commerce with the Hugonots, and retire into those places where the Catholick *Union* commanded: Which Edict, as soon as it was registered and published in the Parliament, he dispatched the *Commendatory de Din* to Rome again (who had brought the *Monitory* against the late King) to inform the Pope of the state of Affairs, giving him notice, that King *Charles the Tenth* was declared, and intreating him to assist the cause of Religion, not onely by his approbation, but also by supplies of men and money. Into Spain he only dispatched a great many several Expresses, with particular news of the whole businesse, deferring to send any persons of quality, till he had conferred with *Don Juan de Morrea*, who having been sent by King *Philip* before the King's death, he had notice was at that time in Lorain: For the Catholick King, though he had not been willing openly to declare himself enemy to King *Henry the Third*, to whom he in appearance bore respect, for many reasons; yet, as from the beginning he had laid the foundation of the League, and helped and strengthened the Duke of Guise, with great sums of money; so after his death, he had caused *Mendoza* his Ambassadour to stay in Paris, and there under colour of favouring Religion, cunningly to be present at all busineses, who by his arts and money had so won the hearts of the Parisians, that he had as much power amongst them, as the Princes of the House of Lorain; and though the Catholick King did never send any supplies of armed men openly to the League while the King lived, yet he permitted that Count *Jago de Collalto* (who had raised a *Tertia* of German Infantry for his service, and which was paid by him) should under shew of friendship to the Duke of Mayenne, go to serve him; and had by his authority, and partly with moneys, assisted the levies of Swisses and

and Germans, which the Duke of Brunswick, Count Charles of Mansfelt, and the Sieur de Bassompierre, had made in favor of the League. But now the Kings death had taken away that scruple, and that so honorable a pretence of assisting the Catholics against an Heretick excommunicated King, presented itself; the Duke of Mayenne hoped he would turn all his Forces to assist the League, and therefore he staid to hear his minde more particularly from the mouth of Don Juan de Morrea, and then he meant to send some person of authority, to establish the agreement of common affairs.

But the King having heard of the Declaration which had been made at Paris, and received in other places of the League, concerning the Cardinal his Uncle, the first thing that came into his minde, was (just as the Duke of Mayenne had imagined) to dispatch his Confident *du Plessis-Mornay* to Chinon, where the Cardinal was, and give order, That he should be removed to Fontenay, and there kept more carefully with stricter Guards, thinking that place more secure, because it was near Rochelle, and environed on all sides with the Hugonot Forces. The second thing was to sollicite the Catholics who had acknowledged him, to send the Embassie already resolved on to Rome, to begin to enter into a Treaty with the Pope, and to see if it was possible to satisfie him: Wherefore the Catholick Lords desiring, that their Embassie might have authority, both by the Birth and Wisdom of the person employed, chose the Duke of Luxembourg, a man of most noble Blood, of singular parts, and great experience in businesses of the Court. The Embassie to the Pope being dispatched, the King, desirous to shew that he remembered what he had promised to the Catholics, caused the Assembly of the States to be appointed in October following at the City of Tours, which (the Parliament and Court of Exchequer residing there) was made the Metropolis of his Party. There he made shew to the Catholics, That in the Congregation of the States he would be instructed in the Roman Religion by learned pious men, whom he had sent for from all parts; and with words and demonstrations professed, that he would submit himself to what should be determined in the Assembly: Although the Hugonots affirm, that he told them otherwise in secret; which was not much to be wondered at in the doubtfulness of his present condition. These things being dispatched,

Charles the Tenth taken out of Chinon, and removed to Fontenay a stronger place, where he is kept with stricter guards.

The Duke of Luxembourg is sent Ambassador to the Pope by the Catholick Royalists.

The King appoints the Assembly of the States at Tours, which is made the Head-quarter of his party.

1589

The body of
Henry the
Third is laid
in the great
Church at
Compeigne.

patched, all necessary and fundamental to the establishing of his Kingdom, not to stay for the whole Army of the League, which was to follow him within a few days, he marched towards Compeigne, taking with him the Kings dead body, and having by the way taken Meulan, Gifort, and Clermont, arrived there upon the Four and twentieth of August: And there having laid the Body in the great Church, with very little pomp, and such as the necessity of the times would permit, he went towards Normandy with all possible speed.

At his entering into that Province, as it were, for a prosperous beginning of good fortune, Captain Rolet came to him, a man no less valiant then discreet, who held Pont de l'Arche, a most important place, three leagues above Rouen, and as it were the Key of the River Seine; and taking the Oath of Allegiance, delivered up the Fortress into his hands. Being come into the Province, the King in three days march came to Darnetal, a Town less then two leagues distant from Rouen, and there having incamped his Army, he resolved to make as if he meant to besiege that City, in which the Duke of Aumale and Count de Brissac were; not that he thought he had either strength or preparations sufficient to take it, but to shew a resolute minde, and a good courage, and to amuse the enemy, till he had disposed what he intended to do: wherefore the Army being encamped, and the Mills which were without the Works being burnt; whilst there pass frequent skirmishes with the Garrison, the King having left the care of the Army to the Duke of Montpensier, and the Marechal de Biron, went speedily with Three hundred Horse as far as Diepe; which City, governed by the Comtiendatory de Chateauroux, had acknowledged him. When the King had carefully considered the City of Diepe, the Haven of it (very capacious, upon the shore of the Ocean) and the Country that lay near about it, he resolved to remove thither with all his Forces, and there to sustain the first violence of the Army of the League; being perswaded to this resolution, because the Town is seated upon the Sea, right over against England, with a sufficient Harbor to receive any Fleet, how numerous soever; by which means he might have supplies of Men, Money, Cannon, and Ammunition from Queen Elizabeth: And in case he should be so straitned by the enemies, as to see himself not able to resist, he might go away for England, to return afterwards, and land

land at Rochelle, or in what other place he should think fit. He was the more confirmed in this determination, by the strength of the City, and the Castle of it; by the largeness of the Suburbs, fit to quarter his men; by the strong situation of the passages about it, which was such, as every place might be defended span by span; so that they could not, without a long time, and much fighting, be reduced within the circuit of the Castle. For all these reasons, he presently dispatched *Philip Sieur du Fresne* unto the Queen of England, (to whom he had formerly been sent by the late King, and was returned about that very time) to let Her know his necessities, and to desire Her assistance of Men and Money: And having made this most important Expedition with most exquisite diligence, he joyned his Horse to the Garison of Diepe, and took Eu and Neuf-Chastel, but weak Towns, yet not far off, that he might take away all near impediments: & having purged the Country very carefully on all sides, he returned to the Army at Darnetal, to bring it with a commodious march to quarter at Diepe.

He marched from Darnetal the Second of September, with One thousand and four hundred Horse, two Regiments of Swisses, which amounted to the number of Three thousand, and Three thousand French Muskettiers; to so small a number were his Forces reduced since the Kings death. There were with him the Duke of Montpensier, who led the Van; the Count d'Anvergne Grand Prior (anger for the Kings death, and desire of revenge, having made him forget all former disgusts;) *Armand Marechal de Biron*, who had the chief authority in the Government; his son *Charles Baron de Biron*; *Charles of Montmorancy Seigneur de Mern*, or, as they called him, *Lord d'Anville*, who commanded the Swisses; *Monfieur de Chastillon*, General of the French Infantry; *Monfieur de Renx* Field-Marshal; *Monfieur de Baqueville*, who commanded the Light-horse; the Sietirs *de Reimbures*, *de Labant*, *de Mignoville*, *de Guitry*, *du Hallot*, and *de la Force*; the other Lords and Gentlemen, according to the first resolution, being gone into several parts of the Kingdom. With these Commanders, and with this Army, the King being come near Diepe, gave order that the *Commendatory de Chattes* should continue in the City, and in his wonted Command of the Citadel, with the ordinary Garison of Two hundred Soldiers, and two Companies of French Infantry extraordinary,

The Kings Army is reduced to but 6000 Foot, and 1400 Horse; yet he marches with good success as far as Diepe.

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1589

The Situation
of Diepe
described.

which made in all the number of Five hundred Foot; and he with the whole Army resolved to keep possession of the field.

The City of Diepe (as hath been said before) is situated upon the shore of the Ocean Sea, just over against England; and hath a Port on the right side, which extending it self like a Half-moon, is able to contain a great many Vessels with great security; and on the left hand stands the Cittadel, which being of a four square form, and seated something high, doth with four great Towers scour the Field on one side, and on the other masters and commands the Town. The seat of this City is strong and advantageous: For on the side toward the Sea it is fortified with Flankers, Ravelines, and Platforms, besides the so powerful defence of the water; and on the side toward the Land, the Country is so rough, that Armies cannot be brought thither without much difficulty, nor Cannon with out much more; and the manner of the way round about, affords an infinite number of convenient obstacles for defence: For it lies between two steep, uneven, woody Hills, which from the bank of the Sea, shoot out many miles into the Country; and between these two lies a narrow Valley, thorow which runs the River Bethune, which dividing the City from a great Bourg called Pollet, falls into the Haven, and thence consequently straight into the Sea. By this River the Sea waters entering, when it is high tide, do spread themselves for many miles over the valley, making it so fenny, deep, and dirty, that there is no passing to the City along the Plain, but onely upon the two Hills; and by another way, which made by art, leads along the foot of the Hill on the left hand, and with many turnings and windings, comes to the Gate of the Town. So that onely two ways lead to the City: one upon the top, the other at the bottom of the Hill on the left hand; and the way which is upon the top of the Hill on the right hand, leads straight to Pollet, which Bourg is divided from the City by the interposition of the Haven, and the Current of the small River Bethune. The Country from one Hill to the other, is all moorish and rotten by the standing of the waters; and there is no passage, but onely by a very narrow way, interrupted by many Bridges, because the River divides it self into many streams. Upon the Hill on the left side, which is no less steep and craggy then the other, stands the Castle of Arques, little more then a league from the

The
River
Bethune
divides
the
City
from
the
Bourg
of
Pollet
and
falls
into
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into
the
Sea

the Town, a place excellently fortified both by art and nature, which commands a great *Bourg* of the same name, that lies under it, just upon the way which at the foot of the mountain leads to Diepe along the bank of the River: The right-hand hill, which is much more woody then the other, doth not run on equally united in one ridge, as that on the left hand doth, but about a league from Pollet, is parted by a great Valley, which extends it self as far as over against Arques; and in it upon the right hand is *Martinglise*, a great commodious Village; and on the left an Hospital of St *Lazarus*, which the French commonly call a *Maladerie*.

The King having with his Commanders diligently surveyed every one of these places, resolved to quarter with all his Army at *Arques*; believing that if the Duke of Mayenne followed him, he would not passe along the Hill on the right side, which leads onely to *Pollet* thorow the valley and the wood, but would keep the straight way that goes to the walls of *Diepe*: Wherefore the whole Army working speedily, and likewise those few peasants which could be got together, he enclosed the *Castle* and *Bourg* with a good Trench of about eight foot wide, and as much in depth, making Works on the inside with all the earth, and distinguished it with Redoubts and Ravelines, about sixty paces distant from each other; and then having placed his Cannon to the best advantage, he himself lodged in the Castle with all the French Foot, and the *Mareschal de Biron* in the Bourg with the Regiments of the Swisses, shutting up in that manner both the wayes which lead towards the Town, as well that at the top, as the other at the bottom of the hill. The Horse, quartered in that space which reaches from the Trenches as far as *Diepe*, lay ready behinde the Army to move where need should require, there being left room enough, in fitting places of the Trench, to sally out conveniently fifty Horse in front, a sufficient Body for any action they should undertake. Many ships were appointed at *Diepe* to fetch Victual for the Army from *England*, and the coasts of *Normandy*, from *Caen*, *St Lo*, and *Carantan*, places which held for the King; which succeeded marvellously well: for some windes brought in Barks from *England*, others those that came from *Normandy*, supplying with interchangeable assistance the necessities of the Souldiers, who in that convenient season of the year had also many

The King lies with his Army and fortifies the quarters about Diepe, possessing all places of advantage.

1589

miles of a most fertile Country in their power; by the fruits whereof both Horse and Foot were plentifully furnished.

In the meantime the Duke of Mayenne having received the Marquesse *du Pont*, who was come with the Army of Lorraine to assist the League, and likewise the Duke of Nemours, who had brought up the Forces of *Lyonoise*, Monsieur de *Balagny* Governour of Cambray, and finally the German Horse and Foot which had been levied by his order, with the help of Spain; that he might preserve his reputation, and fulfil the infinite hopes he had to conquer, and drive the King out of the Kingdom, was moved from Paris upon the first day of September, and with six thousand Swisses, four thousand German Foot, twelve thousand Muskettiers between French and Lorainers, and with four thousand and five hundred Horse, received *Poissy*, *Mante*, and *Vernon*, which yielded to him; and having in two dayes taken *Gournay*, which would have made resistance, marched on diligently towards *Rouen*, whence finding the King departed, he took along with him the Duke of Aumale, and so increasing his Forces, which augmented every hour, continued on his voyage with the same speed towards *Diepe*; but he took a different way from what the King and his Commanders thought he would; for leaving that by the hill on the left hand which goes to *Diepe* by the way of Arques, and upon which he knew the Army was prepared to make opposition, being excellently quartered in places of advantage; he marched on by the hill on the right hand, with a designe to come to *Pollet*, and making himself master of it, to block up and command the mouth of the Haven, that the King being deprived of the use of shipping, and cut off from his passage to the sea, might not onely want the assistance he hoped to receive from England, but also be reduced to extreme necessity of victual, thinking he should this way very easily conquer, and make an end of the War.

But the King, to whom the *Sieur de Baquerille*, who had the care of discovering the motion of the Enemy, had brought word in time, that the Duke of Mayenne had taken the way toward the hill on the right hand, perceiving his aim, and desiring to prevent it, left the *Mareschal de Byron* at Arques with the Swisses, besides a thousand Muskettiers, and six hundred Horse; not onely that he might hinder the passage of the Enemy on that side, as had been the first intention; but also

also that passing crosse the Valley, he might advance to the foot of the right-hand hill, and there draw a line about the *Maladerie*, and then make another great trench toward the bottom, to shut up the Duke's passage on that side also by a double impediment, to the end that he might not be able to get over to the left-hand hill; which if he could do, he might either assault the Army in their works, or else putting himself between, might streighten it, and separate it from the Town. Care being thus taken for matters without, the King with the rest of the Cavalry, and the remainder of the French Muskettiers went presently thorow the City to Pollet, where with continual labour day and night, the Lords and Commanders taking no lesse pains then the common souldiers and inhabitants of the place, he environed the whole Bourg with a deep trench, which ending in the form of a spur, made a sharp angle, in the point whereof a great Mill was made into a Fort, filling it up with earth, and setting pallisadoes round about; so that having planted six pieces of Cannon, though but small ones, upon the works, he brought all his men to lie within that Fortification.

The Duke of Mayenne, who by reason of the hinderance of his Artillery, and the difficulty of the steep rugged wayes, had been fain to march slowly, arrived upon Wednesday the thirteenth of September within sight of Pollet, and having drawn his Army into Battalia, made a stand for three hours, expecting that the King would come forth of his trenches to fight; and in the mean time, caused his light-Horse to scowr the Country every where, being led on the one side by the Duke of Nemours, and on the other by the Count *de Sagone*. But the King finding himself without comparison inferiour in Forces (for his Souldiers were few more then seven thousand, counting also those that were at Arques; and the Dukes Army was between eight and twenty and thirty thousand Horse and Foot, and was furnished with great store of Ammunition, and an excellent train of Artillery) keeping within his works, consented onely that the light-Horse commanded by the *Grand-Prior* should go out, and after them the *Sieur de Larchant's*, and *Monsieur de la Force's* Troops of Lanciers, to make good their retreat if need were. They skirmished all the time that the Army of the League stood still, and sometimes the service grew so hot, that the ignorant thought often the

The Duke of Mayenne being come before the Kings trenches, draws his Army in battalia; but the Kings soldiers coming onely to skirmish, no battel followeth.

1589

the Commanders would put it to a Battell; in which encounters the Kings party prevailing for the most part, there was very little hurt done on either side. But the Duke of Mayenne knowing the King would not venture the hazard of a day, unlesse he were forced, and then with the advantage of his works and trenches, retiring over the hill, quartered his Army at *Martinglise*; and having caused *Pollet* to be viewed that night, and found that it was excellently fortified, and in a manner inaccessible on all sides, by reason it commanded all the Plain, and that it was flanked and fortified by the Cannon of the Town, resolved not to attempt it, but to passe over to the hill on the left side, to try either to take the Castle of *Arques*, and besiege the Kings Army; or else to draw them to battell in the defence of their post; for he was so confident of the valour and number of his men, that if he could not do it otherwise, he feared not to assault the King, even within the advantage of his own trenches.

In the mean time the Marechal *de Byron* had possessed himself of the *Maladery*; and as soon as he had with infinite diligence cast a great trench round about it, he placed there twelve Companies of Swisses, and three hundred French Muskettiers; and not trusting wholly to that, had made up another high work within lesse then five hundred paces below the first, into which he put the Swisses of the King guard with Colonel *Galati*.

The Duke having given three dayes rest unto his men, upon the sixteenth day at night marched with all his Army in battalia without noile of either drum or trumpet, and turning his back towards *Pollet*, passed beyond the Kings trenches, and appeared about break of day upon the descent of the hill that goes down into the Plain, purposing to passe the bridges unawares, and to get up without opposition on the left side; but he found himself prevented by the King's vigilancy, who being come in the evening silently to *Arques*, and having intelligence of his moving many hours before it was day, had disposed his Forces in exceeding good order; some at the entry of the bridges, where the *Grand Prior* was with his light-Horse, and the Lanciers of the *Sieur Larchant*, and *Monfieur de la Force*; some in the middle of the Plain, where the French Infantry was incompassed with the boggs and pools made by the Rivers; some in the lower way of the hill on the left side, where

where the Duke of Montpensier was with the Nobility, and the Companies of Rambures, Hallot, and Mignoville; and some upon the ascent of the same way where the Marechal de Biron was, with a Squadron of Swisses flanked with Muskettiers. The Artillery of Arques was all levelled to secure the Plain; and Galati having turned his back to the Maladery, and his face toward the enemy, did with his Swisse Muskettiers play from the second Trench, and annoyed that very descent by which the Army of the League was to come down.

The Duke thought that defence ordered with so good conduct, that not to fight at the same time with such a disadvantage of place, and with an Army which he saw standing firm in their ranks most ready for the Battel, took a resolution to retire, and by experience found it was impossible to pass the Plain, and to get up the Hill on the left side, unless he first mastered the Kings two Trenches, which from a high place, commanded all the Descent, and all the Plain: Wherefore returning to his quarters at Martinglise, he made his men skirmish sometimes toward Poller, sometimes toward the Trenches, to keep the King uncertain on which side he was resolved to fall. And finally, upon the One and twentieth day in the morning, which was the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, being resolved to try his fortune, he commanded the Count de Belin, one of the Field-Marschals, to go straight to attack the Maladery, and begin the Battel there, with Count Jago de Collatto his Regiment of Germans, and the Foot Regiments of Tremblecourt and Chastaigneraye; he having brought on his men thorow a covert woody way, but exceeding troublesome, within shot of the great Trench; the Germans wearied with their march, and the unevenness of the way, and knowing the assault, by reason of the height of the Work would be very difficult, resolved to advantage their design by art (if deceit may be so called:). Wherefore holding up their Hats upon the tops of their Pikes, and stretching forth their hands, they made signs that their intention was to come over to the Kings party, and not to storm or assault that Work: Which being easily believed, because a rumor was spread abroad, that being unsatisfied with the Duke, they sought an occasion to revolt, they came till they were just under the Work, without being either shot at or resisted: Being arrived there, and confirming that with their words, which they had signified by their

The Germans of the League make signs of coming over to the Kings party, are received by them at the Maladery; but being entered, fall hostilely upon them that had brought them in, and make themselves masters of the place.

1589

their actions, they were by the Soldiers of the same Nation pulled up by the hand, and helped to get upon the *Parapet*; where they were no sooner gotten up, but charging their Pikes, and turning their shorter weapons against the French and Swisses, they began to fall unexpectedly upon them; who using neither Muskets nor Firelocks, because they had them not by them; but seeing themselves suddenly assaulted, or as they said betrayed and murdered, turned their backs without resistance, and with infinite terror and confusion began to flee towards the descent, thinking to retire in safety to the Plain. *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigneraye*, who, divided into two fleeing squadrons, followed the steps of the Germans, having seen this beginning, rushed suddenly out of the Wood, & losing no time, advanced as fast as ever they could to the same Trench, where closing with the Flank of the German Battalion, they ran together (being filled with courage and fury by their happy success) to give a violent assault to the second Work. On the other side, the *Mareschal de Biron* was run thither, to encourage Col. *Galati* to defend the Fortifications undauntedly: But the assault was so hot and unexpected, by reason of the sudden taking of the *Maladery*, that the Swisses of the Guard giving back, & the *Mareschal d' Biron* being thrown from his horse, that Work also was with incredible celerity gained by the enemy.

The Armies
joyn battel.

The Duke of Mayenne having heard of this fortunate beginning, and following the conjuncture of so fair an opportunity, gave order to the Duke of Nemours and the Count *de Sagone*, to advance with the Light-horse on the right hand of the Trenches already taken; and to the Duke of Aumale to fall on with One thousand and two hundred Horse on the left side; and he himself, according as the quality of the situation would permit, followed with the remainder of the Army divided into several squadrons. The King full of grief and anger for the unthought-of loss of the Trenches, and seeing it was necessary to fight with his utmost force, encouraged the Duke of Montpensier with effectual words, to charge the Duke of Aumale; and the Grand Prior on the other side to encounter the Duke of Nemours, and the Light-horse of the League. The Grand Prior but young, yet desirous to get honor, and with his own hand to take some revenge for the Kings death, coming up to the head of his Troop, and presently putting down the Beaver of his Helmet, ran full gallop

to meet the enemy; and having seen the Count de Sagone at the head of his Squadron, he called him by his name, and challenged him to fight hand to hand; which being no less gallantly accepted, they charged one another so resolutely, that the Grand Prior receiving a Pistol shot in the forehead of his Helmet, reeled often, and was like to have fallen; but the Count de Sagone wounded with a brace of bullets in the side and left thigh, fell from his horse dead upon the earth. With no less fury than their Commanders, did the Kings Light-horse rush upon the enemy: But their number was so much greater, being followed by two Squadrons of Reiters, whom the Duke of Mayenne had sent to second them, that they were forced to retreat; so that still giving ground, yet still obstinately resisting, they were furiously driven back to the foot of the Hill, whither the Cannon from Arques reached, both to defend their own men, and repel the violence of the enemy: In which Conflict, hot and bloody on both sides, the Sieur de Baqueville died fighting, who was the Grand Prior's Lieutenant General. On the other side, the Duke of Montpensier having met with those who fleeing from the Trenches, ran disorderly toward the Plain, being half-routed by them, had much ado to disengage himself, and keep his ranks; and being come up to close with the Squadron led by the Duke of Aumale, discouraged by their number that came up picquering, and discharging their Pistols, he retired still toward the descent, being fiercely pursued at the heels by the Cavalry of the League. The King, who was between both the Bodies, and who, to give fitting orders, had unwisely advanced to the steep of the right hand Hill, was so engaged in the midst of many Squadrons of the enemy, that being abandoned almost by all, and his courage not suffering him to flee, he thought himself absolutely lost; and with cries, intreaties, and threatnings, rode stopping and reproving, sometimes one, sometimes another, and bewailing himself with a loud voice, *That in all France there could not be found fifty Gentlemen who had courage enough to die in company with their King.* Nor did any man doubt, but if the Duke of Mayenne had come up time enough with the rest of the Army, the King and his whole Forces had at that time been utterly suppressed. But whilest he, leading on the Cavalry by an uneven troublesome way, feared they would be put in disorder, and therefore marched very softly, and turned back often

1589
The Grand Prior challenged the Count de Sagone, and kills him in the fight of both Armies.

The King is in great danger in the midst of the enemies.

A Speech of the King of France.

1589 to make them keep rank and file, he gave the King convenient time to recover: For in the interim the Sieur de Chastillon, with two Regiments of French Infantry, having quitted the Hill on the left side, where he had stood from the beginning; and seeing the danger in which his party was, marched up with all speed to the place of battel, and crying out to the King, *Courage Sire, we are here, and will die with you.* He charged the Regiments of Tremblecourt and Chastaigneray with so much fury, that having taken the Count de Belin prisoner, and the chief Commander of the Lorainers, with the death of above Three hundred of their men, he beat them out of the Trench: At which time, the tyde of the busines turning in a moment, the Marechal de Biron being happily escaped out of the enemies hands, had with Colonel Galati made the Swisses stand, who before were running away; and facing about with as much gallantry, as before they were fleeing with haste, they marched up, and joyned with Monsieur de Chastillon, who having already taken the first Trench, was rallying his men to assault the *Maladery*. The King himself being valiantly come up thither, caused the Baron de Biron with a hundred Gentlemen, who were gathered together about him from several parts, to alight from their horses; and having placed them in the first file of the Infantry, set them on without losing further time, to give a fierce assault to the great Trench. The service was hot and bloody for the space of a quarter of an hour; but Collalto's Landskenets already tired with their march and with fighting, being charged on all sides, gave back at last; and being beaten, and driven out with a great slaughter, quitted the *Maladery*, being repelled with as much fury by the Swisse Pikemen, and French Muskettiers, as they had by cunning been easily drawn into it at the beginning.

The King being relieved by Monsieur de Chastillon, recovers the Trench; and the Duke of Mayenne loseth the opportunity of the Victory.

In the mean time the King, whose admirable celerity did in such a time of need supply all wants in all places, with Threescore Horse, which he had rallied with much ado, ran up to the Duke of Montpensier, and turned vigorously to charge the squadron of the Duke of Aumale, who being master of the field, did already overrun all the descent; so that after an obstinate fight, which lasted about three quarters of an hour, he broke quite thorow it, and followed it fighting to the craggy part of the Hill. The Grand Prior on the other side, who before

before had been forced to retire, being succoured in his danger by the Lanciers of the Sieurs de Larchant, Montataire, and la Force, who came up last into the Battel, presently made the Light-horse of the League to turn their backs, and to run full speed along that way which leads from the place of battel to Martinglife. The Duke of Mayenne, who came thither when his Cavalry was already retiring, and when the King's Forces had recovered their Works, thinking it too late to do any more, and that his men were tired with long fighting; and seeing that because the way was so bad, the Ammunition which was behinde came not up, whereof the Infantry had great need, having spent all theirs with fighting all the day, caused a Retreat to be sounded, and drew off to his first quarters. This was the dangerous Battel of Arques, which was fought the whole day with various fortune, and with an event so different from the beginning, that the King said openly at night, *That the Duke of Mayenne either was not the Souldier which every one believed, or else had born him respect, and reserved him for a better occasion.*

The Duke of Mayenne, who with so much greater Forces and such prosperous success began the battel of Arques, retired, because his men were wearied, and wanted Ammunition.

A saying of the King.

Men of experience doubted not but the Victory was on the King's side, who (though with various success) had defended his posts, and hindered the enemies from passing over to the hill of Arques, which was their principal end and intention; and yet the Duke of Mayenne cried up the advantage of his own party, confirming it by a Cornet of Light-horse, and three Ensignes of Foot which were fallen into the hands of his Souldiers at the first taking of the Trenches, and were therefore carried with infinite boasting to Paris. Of the League there were slain above six hundred men, among which the Count de Sagone, and the Baron de St André; and of the King's men onely two hundred: but the loss was very great, by reason of the death of Baqueville, a resolute, diligent, and a valiant Souldier, and truly proper to command Light-Horse, which requires not onely courage, but also celerity and diligence: Nor was it a small misfortune that befel the Sieur de Montataire, the Prince of Conde's Lieutenant; who having received a Musket-shot in the left leg, was absolutely lamed in the cure.

At night the Duke, being resolved to try all possible means to drive away the King, or to draw him out of his Works, determined to pass on the other side of Diepe, nor by the ordi-

1589

nary road, but a long way about : for having gone round both the hills, he got in three days march on the north side of the City near the walls towards the *Cittadel* ; and the same night, being the four and twentieth of September, did with very great speed cause eight Pieces of Cannon to be planted, with which the next morning he began to batter the houses of the Town : but the King, after the Army of the League was seen to march that way, having left Monsieur d' *Anville* with the Regiment of the *Sieur de la Garde*, four Companies of Switzers, and threescore Horse, to make good Arques, was come with all his Army to Diepe ; and being quartered in the *Faux-bourgs*, flanked and defended by the Cannon of the *Cittadel*, he commanded the fight to be smartly begun on all sides, by that means to hinder the enemies battery. They of the League advanced no lesse fiercely to the skirmish ; but a new unwonted invention broke off the encounter, to their no small losse : for the King having sent forth the Baron of Biron with a great squadron of Horse into the middle of the field ; and the Duke of Mayenne incensed by their temerity in coming on so far, or thinking they had unadvisedly engaged themselves, sent out two great Bodies of Horse to charge them ; at whole arrival the King's men opening to the right and left hand, with expert readinesse, there appeared two great Culverins in the midst, which giving fire, and running off at the same time with skill and admirable quicknesse, did not onely kill many of them, and break their ranks, but by the wonderful art and spectacle of seeing two such great Engines skirmish among the Horse, caused the enemy to wheel about and retire. This so new, and so nimble manner of ordering Pieces of great weight, was the invention of *Charles Brise*, a Cannoneer born in Normandy, who, after having been many years at Sea with Pirate ships in the West-Indies, was grown excellent in managing Ordnance ; and in the whole course of the Civil Wars, performed both this and many other services with very great praise of ingenuity and experience.

A device of
the Royalists.

But while they skirmished hotly, and made a great noise about the Town-walls with their Artillery, the Duke of Mayenne did in an instant cause the Duke of Aumale with the Reregard (in which he had for that purpose placed a Regiment of Walloons, the Regiment of Lorain, and *Collado's Landskenets*) to storm the Works and Castle of Arques, hoping

hoping to carry it, and streighten the King within the bare circuit of the Town: But he found so stout resistance there, that after having re-inforced the assault for the space of two hours, his Foot were fain to retreat with the loss of two Captains, and above a hundred soldiers: Nor did *d'Anville's* Forces scape without loss; for notwithstanding the strength and advantage of the place, there were slain above sixty foot, two *Swisse* Captains, and Colonel *la Garde* dangerously hurt in the thigh.

But though the King and his Army had fought very luckily, and beaten back the enemies in all places; yet were they not onely much spent with weariness (for being few in number, they were fain to do continual duty,) but also in want of victual; for being reduced to scarcity in the end of September, and the rains and storms beginning to be very great, neither could Ships so opportunely bring in Provisions, nor could the Country, wasted and destroyed, furnish any longer sufficient food for men, nor forrage for horses, which by their toils and sufferings were brought to extream weakness. But the Kings hopes depended upon the relief which he expected from two several places; for he had written to the Duke of Longueville, and the Marechal *d'Aumont*, that uniting their Forces, they should march up to him, thinking that the Duke of Mayenne would not suffer himself to be inclosed between two Armies, though inferior in strength, but that at their approach he would raise his Camp; and on the other side he knew Four thousand English foot, with great store of Ammunition, were ready to be embarked, which Queen *Elizabeth* sent to his relief; by whose arrival, his Army would be re-inforced, and their hard duty partly lessened, not doubting, but that with the English Fleet would come great store of provisions, wherewith he might sustain his Army many days. The Duke of Longueville, and the Marechal *d'Aumont*, contrary to expectation, came first, (as voyages by Sea are very uncertain;) for having joyned themselves together with the Count *de Soissons*, who was freed from his imprisonment in Bretagne, and the Sieur *de la Noüe*, they hastened their march in such manner, that upon the Six and twentieth day they quartered within six leagues of the Duke of Mayennes Army: Wherefore the Duke, that he might not be encompassed, and because he was out of hope
of

1589

The Duke of
Mayenne marches from
Diepe with
his Army.

of doing any good at Diepe, raised his Camp upon the eight and twentieth day in the morning, and drew toward Picardy to meet the Forces which by order from the Catholick King, were coming out of Flanders with the *Sieur de la Motte* to his assistance.

The next day the Duke of Longueville and Marechal *d'Aumont* joyned with the King, who having left the Marechal *de de Biron* at Diepe, went forth with six hundred Horse and two thousand Foot to meet them, and following the Army of the League the same way, took *Eu*, and the Castle of *Gamaches* before he passed the River *Somme*, opportunely making use of the occasion, while the Duke, whose Army diminished continually by the running away of his men (being intent upon his way) marched still close, and in order, and went further from them; so that without receiving the least harm, the King came to *Amiens*, the chief City of Picardy, where he was entertained with very great pomp, being met without the Gates by all the Citizens, who presented unto him a Canopy of State to be carried over him, as the custome is to do unto the King; but he refused it, giving great testimony of his prudence and moderation by an act of so great modesty:

The King in
modesty refused to go under
the Canopy of State at
Amiens.

The General of
these forces
was that Noble
Lord Perc-
grine Bertuc,
Lord Willough-
by, Father to
the valiant
Earl of Lind-
sey, who was
slain in the
Battel of Edg-
hill, where he
was General of
of the Kings
Army.

Whilest he staves at *Amiens* to put the Army again in order and settle the affairs of that City, four thousand English, and a thousand Scots, sent by Queen *Elizabeth*, arrived at Diepe: Wherefore the King (to whom prosperous fortune began on all sides to shew her face) being returned with his whole Army, received them, to the great contentment of every one: for they had not onely brought an exceeding quantity of victuals, but also a certain sum of money, which without delay, or shewing the least signe of covetousness, was presently all distributed to his souldiers; by which readines (though the sum was not great) every body was equally pleased and satisfied.

The English having rested themselves; and those that had born the toils in the service at Diepe being refreshed after their sufferings, in the best manner that possibly might be, the King desirous not to lose time, now that the Duke of Mayenne and his Army were far off, resolved to assault the Suburbs of Paris, not so much out of any grounded hope, that by the benefit of some unexpected accident he should be able to take the

the City in the terror and tumult of the people; which by him and all his Commanders was thought impossible; as by the pillage of those Suburbs, full of the riches of many years, to supply the evident necessity of his Army, in which the Gentry, no less than the private foldiers, were reduced to very great scarcity of money; and not onely the furniture of their horses, but even their arms and wearing clothes spoiled, and broken with ill weather and perpetual service. With this design he departed from Diepe upon the Nineteenth of October, having in his Army Twenty thousand Foot, Three thousand Horse, and Fourteen great Pieces, and with convenient marches took the direct way to Paris. The *Grand Prior*, and the *Baron de Guiry*, who succeeded in the place of *Baqueville*, scoured the way before them with the Light Horse: The Count *de Soissons*, and the *Mareschal de Aumont* led the Vanguard: In the Battel was the King, with the *Mareschal de Biron*, and *Monsieur de la Noüe*; the Duke of *Longueville* led the Rear: With this order, as soon as the Army was come to *Pont de l'Arche*, the Duke of *Montpensier* having passed the *Seine* with Three hundred Horse, went towards *Normandy*, to go to *Caen*, and look to the affairs of that Province, where the Forces of the League were very powerful: Upon the last of October, the King quartered with his Army a league from the *Fauxbourgs* of Paris; where the tumult of the people, and the trouble of the Dutchesses was very great, seeing the Duke of *Mayenne* far off, and the King come unexpectedly to assault the City, at a time when they were perswaded he had enough to do to defend himself, and that he was so weak he must needs be either presently suppressed, or beaten out of the Kingdom; for the Duke of *Mayenne* crying up the greatness of his Forces to the people when he went to the assault of *Diepe*, had written to *Paris*, that within few days he would either bring the King up prisoner, or force him to flee shamefully into *England*. Now busineses proving so contrary, the City unprovided of Soldiers, and seeing they could not hope for any relief, was full of fear and trouble; especially, there being no Head of Authority, who might keep the people in order, and provide what should be needful: For though *Don Bernardino Mendoza*, the Spanish Ambassador, labored with all his power to comfort them, with grave Speeches, and

The Kings
Army march-
es towards
Paris.

1589

The King assaults the Suburbs of Paris upon *All Saints* day, takes them, and gives the pillage to the Soldiers.

and with his presence in every place ; yet there was no man in whom the Parisians could much confide , either for experience in arms , or for alliance to that Family : But at night Monsieur *de Rhosne* arrived opportunely, who being at Estampes, (which Town he had taken a few days before) marched fourteen leagues without any stay, and came into the City (though with but a few Horse) in the beginning of the night. At his arrival the Council of the League recovering courage, resolved, That the Suburbs should be defended; to which end, the people taking arms, and all, both great and little, and even the very Friars running armed, they were in the best order that might be , distributed in those Works which had been cast up three moneths before, at the time when it was besieged by Henry the Third. The King before peep of day upon the first of November, being *All Saints* day, divided his Foot into three *Terties* ; one of which was led by the Marechal *de Biron*, the Baron his Son, and the *Sieur de Guiry* to assault the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Victoire*, and *St. Marceau* ; the second, led by the Marechal *d'Anmont*, Monsieur *d'Anville*, and Colonel *de Rienx*, against the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Jaques*, and *St. Michael* ; and the third, commanded by the *Sieurs de Chastillon*, and *de la Noüe*, assaulted the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*. The Cavalry being likewise distinguished into three Divisions ; one led by the King, another by Count *Stiffons*, and the third by the Duke of *Longueville*, stood all ready in the Field, each Body as a reserve to its Squadron of Foot, in case of any unexpected accident which might happen. The assault began when it was broad day light, and lasted very fierce for the space of an hour ; but the works being beaten down in many places, and there being no equality between the inexpertness of the people, and the valor of the Kings Soldiers, the Defendants were at last forced to give back, who with a great slaughter had much ado to retire time enough to have the Gates of the City shut ; the assailants pressing on violently on every side, and particularly the *Sieur de la Noüe*, who having entred the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*, and coming down through the street which is called the *Rue de Tournon*, followed those so furiously who retreated in at the *Porte de Nesle*, that it could hardly be shut, the *Sieur de Rhosne* himself being there. In this assault above Nine hundred Parisians were slain, and above Four hundred taken

taken prisoners, among which Father *Edmond Bourgoin*, Prior of the Covent of *Jacobins*; who being convicted by Witness, to have publickly (in the Pulpit) praised the murder of *Henry* the Third, and to have counselled and instigated the murderer, comparing him also in his Sermons after the Fact to *Judith*, and the dead King to *Holofernes*, and the City delivered to *Bethulia*; he was by Judgment of the Parliament of *Tours*, sentenced to be drawn in pieces by four horses, his quarters burned, and his ashes scattered in the wind: Which sentence, some few moneths after, was severely executed. The Suburbs being entred on every side, the Officers withheld their Soldiers with infinite care, from running up and down confusedly to plunder, till the Cavalry were come in, and placed ready to repel those that should have the boldness to fall out of the City; and then the quarters were divided among them, and leave given unto them to sack it; with charge nevertheless, not to violate either Churches, Monasteries, or other sacred places; which was observed with so much order by the Officers, and obedience by the Soldiers, that Masses were said that day in all Churches, as if there had been no such business; and all the Catholicks of the Kings Army were present at them in great abundance, celebrating that Holiday with very great joy. The sacking of the Suburbs lasted as long as the Army continued in them; and the pillage was so rich and plentiful, that the Kings Army was wonderfully relieved and encouraged by it.

In the mean time the Duke of Mayenne having had notice that the King was marched towards Paris, omitting to meet with the Ministers of Flanders, for which reason he was drawn so near to those Confines; without staying for further intelligence, moved that way with his whole Army, and having passed the Bridge of *St. Maiscant* (contrary to the Kings expectation, who had commanded Monsieur *de Thoré*, Governor of *Senlis* to break it down, which he, being sick in bed, could not so speedily perform) sent the Duke of Nemours before with the Light-horse, who arriving upon the second of November, did very much raise the spirits, and ease the trouble of the Parisians, who were in very great fear, that the King prosecuting his Victory, would assault the City after the taking of the Suburbs. The Duke of Mayenne came up also the next day: Wherefore the King, thinking himself not very secure

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in

1589
Father *Edmond Bourgoin*, of the Order *St. Dominick*, taken prisoner, is sentenced to be torn by four horses, for having counselled and praised the Kings murderer.

1589

The King
leaves the Sub-
urbs of Paris
at the arrival
of the Duke
of Mayenne.

The King
causes Estam-
pes to be dis-
mantled.

in the Suburbs, being in danger to be suddenly assaulted, so that he could not be able to draw up his Cavalry, marched out upon the Fourth of November, on that side toward the Porte St. Jacques, and set his Army in Battalia, looking for many hours, if the Duke of Mayenne would follow him; but seeing there was not the least stir from the City, he marched off with a slow pace, and quartered the same night at Montlhery, and resolved to pass on to Tours, because he had given his word to the Catholick Lords, and issued Writs to assemble the States there in the end of October; And though he knew that by reason the War was kindled in every place, and all ways unsafe, the Deputies could not be met together at the appointed time; and though he had not used any diligence to bring them together, that he might not be so soon put upon the necessity of changing his Religion, and making all the Hugonots distrustful of him; yet would he be himself in that City, to the end he might not be accused by the Catholicks, and that he might upon that occasion order the affairs of that Province, and as soon as they were settled, return more fresh, and perhaps better furnished with the attendance of the Gentry, and with strength to maintain the War. The next night his Army lay under the Walls of Estampes; which Town being yielded without resistance, the King, because it had been taken thrice in a few moneths, thinking it could not be kept, caused it to be dismantled in his presence, leaving the Citizens in liberty to receive either party. Having staid there a day, he dispatched the Baron de Ginry into Brie, the Marechal d'Anmont into Champagne, and the Duke of Longueville into Picardy; giving to each convenient Forces to defend themselves in those Provinces; and he himself, with the rest of his Army, making short marches through Beausse, and the most frequent passes of the Loire, took the direct way into Touraine.

While the principal Armies, and the Heads of the Factions make War thus sharply, the other parts and Provinces of the Kingdom were no less unquiet; but to the slaughter of men, and ruine of Towns, there were every where frequent bloody encounters; For in the County of Beauvais, the Marquess de Piennes, one of the principal Lords of the Union, defeated and killed the Sieur de Bonivet. In Picardie the Sieur d'Arcy having called the same Marquess de Piennes to his assistance,

sistance, taking the opportunity of the waters being let out, that the moat of *la Ferre* might be cleansed, had surpris'd that Town suddenly by night. In *Berrie* the *Sieur de Montigny* holding the King's party, defeated and took *Monsieur de la Chastre's* Lieutenant in the open field: and on the other side, *Monsieur de Nenny*, who held for the League, routed and took prisoner the *Sieur de Gamachée*. In *Champagne* the Count de *Grandpré*, accompanied with a great many Gentlemen that were of the King's party, surpris'd *Vitry*, and put all the defendants to the sword: but being assaulted a few days after by Colonel *St Paul*, who was chief Commander for the League in that Province, they fought so stoutly that they of the League got a most bloody Victory; and on the King's side all the Gentlemen and Officers were either killed or grievously wounded, and the Count de *Grandpré* himself carried half dead to *Chaalons*, being hurt in eighteen several places. In *Normandy*, the Baron d' *Eschaufour*, and Captain *Valage* routed and put to flight Colonel *St Denis*, who was going with his Regiment to joyn with the Duke of *Montpensier*. At *Tholouse*, *Lymoges*, and *Tours*, there were most turbulent unruly Seditions. In the Territories of *Geneva*, the War was very hot between that City and the Duke of *Savoy*, who having possessed himself of that Countrey, did also besiege the City, about which he rais'd many Forts, and was in very great hope to carry it. In *Provence*, *Monsieur de la Valatte* Governour for the King, had many a skirmish with the Count de *Cars*, and the *Sieur de Vins*, who commanded for the League; and on both sides many Towns were taken, and many bloody encounters happened between them. In *Dauphiné*, Colonel *Alfonso Corso* being joyn'd with the *Lefdiguieres*, blocked up *Grenoble*, and *Valence*, the onely Towns in that Province that held for the League: And thus with various successes, but still with the losse of much blood, was the War prosecuted by both Parties.

1589
 A narration
 of several suc-
 cesses which
 happened at
 the same time
 through all
 France.

The Duke of
 Savoy besieg-
 eth Geneva.

In the mean time, the King was come with his Army to *Chasteau-Dun*, where the Swisse Commanders arrived, being returned from their *Cantons*, whither they had been sent by the Souldiers of their Nation who were in the Camp, to give notice of the death of *Henry* the third, and to receive directions from the Republike what they should do for the future. They brought answer, that the *Cantons* would persevere in the same

Rrrrr 2

friend-

1589 friendship and confederacy with King Henry the Fourth, as they had done with his Predecessour, and that therefore they should continue to serve and follow him: Which resolution of the Swisles was much furthered, not onely by the wisdom of the *Sieur de Silleroy*, who was there Ambassadour, but also by the presence of *Jaques Auguste de Thou*, who returning out of Italy (whither he had been sent by the late King to the *Grand Duke of Tuscany*) had negotiated and perswaded that determination. The King and his whole Army was much pleased at it, as well because they had found, the greatest strength of the Infantry lay in the Regiments of the *Swisles*, who were there present, and had always fought very valiantly, as because they had hope to encrease their number by a new Levie, which should be granted under the publick Ensignes of their *Cantons*.

The King takes Vendôme, and gives the pillage to his souldiers: condemns the Governour to death for his infidelity, and Father Robert a Franciscan for having commended the killing of Henry the Third.

At his departure from *Chasteau-Dun*, the King went to besiege *Vendôme*, a City of his Patrimony, and which was thought very convenient, because it was near the River *Loyre*. The Suburbs were taken in the first on-set; and the King in person having viewed the walls, and the quality of the place; resolved to batter that side of the Castle, which, opposite to the Town, stands, but not very high, over a spacious Plain. There were two pieces planted the next day, to take away that defence, with intention to plant a Royal Battery against the Curtine, as soon as two Towers were beaten down, which served to flank it on each hand: but a great part of the Tower on the left hand being fallen, after not many shot, some of the Foot fell on to make the assault; but they found the place without resistance abandoned by the Defendants: wherefore, having made themselves masters of the Tower, they began with their Muskets to play from that higher place, upon the inside of the wall, where those of the Town were retired to make head: and the number of the Foot continually increasing with hopes of very good success, the Baron de *Biron*, newly made Field-Marshal by the King, ran thither, and had scarce brought down the foot to assault the Defendants at the wall, when they, full of infinite fear, forsook it, and the whole circuit of the Castle at the same time, seeking to save themselves by flight in the City; but being prevented by the Souldiers who followed them fiercely, the City was also taken with the same fury in less then three hours; wherein, except Churches,

Churches, Monasteries, and other sacred places, every thing was given up to the violence of the Souldiers, who took there great store of spoil and rich booty. The Governour who had often dealt perfidiously with the King, and had alwayes falsified his faith by double dealing, was condemned to death, as also Father Robert a Cordelier, who had there publickly praised the King's murtherer, and with his Sermons stirred up the common people. After the taking of *Vendosme*, *Lavardin* and *Montant*, Castles of that Jurisdiction, yieded themselves, and the King finding no more resistance in any place, came at last to *Tours* upon the one and twentieth of November.

He entered into the City the same night by torch-light, being met at the gates by the Cardinals of *Vendosme* and *Le noncour*, and all the Presidents and Councillours of the Parliament, and was surrounded with a great abundance of people, because all the neighbouring Towns were run thither to see his entry. The necessity of affairs perswaded not to spend time unprofitably, and the King's nature, that was quick and ready, agreed with the present necessity; wherefore the next morning coming without more delay to the Parliament, he sat in the Royall Throne, and was acknowledged King of France, with publick Ceremonies, and very great applause. Then hearing the murmurs and complaints of the Catholicks of his Army, and the earnestness of the Lords and Barons who followed him, that he would observe the promise he had made them to change his Religion, having caused the Nobility to be publickly called together, who came greedily to hearken unto him, he told them in a few words, That to his great discontent, he saw how the danger and heat of war had hindered the appointed Assembly, which should have been at that present time; That they themselves had seen how he, laying aside all other enterprises, had in consideration of them, come to *Tours*, hoping he might some way give them all perfect satisfaction; That the nature of affairs, and not the will of men opposed it; and that therefore considering how much advantage their common Enemy received by his being at so great a distance, and by the delay of making a sharp, and diligent war against them, he entreated them to allow that to necessity which depended not upon his will, and that they would be contented the Convocation of the Deputies might be deferred

Henry the fourth is acknowledged King of France with publick solemnity at *Tours*.

1589

The King desires that the Assembly of the States (in which his conversion was hoped for) might be deferred, and obtains it.

red till the fifteenth of the next March; in which time he hoped the fury of the Rebels and seditious persons being quelled he might with more quietness of minde, and less damage to the common affairs, think of a happy establishment of life, and future Government; That as a pledge and security of his faith they should accept his Person, which was always in their hands; That he would sincerely observe in deed, more then at that present he promised them in words. To which the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen assenting, more out of necessity then of will, a Declaration was made, that the time of the Assembly should be prorogued till the fifteenth of March next ensuing. The King hoped that the War continuing, and mens mindes being daily more enflamed between both factions, the Catholicks would still be more confirmed to follow him, and that he might with excuses which appeared necessary, and with divers promises and artifices gain convenient time to turn to the Catholick Religion, and that perchance they would be content he should continue in his own; and therefore he politickly avoided their intreaties, and excused himself for not satisfying their desires, as well lest he should seem to sway his conscience to a compliance with the times, as lest he should lose the adherence of the Hugonots, to the great diminution of his Forces; wherefore, because need so required, and not to give men time by idleness to think of new disturbances, but to keep them continually imployed in military exercises, he resolved to go from *Tours*, and move with his Army to take in those Towns which the Enemy held in the Country of *Maine* and *Normandy*.

The Republick of Venice acknowledges Henry the IV. K. of France; and *Mocenigo*, who was Ambassador to Henry the III, passes a complement with the King in publick.

Before his departure, *Giovanni Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambassador, having received Commission from the Senate, to continue in his Embassie near the present King, being with publick ceremony come unto his audience, presented letters to him from the Senate, with the Title of King of France; wherein congratulating his coming to the Crown, the Ambassador *Mocenigo* made excuses, that a particular Ambassador was not sent purposely, according to the custom, by reason of the difficulty of the wayes, broken every where by the incursions of War. The Senate had been in doubt whether they should confirm their Ambassador, and whether they should give him the Title of King of France or no; but finally, foreseeing with a prudent eye, not onely it that was necessary

sary for the interests of Christendom, that the Kingdom should be conserved in the lawful Heirs, which the League endeavored to tear in many pieces, or to subject it to foreign Princes; but also, that the King being acknowledged by the greater part of the Nobility, which are the sinews of the Kingdom, and that by his virtue and courage he was like to be Conqueror in the end; resolved at the same time to confirm their Ambassador, to give him the Title of King of France, and to assist him in all things possible, as they had done all other Kings of France in their urgent occasions. And though the Popes Nuncio, and the Spanish Ambassador kept a mighty stir about it, and complained exceedingly, that an Heretick, and one disobedient to the Apostolick See, should be acknowledged King of France, contrary to the Declarations made by the Pope in the Consistory of Cardinals; yet the Senate answered, That it concerned not the Republick of Venice to decide matters of Faith, which belonged to the Popes care; but that it acknowledged Henry of Bourbon to be descended from the Stock of the Blood-Royal, and true legitimate Successor of the Crown, which could not be denied; That they medled onely with Temporal things, and not with the knowledge of Spiritual Interests; and that they would treat with the King, in what concerned the Government of those States under his Dominion, without doing any prejudice to the Popes Declaration. Which Answer, though it gave not much satisfaction at Rome, and that Gieronimo Matteucci, the Popes Nuncio, Resident in Venice, made many protestations, and in the end, departed suddenly from the City; yet so great was the dexterity of Alberto Badoaro, their Lieger Ambassador to the Pope, and so great the efficacy of the reasons alledged by Leonardo Donato, sent extraordinary Ambassador from the Republick about that matter, that the Nuncio being not so much as admitted to the Popes presence, was constrained to return to his residence, and, without further replies, an end was put to that business. The favorable Declaration of that Senate, was a very great satisfaction to the King, as well because the determination of the wisest politick Assembly in Christendom, gave great reputation to his Forces, as because he thought many other Princes, especially of Italy, would follow the example of Venice; wherefore both by Letters, and by word of mouth, delivered by Monsieur de Mets, the Ambassa-

Gieronimo Matteucci the Popes Nuncio having complained and protested against the Venetian Senate, departs; which not being well approved by the Pope, he returns to his residence.

dor

1589

dor residing in that City, he strove to express singular gratitude, and infinite respect for the kinde inclination of those Senators.

The King being departed from Tours upon the Six and twentieth of November, caused siege to be laid to *Mans*, a place of wonderful importance, in which was the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin* with above two hundred Gentlemen, and seventeen Colours of Foot. The Defendants made shew of holding out courageously, and therefore burned the Suburbs, and fortified that Gate toward which the King was to come, casting up a *Raveline* in the form of a *Tenaille*. The Count *de Brissac* was come at the same time to *la Ferté Bernard*, with Four hundred Horse and Two Regiments of Foot, who purposed to relieve that Town opportunely, and cutting off passages, and molesting the Army, had fallen upon a quarter of the Kings German Horse, and pillaged above fifty of them. But after that the Baron *de Biron* and Monsieur *de Chastillon*, who were quartered in the Suburbs, had with redoubled assaults taken the *Raveline*, which hapned the fourth day after the siege was laid, the Defendants not standing out the utmost violence of the Battery, began to capitulate, and yielded with very large Conditions: For the King, in whose Army there was great want of Powder and Bullet, was infinitely pleased not onely to have that place upon so easie Terms, but that he might also provide against that want with the Enemies Ammunition that was in the Town. The example of *Mans* was followed by *Beaumont*, *la Val*, *Chasteau Gontier*, and all the places thereabout; and the King passing forward, laid siege to *Alançon*, which City being yielded after three days battery, Captain *Lago*, with the Soldiers of the Garison, retired into the Fortrefs, with an intent to make it good; but when the Cannons were planted, he staid not to be brought to extremity, but delivered it into the Kings hands upon the Fourteenth of December: In which place, the Baron *de Hertré* was left with Three hundred French Foot. From this City the King marching on towards *Normandy*, besieged *Falaise*, into which the Count *de Brissac* was entred with many Gentlemen, and the Chevalier *Piccard's* Regiment of Foot; wherefore by reason of the Commanders reputation, of the strength of the place, but most of all of the unfitness of the season, it was thought it would prove a long and difficult business; yet the *Fauxbourg de Guibray* being taken,

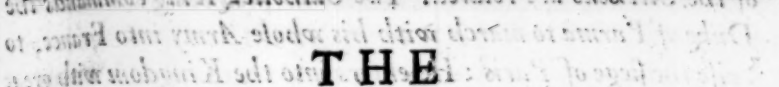
The King
makes himself
Master of all
the Towns
and Fortresses
of *Normandy*.

taken, and the Army quartered under cover, the King having personally viewed the situation of the Fortresse, commanded the Battery to be planted against the Castle, judging that if he could take that, he might also at the same time take the Town. Besides the principal Battery, he caused also two Culverins to be planted upon a certain hill, by the shot whereof the passage was stopped which led into the City from the Tower of the *Dongeon*, the principal security of the Castle; and in this manner he did straighten and incommode all the resolutions of the defendants. The Artillery played two days with very great violence; which having utterly ruined and beaten down the Tower, which defended the corner of the City and Castle opposite to the *Dongeon*, the King made it to be assaulted the same night by two different squadrons, one led by the *Sieur de Chassignon*, that should strive to get into the Castle from the broken Tower; the other by the *Baron de Biron*, which was to endeavour by the same way, to get into the Town, which joyned in that place to the Fortresse. Both squadrons did absolutely effect their design: for one passing thorow the ruined Tower, forced the defendants to shut themselves up in the *Dongeon*; and the other at the same time got into the chief street of the Town, which without more resistance was furiously taken and sacked. The Count shut up in the *Dongeon* with a few defendants, and those already terrified by the valour the Infantry had shewed, and the crosness of the late busineses, gave themselves up the next morning to the King's discretion, who kept him and fifteen more of the chief of them prisoners, and with a Kingly liberality gave his household-stuff, among which was store of Furniture of very great value, unto the *Baron de Biron*.

Argentan and *Bayeux* yielded without a blow: and the King prosecuting his march, came to *Lisieux*, which at sight of his Artillery yielded upon the thirtieth of December: *Pontean de Mer*, *Pont l'Evesque*, and all those other Towns, followed this example; so that the League had no place left in lower *Normandy*, except *Honfleur*, seated at the mouth of the *Seine*, right over against *Havre de Grace*; which (though the Duke of *Montpensier* was much against it) was passed by without being molested, by reason of the King's haste to go into the higher Province.

The end of the Tenth Book.

Good night to you all



By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

1891

§§§§§ Parisians,

1590

Parisians, who prepare themselves constantly to endure a siege. Divers overtures of Peace are made, but nothing at all can be concluded. The Duke of Mayenne, to procure relief, goes to the Frontiers of Flanders. The King takes all the neighboring Towns about Paris. Siege is laid unto that City, to overcome it with hunger. The Calamities of the siege, and the constancy of the Citizens are related. The Catholick King commands the Duke of Parma to march with his whole Army into France, to raise the siege of Paris: He enters into the Kingdom with great Forces, and with exceeding great preparations joyns with the Duke of Mayenne, and advances towards Paris. The King consults what is best to be done; resolves to raise the siege, and go to meet the Enemy. The Armies face one another many days. The Duke of Parma takes Lagny, and opens the passage of Victuals to Paris. The King retires, and in his retreat gives a scalado to the City, which proves ineffectual. The Duke of Parma takes Corbeil, and so absolutely frees the City of Paris from want of provisions. He resolves to return into Flanders; marches in excellent order: The King follows him: There happen many encounters. The Duke departing, leaves aid of men, and promises supplies of Money to the League. The King returning, marches towards Picardy.

1590.



Now followeth the year 1590. full of all those Calamities which use to be the consequences of Civil Wars; but famous also for the greatness of those accidents that hapned in it; the natural revolution of things having so brought to pass, that in it the greatest force and storm of Arms broke forth with violence. In the year before, Henry the Third's Ambassadors and Publick Ministers were already departed from Rome, by reason of the Monitory published against him, when the news of his death was brought thither, which, being come in a time when the Pope was not onely very much exasperated by the conjunction made with the Hugonot party, but also infinitely solicitous and anxious because of the prosperous success of his Arms, was received by him with great demonstrations of joy, thinking, that the miraculous power of the hand of God, had unexpectedly diverted that ruine which humane remedies seemed no way able

to prevent. His contentment was increased by the Agents of the League, who to the confirmation of the King's death, added the resolution of the Duke of Mayenne and the Council of the Union to acknowledge the *Cardinal of Bourbon* the legitimate King of France, with an open Declaration and strict Oath to use all their might to free him from his imprisonment, and that this resolution was adhered to, and unanimously followed by almost all the principal Cities, with the greater part of the Nobility, and the applause of the Clergy of the whole Kingdom: all which things being conformable to the Pope's wishes, who exceedingly desired the exclusion of the King of Navar, esteemed by him an irreconcilable enemy to the Church; but yet was not willing that the Kingdom should be divided into many parts, as some had a minde to have it, and that it should come into the hands of a Forraign Prince, were the cause that he wrote not onely very kinde Letters of great commendation to the Duke of Mayenne, and the Catholicks of the League, but that he also determined to supply them with men and money, for the setting at liberty, and perfect establishment of the *Cardinal of Bourbon*. Wherefore, without any delay, in a work which he accounted excellently good, and of wonderful great glory and advancement to the Apostolick See, he resolved to send a Legat into France, who by his presence might assist affairs of so great importance, and might endeavour to reduce all the Catholicks, by such means as he should think most reasonable, to unite themselves in one body under the obedience of the *Cardinal of Bourbon* already elected and declared King of France, whose freedom by all possible force was to be endeavoured. For this business of so great concernment, he chose *Cardinal Henrico Gaetano*, a man not onely by the nobleness of his birth of great reputation, but also for his worth and experience esteemed of sufficient abilities for so great an enterprize: yet according to what the King's friends said then, and his own actions discovered afterwards, too much inclined to favour the attempts and interests of Spain. He appointed moreover a select number of Prelats to accompany the Cardinal-Legat, all men conspicuous either for the fame of excellent Learning, or approved experience in matters of Government; among which were *Lorenzo Bianchetti*, and *Filippo Sega*, who after were Cardinals; *Marc Antonio Mocenigo* Bishop of *Ceneda*, a man well versed in

1590

The Pope resolves to send assistance to the League against the King.

Cardinal Henrico Gaetano, a man partial to Spain, is declared Legat to the League in France.

Prelats appointed by the Pope to accompany the Embassie, and three hundred thousand crowns to be employed for the liberty of the Cardinal of Bourbon.

Sssss 2

affairs,

1590

affairs, and highly esteemed by the Pope; *Francesco Panigrola*, Bishop of *Asti*, a Preacher of great renown; and *Roberto Bellarmino*, a Jesuite of profound and admirable learning. To the choice of these men the Pope added Bills of Exchange to the Merchants at Lyons for three hundred thousand crowns, with Commission to the Legat to dispose of them according to need and occasion; but particularly to spend them for the Infranchisement of the Cardinal of Bourbon, upon which he shewed his minde was fixed more then upon any other thought whatsoever.

But this so ardent resolution was cooled in the very beginning; and the Pope was put in doubt, by Letters that arrived from the Duke of Luxembourg, wherein he gave him notice, that by the French Nobility (who in a very great number followed and acknowledged the King of Navar to be the legitimate King of France) he was chosen Ambassadour to his Holiness and the Apostolick See, to inform him of the causes which had moved the mindes of all good French-men to that acknowledgement, and to require from him, as from a common Father, the proper means and remedies for the Peace and Union of the whole Kingdom. By which Letters the Pope did not onely finde, that what the Agents of the League had represented unto him was vain, *viz.* that the major part of the Kingdom was joyned to the party of the Union, and that onely a few desperate persons followed the King of Navar; but he also conceived some hopes, that by the way of Pacification, an end might be put to the miseries and discords of the Kingdom, those that were gone astray might be reduced into the bosome of the Church, and his aim of having a lawfull Catholick French King might be attained without submitting the afflicted people of France any longer to new dangers and calamities of an obstinate War: Wherefore, being also excited by the diligent informations which were given unto him by the Venetian Ambassadours, intent upon the preservation of the Crown of France, he returned favourable Answers to the Duke of Luxembourg and the French Nobility which were in the King's Camp, assuring him that he should be well respected, and kindly received, and exhorting them to persist constantly in the Catholick Religion, as in their Letters which came with the Duke's they asserted they would do, and that they would continue in it even to the effusion of their blood. And yet the

the Agents of the League (especially *Frison* Dean of Rheims, lately sent thither by the Duke of Mayenne) urging him not to delay the Legats expedition, for that these were artifices of the King of Navar, to take him off, and gain the benefit of time, he dispatched the Legat towards France, but with Instructions very different from his first designs: For whereas before, all the endeavors tended to the confirmation and freeing the Cardinal of Bourbon; now passing over his name in silence, the design was onely to reunite, by any means whatsoever, the Catholicks under the obedience of the Church, and establish a Catholick King, to the general liking, without naming the person. To these Commissions set down in a Writing dated the Fifteenth of October, were added particular express Advertisements to the Cardinal Legat, to shew himself no less neutral and dis-interested in the Secular Pretensions of the Princes, then most ardent and zealous concerning Religion, and not to value one person more then another, provided he were a French-man obedient to the Church, and generally liked by the Kingdom: Nay more, at his last coming to receive Instructions, the Pope added and repeated it effectually, that he should not shew himself an open enemy to the King of Navar, so long as there was any hope, that he might return into the bosome of the Church. But these advertisements were very contrary to the principal scope of the Embassie, which was to uphold the Catholick party of the League as the foundation of Religion in that Kingdom, a thing often repeated in his Instructions, and which was always the aim from the beginning, but which the Pope pretended to have altered in his last directions; so that the substance of the business changed in the variety of circumstances, as it often happens, did so disturb the execution, that it was afterwards governed more by the diversity of accidents, then by any firm determinate resolution. The advertisements of Cardinal *Morefini* differed not much from the Popes instructions; for being met by the Legat **Gaetano* in the City of *Bologna*, he as vers'd in the interests of the Kingdom, gave the Legat a particular account of the intentions of Spain, of the pretensions of the Duke of Mayenne, of the weakness of the League, composed of various different humors, and of the Kings Forces, which had more secure foundation in the concurrence of the major part of the Nobility, then the party of the *Union* had in the conspiracy of the common

1590

Pope Sixtus
V. his Orders
and Commis-
sions to Cardi-
nal *Gaetano*
Legat in
France.

* Or, *Cajetan*.

1590

common people. The same was told him at Florence by *Ferdinando* Great Duke of *Tuscany*, who being perfectly informed of the interests which were on foot in the Kingdom of France, perswaded him to keep himself neuter, and not to refuse those overtures of Agreement which might be with the profit of the Catholick Religion, and the reputation of the Pope. But both the advice of *Cardinall Morefini*, and the Great Duke's counsel were suspected by the Legate, doubting that the one sought to make him fall into the same faults whereof he was accounted guilty in the Court of Rome; and that the other did not counsel him sincerely: Wherefore as a man bent with severity to sustain the greatness and power of the Church, and accustomed to the affairs of Italy, where the Pope's authority, by the piety of the Nation, and the nearness of the Princes, is held in high veneration, he firmly perswaded himself, that by the meer terrour of spiritual arms he should keep all the Catholicks at his devotion, and excluding the King of Navar, make a King be declared and obeyed, wholly depending upon the Apostolick See, and nearly joyned and obliged to the Crown of Spain, to which, both by his ancient breeding, and the new practices of the *Conde de Olivares* the Spanish Ambassadour at Rome, he was infinitely inclined. He was the more confirmed afterwards in this his thought, that all ought to depend upon his Authority, when being arrived at Turin, he saw that the Duke of Savoy did with exquisite terms of submission intreat him (as one that might dispose of matters at his pleasure) to consider his right to the Crown of France, as born of *Margaret* Sister to King *Henry* the Second, by whose right (the course of the Salique Law having been formerly interrupted) he alledged the Crown ought rather to be confirmed to him than to any other that in ancient times had pretended title by the womans side; and alledging his deserts to the Apostolick See, since that still with continual pains and exceeding great charge, he endeavoured to subdue the City of *Geneva*, the basis and foundation of Calvinism; he laboured to win the protection of the Legate, who not being well informed how matters went, did not take notice that the Duke brought on his pretensions that way, because he had no better prop to uphold them, and strove to get into favour with the Pope and Legate, to draw supplies from them of men and money, where-
by

by he might bring those of Geneva under his yoke, and fortifie and establish himself in the possession of the Marquessate of Saluzzo, against whosoever should at last be elected and acknowledged King of France, wherein he saw he could not have a more safe Protector, then the Pope.

But the Cardinal Legat being come into France, was not long before he found effects contrary to his opinion; for having sent to require Colonel *Alphonso Corso* not onely to forbear molesting Grenoble and Valence (which Cities alone held for the League in Dauphine) but also, that as a Catholick and a Stranger, he should forsake the Kings party, and joyn with the *Union*, that tryal proved vain; for the answer he received was, That he was indeed a Catholick, and an obedient Son to the Apostolick See in Spiritual things; but that having made his fortune as a Soldier in the service of the King of France, he could not desist from following him; and, following him, he was bound to do that to Grenoble and Valence, which he thought fit for the affairs of the Prince whom he served. By which answer, the Legat was a little dashed, who was so much the more troubled, when being come to Lyons, he found the business of the League in such disorder by the Kings prosperous success, that he was so far from obtaining anything else, that he could neither have security, nor convoy to prosecute his journey; for the Count of *Brissac*, appointed at first by the Duke of Mayenne to meet him, and secure his passage, was necessitated to face about, and imploy himself in the affairs of *Normandy*, and Monsieur *de la Bourdaisiere*, to whom that Commission was given afterward, had been defeated by the Kings Forces under the command of the *Sieur de Pralin*, near Bar upon the Seine; so that being reduced into very great perplexity, he knew not by what resolution to steer his course, so various were the things that represented themselves to his consideration. The Duke of Nevers being retired home, and not interested on either side, invited him to come into his state, where standing neuter, as befitted one that represented the Apostolick See, he might freely take those ways that should appear most convenient to him; and this determination seemed to agree with the Popes intentions and instructions. On the other side, the Duke of Mayenne ceased not to sollicite him to come to Paris; shewing him, that without the authority of his name, and without those helps which

The Cardinal Legats request to Colonel *Alphonso Corso*; and his answer.

1590

which were hoped for from him, the League was in danger to be dissolved, and to be subdued by the Kings Forces; and by consequence, not onely the City of Paris, but all the rest of the Kingdom would remain oppressed by the Hugonot party. The King did not at all despair; but that, if he could not be wrought to come into the places under his obedience, he might at least be perswaded to stay in some Neutral Town out of the way, and perchance to go to the City of Avignon, till he saw the issue of the Duke of Luxembourgs Embassie at Rome; to forward which hopes, he had caused to be published, That if the Popes Legat, who was reported to be coming, should take his journey toward him, every one should receive, honor, and reverence him, taking care neither to offend him, nor any of his followers, and should by all means give him safe conduct and security: But if he went towards the quarters of the League, he did expressly forbid every one to acknowledge him for a Legat, or to receive him into those places that were under his obedience, upon pain of Rebellion. But the Legat did not onely think it unsafe to go to the Duke of Nevers, a weak Prince, who had neither Fort nor principal City wherein he might shelter himself from the snares of the Hugonots, and unhandsome to return back: But also he esteemed it much more indecent and prejudicial to abandon the Catholick party; and by that demonstration, utterly to confound and deject the mindes of those who were for the League, with a manifest increase of the Kings forces and reputation; from whence a greater mischief would have followed in Spiritual then in Temporal Matters; because, to the Popes dishonor, the Catholick party would have been abandoned through his default, and the King, who at that time, for fear of his enemies, made shew both in words and actions that he would turn Catholick, would be left free with power to do what he pleased, without respect of any Body; and finally, he thought with himself that he was come into France, not onely to compose the discords, but principally to endeavor the suppression of the King of Navar, an enemy to the Church, and the election of a new King depending wholly upon the Pope, as a friend and confident to the Kingdom of Spain. This opinion had so much power with him, that being grounded upon decency, and not finding any obstacle to the contrary in his Commission, he resolved at last to satisfie the party of the League

League, and to go on without delay to Paris: Wherefore seeing the Duke of Mayenne extremely taken up with Military employments, he sent *Monsignor Bianchetti* to the Duke of Lorain, to demand a Convoy of him for his safe passage; which being obtained without difficulty, passing by Dijon and Troyes, he came upon the Twentieth day of *January* into the City of Paris, being received with most solemn pomp, and lodged in the Bishops Palace, richly and sumptuously furnished with the Kings stuff, taken out of the lodgings of the *Louvre*. At his arrival, he caused the Popes *Breve* of the Fifteenth of *October* to be published; wherein, after an honorable commemoration of the merits of the Kingdom of France toward the Apostolick See, and of the reciprocal benefits and kinde demonstrations of it towards the most Christian Kings in all times, and after having compassionately deplored the present troubles and calamities, he attested, that with the counsel of the Cardinals he had chosen Cardinal *Gaetan* Legat to the Kingdom of France, with power to use (by the Divine assistance) all means which by him should be thought fit, to protect the Catholick Religion, to recal Hereticks into the bosom of the Church, to restore the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdom; and finally, to procure, that under one onely, good, pious, and truly Catholick King, the people of the Kingdom might, to the glory of God, live in quietness and tranquillity, after so many dangers and calamities of War: Wherefore he did pray and exhort all the Orders and Degrees of France to persevere in the Catholick Religion, and labor by the glorious example of their Ancestors, to extinguish and root up the evil of Heresie, to cut off the occasions and roots of discord; and that particular enmities and quarrels being finally buried, and those fatal ruinous Civil Wars being laid down, they should resolve to yield obedience to a lawful truly Catholick King; and the Divine Worship being restored under his shadow and protection, to live in charitable union and concord; being in the meantime obliged to receive the Cardinal Legat with due reverence, and to put in execution his fatherly admonitions; thereby to reap, besides temporal earthly fruits, the divine heavenly benediction.

Two different Declarations followed upon the publication of this *Breve*; one, of the Parliament of *Tours*, by which all persons were forbidden to obey or acknowledge the Legat;

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1590

The Cardinal Legat having overcome many doubts and difficulties, arrives at Paris.

The Publication of the Popes *Breve* at Paris, and the content thereof.

1590

The Parliament of Tours forbids to acknowledge the Legat; and the Parliament of Paris exhorted all to give him due reverence.

All the learned men fight for their factions with their Pens, as the Soldiers with their Swords.

the other, of the Parliament of Paris, by which all were exhorted to receive the fatherly love of the Apostolick See, and to give due reverence to the Legat's Admonitions. After which contrary Declarations, (learned men desiring to fight for their Factions in their way, no less ardently then the Soldiers,) there came forth many Decrees of Parliament, and infinite Writings of particular persons, decisions of the Sorbonne, Letters of the Legat, Answers of those Prelates that followed the Kings party, and so great a quantity of Books spread abroad thorow all parts by curious men, that it well appeared there was no Brain that labored not, nor Pen that writ not in the defence and confirmation of the Rights of each Party; but with so much pertinacy of Mindes and Reasons, all striking as it were at the mark of the coming and power of the Legat, that it was an easie thing to consider how Spiritual arms, wrested and interpreted divers ways in the heat and inconsiderateness of War, were rather like to supply new fuel to the fire, then to extinguish the flame already burning; whereby Cardinal Gaetano within a few days perceived the falsity of his first opinion, and that it had been better counsel to have staid neutral, since that by coming to Paris, he made himself Legat onely to one of the Factions; which did not onely trouble him, because it was very different from the minde and designs of the Pope, but because he began also to know clearly the weakness and disorders of the League.

The affairs of the *Union* were at this time, very doubtful and uncertain: For the diversity of pretensions, and the contrariety of the ends of the Confederates, did (as the custom is) disturb the course of the enterprize, and did not onely hold the deliberations of mens mindes in suspence, but also the effects and operations of common interests, which by reason of the Kings celerity and resolution, had no need of delay. The Duke of Mayenne, Prince of the Faction, and Head of the Enterprize; who with the Authority of his Person, the Prudence of his Government, and his Experience in War, managed the weight of all things, esteemed the reward which should result from the Blood of his Brothers, and his own industry, justly to belong unto himself; and designed either to transfer the Crown upon himself, and his own posterity, as had hapned in the times of *Pepin* and *Charles Martel*; or if that could not finally be obtained, to confer it at least upon some

some Prince who should acknowledge it totally and absolutely from him: Yet observing his wonted integrity and right intention, he was resolved never to suffer, that the Kingdom should in any manner be divided, much less, that it should fall into the hands of a Foreign Prince. The King of Spain on the other side, who from the beginning had secretly, and now openly protected and fomented the League, and who in late years had spent two millions of Gold in the service of the Confederates, and was fain now, besides the maintaining of Horse and Foot, to contribute vast sums of money, both in publick and private; and who saw, that without his Supplies, which must be great and potent, not onely the Enterprize could not succeed, but also, that the League could not so much as subsist, but be speedily dissolved, thought it more then reasonable, and more then just, that the expences and losses being his, the fruits and profits should be so likewise; and therefore, besides a most secret hidden intention of uniting the two Crowns, or to make that of France to come to his daughter the Infanta Isabella, born of Queen Elizabeth, Eldest Sister to Henry the Third: He sought also to be publicly declared Protector of the Crown of France, with Royal pre-eminencies, and authority to provide for the Offices of the Crown, to chuse the Governors and Commanders in War, to dispose of Prelatical dignities, and to have the power belonging to a supream Prince: And this was demanded and openly labored for by his Agents, who were Don Bernardino Mendonza, the Commendatory Morrea, Juan Baptista Tassis, * Veedor General of his Armies, who was newly come for that purpose from Flanders. The Parisians, who saw the foundation of the Faction consisted in them, not onely by reason of the abundance of people, and the power of the City, but also of the continual Contributions from whence they derived the sinews of the War, thought it belonged to them to dispose of the Crown: And being ill-satisfied with the Duke of Mayenne, because of his unprosperous success in the War, both in that the *Fauxbourg*s seemed to have been lost by his delay, and that through his want of diligence, the City was in a manner besieged, and in great scarcity of provisions, they inclined to submit themselves to the will of the Spaniards, hoping by means of their Forces utterly to destroy the King, whose very name they hated bitterly; to extirpate the Religion of the Hugonots, whereof they naturally

Princes that
aspired to the
Kingdom of
France.

* Commissary
General.

1590

were enemies ; and by the moneys of Spain to be eased of the intollerable burden of Contributions, as the Catholick King's ministers went cunningly promising and bragging both in publike and private. On the other side, the Nobility who followed the party of the League, and in whose hands were the Arms and Fortresses, averse from submitting themselves to the Spanish dominion, desirous of a French King, and affectionate to, or interessed with the House of Guise, inclined to favour the Duke of Mayenne ; and following his Name, and obeying his Command, necessitated all the rest of their party to depend upon him, and to order themselves by the motions of his will, and the authority of his Government. In the Parliament many were inclined to favour the King, and desirous that he would turn to the Catholick Faith, that they might acknowledge and obey him : and universally the major part of the Counsellours were far from suffering either that the Kingdom should be divided, or that it should come to a forraign Prince. The Duke of Lorain, from whom the League received no small increase of strength and reputation, thought that the Kingdom appertained to his son the Marquess *du Pont*, as being born likewise of *Claude*, the sister of *Henry* the Third, and took it very ill that any other of the House of Lorain should dare to stand in competition with him, the Head and Chief of the Family. The Duke of Savoy likewise pretended a right to the Kingdom, because he was born of *Margaret*, the sister of King *Henry* the Second ; and trusted that he should perchance be favoured by the Spaniard, but perswaded himself certainly that he should have the protection of the Pope. These two Princes, besides their designs upon the Crown, had also other particular aims ; The Duke of Lorain to get Metz, Thoul, Verdun, and the Dutchy of Sedan, upon which places he had divers pretentions. The Duke of Savoy, to conserve the Marquesate of Saluzzo, and by that (as it began after to be discovered) he hoped to joyn Provence to his State ; a very commodious Province, and opportune, by reason of the footing he had there already, possessing in it the City and County of Nizza. The Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Mercœur thought also of this division of the Kingdom into many parts : The first, out of a desire to reduce his Government of Lyons into a proper Signory ; the other, to attain Bretagne, which by ancient rights he pretended did belong

belong unto his Wife : and many others among particular men, who out of a design to reduce their Governments into patrimonies, would willingly have followed that resolution. Of so great diversity of humours and designs, and of so great variety of Counsels was the League composed, who jostling and thwarting one another, interrupted the course of affairs, and slackned that fervour wherewith from the beginning they had conspired to establish that bond, which seemed to have no other end save that of Religion.

Nor could the variety of counsels, or the uncertainty of the resolutions of the League be unknown to the King, by reason of the experience he had of them, and of the intelligence which came daily to him, and therefore endeavouring to draw advantage from them, and make profit of them, he had from the time he departed from Diepe, given liberty upon his *parole* to the Marquess of Belin (who had been taken prisoner in the business of Arques) with Commission to proffer peace to the Duke of Mayenne in his name, and to exhort him, as a Prince of a good moderate nature, not to consent to the pernicious thoughts of strangers ; but that freeing himself from the vexations of the common people, and from the arts of the Spaniards, he would hearken to a good wholesome Accommodation, for by that means he might with more desert and honour obtain whatsoever he himself could desire of him : And at the same time he had brought to pass under hand, that the Catholicks of his party should pray the same Marquess to beseech the Duke of Mayenne from them, that he would exhort and perswade the King to turn Catholick ; for that was the way to reduce him into the bosom of the Church ; and with his honour and reputation to restore peace and tranquillity, so necessary, and so desired of all France. But the Marquess having done his message, and reiterated it again after the King's departure from the *Fauxbourgs* of Paris, the thoughts and reasons were different not only in the minds of his Counsellors, but also of the Duke of Mayenne himself. They that favoured the Propositions of the Catholicks of the King's party, said, There could be no resolution taken either more to the purpose, or of more benefit and honour to the Duke, let the event be what it would ; for if the King should accept the invitation, and make himself a Catholick, discords would thereby be buried, Religion secured, the Kingdom come

A Treaty of Agreement between Hen. the Fourth and the Duke of Mayenne.

1590

come into the hands of the lawful Successor, and an end put to the fatal revolutions of Civil War: That the name of the Duke would thereby remain glorious to all the World, as the author of so great a good; his intentions would be justified, and the end of his taking up arms would plainly appear, with the eternal Benedictions of all the people of France: That as a consequent of so pious a work, would result the freeing of the Cardinal of Bourbon, who in so decayed an age, one ought to believe, desired rather his liberty, and a quiet passage out of this life, then a vain shadow of dominion accompanied with a most strict imprisonment: That thereupon likewise would follow the freeing of the Dukes of Guise and Elbœuf, of whose recovery they had for a long time had but small, or no hopes: And finally, that the state of the Duke himself, and of his posterity, would be as great as he himself knew how to ask or desire. But if the King should refuse to satisfie his request, and should persevere in the Hugonot Religion; then not only the reasons of the League would be justified to all the World, to the confusion of those who did sinisterly interpret the actions of the Confederates; but also the Catholicks who followed the King, despairing of his conversion, and having found the falsities of his promises, would all forsake him; whereby he remaining onely with the dependence of a few Hereticks, it would be easie to suppress him, and make an honorable end of the War by Victory.

On the other side, they that dissuaded from that resolution, said, That the War being wholly grounded upon the point of Religion, that overture could not be made without a precedent Licence from the Pope, whom it concerned to approve and confirm the Kings Conversion. And that the Duke of Mayenne not being absolute Prince of the League, but onely Head of his own party, ought not to proceed to so important and so peremptory an act, without the consent of all those that followed his party, and of all the Princes that adhered to & favored the League: For if the Pope should not approve of his conversion, whatsoever he should have treated or resolved on, would remain void and of no effect; and if the Confederates should not follow his determination, they would chuse another Head, and he would be left deprived of the prop of the Catholick party, and unhappily exposed to the will of his enemies: That this was a plot of the King himself, to beget distrust be-

tween him and his party, and to sow discords and suspicions among the Confederates: That it might be, he would gain himself a Catholick, to the end, he might more securely dispose of Religion at his own pleasure; in which case, the too hasty, and too simple credulity of the Duke, would for ever be condemned; and likewise, that the King, to break the Union of the League, would promise mountains of Gold, but without any security; that being settled King in peace, he would not after observe that, or the least part of that which he had promised; from whence, to his eternal blame, would follow the ruine of himself, and all his adherents: That the course of present affairs required, he should continue united with the rest of the Confederates: That he should not disgust the Pope, nor alienate the Catholick King, nor the Duke of Lorain: That he should not be abashed for the ill success of the beginning, but hope, that as God had revenged the Blood of his Brothers; so he would give him assistance to establish Religion, and exalt his state to the greatness he hoped for. The Duke was moved on the one side, by the justness of the Proposition of those of the Kings party, as also by his anger at the instability and impertinency of the Parisians: The scarcity of money afflicted him, for want whereof he knew not how to pay his Foreign Forces, nor how to satisfy the demands of all the Garisons, and all the Governors, who addressed themselves to him for whatsoever they needed; but the cunning and obdurateness of the Spaniards troubled him more then all the rest, who having caused the *Sieur de la Morbè*, Governor of Graveline, to come out of Flanders with Supplies, to the very Frontiers of the Kingdom, denied to make him advance any further, or to pay any sum of money for the maintenance of the War, if the Catholick King were not first declared Protector of the Crown of France, with authority to dispose of the principal Dignities, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil (which they called *Las Marcas de Justicia*) whereby he would have power and superiority over the League; which things seemed to him so exorbitant, so prejudicial to the Crown, and so unfit, that neither he himself could endure to hear of them; nor did he believe, that any of the Confederates, except the Parisians would condescend unto them; knowing, that it was a putting off the Bridle into the hand of the Catholick King, to give him leave to guide the

The *Sieur de la Morbè* refuses to advance beyond the Frontiers, unless the King of Spain be declared Protector of the Crown of France, with authority to dispose of the chief Ecclesiastical and Temporal Dignities; which Prerogatives were otherwise called *Marks of Justice*.

1590

The Duke of
Mayenne will
not hearken
to an agree-
ment with
the King.

The Archbi-
shop of Lyons
lately prison-
er at Am-
boise, is made
High Chancel-
lor to the
Duke of May-
enne.

the event of things whithersoever he pleased, at last, to direct them. But on the other side, the doubt of being left alone and forsaken, the uncertainty of the Kings Conversion, and of his Word, the ancient enmity stirred up against him, and much more the hope of attaining the Crown for himself at last, did not suffer him to consent to the Marquess *de Belin's* Propositions: Wherefore he sent him back to his imprisonment with general ambiguous words, and cut off the proposed Treaty of Agreement. And to remedy (as much as in him lay) the disorders of present affairs, partly by importunity, partly by cunning, partly by terror of arms, he caused the Council of the *Union* to be very much moderated, which from the beginning was composed of seditious persons, and such as did not depend wholly upon him, and would have the Archbishop of Lyons (newly set at liberty by Captain *du Gast* for a great sum of money, and come to Paris) to execute the Office of High Chancellor, and in that quality to be President of the Council; and brought into it the *Sieur de Villeroy* and President *Jeannin*, Men that were his Confidants, and averse from condescending to the will of the Spaniards; and increasing the number, he put in so many of the principal Gentlemen, that he did no longer fear the insolency and instability of the common people in those deliberations which occurred daily; and yet to satisfy all in appearance, he caused a Decree to be made in the Council, by which the Princes, Peers, Mareschals of France, Governors of Provinces, Officers of the Crown, and the three Orders of the Kingdom were appointed to meet at *Melun* in the Moneth of *February* following, to hold the States General there, where all present affairs should be deliberated, and resolved on with the common consent: Which appointment, though men of understanding saw, that in respect of the confusion of the War, it was like to prove vain, it not being possible, either to meet, or stay together in a place that was in the middle of the combustion, served nevertheless to bait the common people, who are sooner caught with vain, but specious things, then with such as are serious and substantial.

With the Spaniards (who importuned him most earnestly for the Declaration) the Duke held another temper, excusing himself by the coming of the Cardinal Legat, who already was very near, without whose assent and presence, he
said

said it was not fit to conclude a business of so great moment; and fed them with hopes, so artificially, and with so much dissimulation, that, they not distrusting the inclination and ready consent of the Legat, it was easie to perswade them to stay his coming: Neither therefore would they make the supplies advance, or disburse any sum of money, alledging the same reason, that for their parts they would stay for the approbation of the Cardinal Legat. But because the Parisians, straightned with scarcity of Victual, murmured exceedingly, (nor did it appear, that in that, they were much to blame) the Duke drawing together all the Forces he had in being, laid siege to Pontoise, to open on that side a passage for the provisions of Normandy.

In the mean time, the Cardinal Legat arrived, with whom the Duke of Mayenne having had an interview at Paris, many of the principal Lords who were nearest at hand being there present, and among the rest Cardinal *Gondi* (who since the Kings death, being retired to Noysey, a house of his Brothers the Marechal *da Retz*, had kept himself neuter) they began to treat of the progress of the affairs of the League. The Spaniards above all insisted upon declaring the Catholick King Protector, and upon the *Marks of Justice* they demanded for him; and were fomented by the Council of *Sixteen*, who affirmed there was no other opposition against it, but that of the Duke of Mayenne; and that the whole party would willingly concur to satisfie the Catholick King, as he from whom they acknowledged the security of Religion, and their own safety. On the other side, the Duke resisted, with the major part of the Nobility, and with the Counsellors of Parliament, who were resolved not to consent unto it: And some inconveniency might have sprung from it, if Cardinal *Gaetano* had not put the Spaniards in minde, That it was no time to stand upon those demands, nor to force the wills of the French unseasonably: That it would make them agree, and reconcile themselves to the King of Navar, who not being wanting to himself, proposed large and advantageous conditions: That the maturity of the business was to be waited for, and mens mindes were not to be put into suspicions unseasonably, for that without doubt the event would be the dissolution of the League, with the danger of Religion, and ruine of the whole enterprise: That it was needful first to withstand the Arms and

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progress

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A false rumor
is divulged, of
a Treary of
Agreement,
which increa-
ses the con-
fusion of the
Parisians.

progress of the King, lest he by means of those discords should have time to establish himself; and then that danger being removed, neither ways nor occasions would be wanting to satisfy the Catholick Kings interests, which he in due time would advance and favor with all his power; And it fell out very opportunely, that about the same time, either by chance or cunning, some Articles of Agreement were divulged, between the King, and the Duke of Mayenne, which were reported to have been concluded by Monsieur de Villeroy for him, and the Marechal de Byron on the Kings part; and many affirmed, that they were most true, and already subscribed by the Dutcheffes of Nemours and Mayenne; the one Mother, the other Wife to the Duke, who indeed were against the Spaniards demands; whereby that hapning, which ordinarily is wont, that Fear overcomes all other Passions, and removes all other impediments, the Spanish Ministers agreed at last, that *Juan Baptista Tassis*, one of their number, and the *Sieur de Rosieux* for the Duke of Mayenne, should go together into Spain, to know personally the Catholick Kings intentions, which the Duke of Mayenne affirmed to be different from what his Ministers reported, and to bring back the order that was to be observed in the administration of common affairs.

The Spaniards consent, that the Supplies of Flanders should advance, and joyn with the Duke of Mayenne.

Cardinal *Gautano* grants unto the Duke of Mayenne the Three hundred thousand crowns, brought for the enlargement of the Cardinal of Bourbon.

The Decree of the Colledge of Sorbonne.

In the meantime they consented, that the Supplies from Flanders should advance, to unite themselves with the Army of the Duke of Mayenne; who, Pontoise being once taken, purposed to march forward and meet the enemy. The Cardinal Legat added the Three hundred thousand crowns which he had brought from Rome, in Bills of Exchange, which (seeing for the present, they could not be spent for the enlargement of the Cardinal of Bourbon) he had, upon the necessity of the enterprize, granted to the Duke, since he absolutely denied that the Army could move, if it got not at least some part of the arrears of its pay.

On the other side, the Duke of Mayenne consented, that the Colledge of *Sorbonne*, should make a Decree, confirmed by the Cardinal Legat, that no Agreement should be treated of with the Hereticks, nor particularly with *Henry of Bourbon*, who was declared to be relapsed and excommunicated; nor should hold any commerce or intelligence with him, upon the same pain of Excommunication and Herefie: To which the Duke

Duke more easily gave consent, because at that time his minde was utterly averſe from an Accommodation, and full of hope, remaining victorious over his enemies, to reduce things to that point which he aimed at ſecretly in himſelf.

The diſcords being thus compoſed and quieted, the Duke deſirous to piece up his reputation loſt in the aſſaults at Diepe, and in the loſs of the *Fauxbourgs* of Paris, being ſtirred up and filled with hopes by the Cardinal-Legat, moved with his whole Army to beſiege *Meulan*, a ſmall place; but ſeated upon the Paſs of the River Seine, at the entering into Normandy, which therefore next to Pontoife, hindered the bringing of Viſtuals to the City of Paris. *Meulan* is a little Bourg en-

Meulan ſtands upon the Seine below Paris.

cloſed with ancient walls, which ſpreads it ſelf along the bank of the Seine: from thence there is a convenient paſſage over a ſpacious Bridge into an Iſland in the miſt of the River, which reduced into the form of a Fortreſs, is defended and flanked with four Ravelines after the modern way; and from the Iſle there is a paſſage over another Bridge to the other bank of the River, where there is a great Tower of ancient building, which ſerves as a defence and fortification to the Bridge. Colonel

Brangneville was in *Meulan* with four Companies of French Foot, fifty Switzers, and eighty Light-Horſe; who thinking that after the taking of Pontoife (which Town had capitulated to ſurrender) the Duke of Mayenne, to ſatiſſie the Pariſians, would come on to beſiege that place, had with exceeding great diligence cauſed the Bourg to be encompassed with a good Trench, flanked with Half-moons; and the ſame had he done to the great Tower which ſtands beyond the River upon the entry of the Bridge, the Iſle being already well enough fortified before: At the ſame time he likewiſe diſpatched ſeveral meſſengers to the King, to demand relief: and having ordered his men in a readineſs, and given Arms to thoſe of the Bourg, had taken a reſolution to defend himſelf to the uttermoſt.

A deſcription of the ſituation of *Meulan*, and of the ſiege laid to it by the Duke of Mayenne.

The ſiege being laid on that ſide where the Bourg ſtands, the Duke of Mayenne cauſed a Battery to be planted, which began to play upon the Defendants with eleven pieces of Cannon; but ſo great was their diligence in repairing their Works, and ſo great annoyance did the Army receive as it were in the flank, from two pieces of Artillery planted in the point of a Raveline in the Iſland, that the ſiege went on with great difficulty, and exceeding ſlowly: Wherefore the Duke, angry that ſo

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1590 small a place should make so obstinate a resistance (for he had already been ten days at work about it) caused the *Sieur de Rhosne*, one of his Camp-Mareschals, to pass over to the other side of the Seine, and make a Battery against the Tower of the Bridge, to straighten the Defendants on all sides.

In the mean time the King, who was quartered between Lisieux and Ponteau de Mer, with a design to besiege Honfleur, which was the only Town in the lower Normandy that held for the League, having had notice of the eager siege at Meulan, resolved to march presently to relieve it: for the greatest hope of his Arms consisting in the blocking up and cutting off provisions from the City of Paris, with confidence that he should break the stubbornness of the Citizens, and that the impatience of want and necessity would make their minds incline to Peace; he saw that the taking of Meulan would open a large passage for abundant supplies of provisions: wherefore being departed from Lisieux the fourteenth of February, and having taken Vernueil by the way, he marched (though orderly) with so great diligence, that having gone forty leagues in seven dayes, he appeared upon the one and twentieth with his Army in Battalia within sight of Meulan, on that side where the Tower was besieged and battered by the *Sieur de Rhosne*, who having but a small part of the Army with him, and therefore unequal Forces to continue the siege on the field-side, drawing off his Cannon, passed the River in Boats that waited for him, and went into the Duke's Camp; and the King entering personally into Meulan on that side, and giving due commendations to the Defendants, left three hundred Swisses, and two hundred French Fire-locks there; and retiring to his Army, quartered in the places near adjacent.

The Duke of Mayenne knowing that the King would not attempt with inferiour Forces to pass the River in the face of his Army, continued with confidence to batter the place; and the Cannon having made way with about five hundred shot, the assault was given upon the two and twentieth day; which was so sharp, that the Defendants would not have endured it long, if the King at the same time, sending in fresh men on the other side of the River, had not given them new courage and new strength; and yet nevertheless, having lost the first Trench, they were reduced to their inner Works, with small hope of defending them, if the Mareschal de Biron had not come in with
a great

a great many Foot; who bringing other Cannon into the Isle, which raked thorow their flank with a very great slaughter, forced the Assailants at last to retreat towards the evening. Yet the Duke of Mayenne still persisted in his resolution to force the place, judging that his glory would be so much the greater if he could take Meulan before the King's face, by how much the more difficult he esteemed the enterprize in regard of the hourly relief which the besieged received from the far side of the River. But the King having changed his quarters, and after having furnished Meulan with all things necessary, having lodged his Army upon the great high-way that leads to Paris, the Duke of Mayenne was constrained to send the Duke of Nemours thither with some Light-horse, to prevent the tumults and precipitate despair of the people: after which diminution of his Army, it fortuned that news came presently, how the old Castle at Rouen was seized upon by some seditious persons, and that the whole City was brought into very great danger and confusion: wherefore upon the five and twentieth day he resolved to raise his siege, and to march that way without delay, (so much did accidental chances always assist the King's proceedings) and yet the danger of Rouen vanished without any trouble: for the *Sieur de la Londe*, who commanded the Souldiers, having driven out those that made the tumult the same night, and also the *Sieur d'Allegre*, who was the Head of them, restored the City unto its former quietness. But the Duke of Mayenne, thinking it at last impossible to take Meulan, considering the hourly relief it had from the King; and not being willing to lose time, and destroy his Army upon a vain enterprize, resolved to draw off, and with easie marches to meet the Supplies from Flanders and Lorain, which he had intelligence were advancing speedily towards him.

1599

The Duke of Mayenne, after 25 days, raises the siege of Meulan, and marches towards Rouen to appease new troubles.

On the other side, the King being intent upon cutting off provisions from Paris on all sides, resolved unexpectedly to assault the City of Dreux, his minde giving him that he should take it before the Duke of Mayenne returned, and so not only totally shut up the passage of Normandy, but also keeping a strong Garrison there, cut off and molested the ways of Beaufse, and hinder the free passage between Chartres and Paris. The *Sieur de la Falandre* and Captain *la Viette*, were in Dreux, both valiant Souldiers; who having a sufficient Garrison, received the

The King besiegeth Dreux

1590

the siege very constantly, which was begun upon the last of February, shewing in the first skirmishes both firm resolution of minde, and great experience in War: which opinion conceived of them, they did the more confirm at the *Mareschal de Biron's* viewing and discovering the place: for they laid him an ambush of many Musketers, secretly placed in the moor, by whom *Charles Brise* the chief Cannoneer, who was close by him, Captain *la Boulaye*, and two others of his own servants were slain; he himself being shot upon the Target with three bullets, and beaten to the ground, was not wounded by reason of the goodness of his Arms; but yet he had much ado to get off, and had certainly been taken prisoner by the enemy, if his son the Baron, who followed him very near, had not opportunely succoured and disingaged him. The valour of the Defendants was not less in other actions: for the Artillery having made a great breach by the third of March, the King commanded the Foot to assault the Curtine, at which fighting gallantly from noon to sun-set, the Defendants at the last beat back the King's Forces with a very great slaughter; and following them victoriously into their trenches, slew three Captains there, and two hundred souldiers. About this time the King received seasonable assistance from many parts: for having called unto him all the supplies of the Provinces, first of all the *Mareschal d'Aumont* joyned with him, who led the Gentry of Champagne, and one thousand and two hundred *Reiters* newly sent out of Germany by the *Sieur de Sancy*; and a while after, the Grand Prior and the Baron *de Givry* came up with two hundred Gentlemen, and three hundred Light-horse; and at last Captain *Raulet* Governour of *Pont de l'Arche*, the *Commandatory de Chattes*, the *Sieur de l'Archant*, and other Gentlemen, brought in the Forces of Normandy: after whose arrival, the King, desirous to try the last push for the place he had besieged, caused four other pieces of Cannon, with great store of Ammunition to be fetched from Meulan, where they had been left, and began to batter it afresh with very great violence.

At the news
of the siege of
Dreux, the
people of Pa-
ris muriny.

But the news of the besieging of Dreux being come to Paris, it is not credible how much mens mindes were altered by it, and how much the people murmured and mutinied at it, being exposed more then all others to future dangers, and to the present distresses of hunger: wherefore the Cardinal-

Legat

1590

Legat, and the Spanish Ministers being very much troubled, endeavored not onely by means of the Preachers, to appease and chear up the Citizens, but solicited the Duke of Mayenne with frequent Letters, and resenting Messages, spurring him up with often vehement complaints, and seeming to wonder, that having much a stronger Army, he should let the principal City, on which the most secure hopes of the League relied, to be brought into such scarcity; that it was necessary to prevent those imminent insurrections which were secretly labored for on the Kings part; that so much money had now been spent, and so much pains taken, and that nothing had been done save enterprises of small or no account to the sum of affairs; and that it was evident, nothing else was endeavored, nothing else pretended, but to consume time unprofitably, and tire out the patience of the Confederates; and the Three hundred thousand Crowns sent by the Pope being once spent, with what money would he maintain his Army for the future? with contributions of the Parisians, who having been already long blocked up, and reduced to extreame want of necessaries, were faine to pay ten crowns for a bushel of Wheat, and to live upon Bread alone without any other subsistence? that every one desired he would at last make tryal, whether the Swords of the Confederates could cut as well, and were as sharp, as those of the *Bearnois* (so they called those of the Kings party,) and that the Catholick King had not emptied his Garisons of Flanders, to the end, his Soldiers should lose their time in idleness; that it was manifestly seen how much a mans resolution was to be valued; for the King without money, without being prop'd up by Confederates, without friends, and in a manner without any Towns, had in a few moneths traversed all France, taken more places and Forts then there were days in the year, and now fiercely and resolutely threatned the City of Paris it self, even in the face of the Army of the League.

The Duke of Mayenne moved by these complaints, earnestly redoubled many times, though in his own minde he feared the unexperthens of his men, and did much esteem the valor of the Nobility that followed the Kings Camp; yet was he resolved to put it to a day, because the great advantage he had in number made him conceal his own opinion; and his being Head of the Confederates, forced him to mannage the
War

1590

The Duke of Mayenne joyns with the Spanish Supplies from Flanders, and marches towards Dreux, resolveth to fight.

The German Infantry raised for the K. of France, turn for the League, under the command of Colonel St. Paul.

The Army of the League being 4500 Horse, and 20000. Foot, march to relieve Dreux.

The King advertised of their coming raises the siege.

War by the directions of others, fearing many inconveniences if he should have gone about to manage it his own way: Wherefore being joyned with Count *Egmont*, who brought from Flanders Fifteen hundred Lanciers, and Four hundred Carabines; and having met Colonel *St. Paul* some two days after, who brought Twelve hundred Horse, and Two thousand German Foot out of Lorain; he began his march without further delay to raise the siege of Dreux, and come presently to the issue of a battel. The Flemish Cavalry were excellently well horsed, and gallantly set forth with Silk and Gold, but generally undervalued in respect of the French Gentry: On the other side, the Carabines, armed for the most part with back, brest, and pot, and mounted upon nimble horses of a middle size, being expert in all encounters, were not onely esteemed by their own, but, which imported more, feared by their enemies. The Germans led by *St. Paul*, had been raised in the name of the *Sieur de Sancy*, who sent by the King to the Princes of Germany, and having obtained money from the Lant-Grave of Hesse, the Count of Mombelliard, and from the Cities of Ulme and Norembergh, had levied Horse and Foot to joyn with the Mareschal *d' Aumont* in Champagne, which the Cavalry prosperously did; who by the way of Langres (though by a various passage) came to the place appointed; but the Infantry being come near the City of Strasbourg, was encompassed by the Duke of Lorain, and to free themselves from danger, broke their Faith; and having received new money in the name of the Confederates, was come into the Camp of the League, under the command of Colonel *St. Paul*: With these Forces, and the old Army, which amounted in all, to the number of Four thousand five hundred Horse, and little less then Twenty thousand Foot: The Duke furnished with victual, and all things necessary, reviewed his Army diligently upon the Ninth of March, and having given his Soldiers leave to rest all the day following, upon the Eleventh day in the morning he moved toward Dreux, which Town was still fiercely battered and assaulted by the King.

But the King having intelligence, that the Duke of Mayenne increased in strength, advanced towards him with a resolution to fight; being deceived both by the constancy of the defendants, from whom he did not think to have met with such resistance; and by the celerity of the Duke, who he did not believe

1590

believe would so suddenly have joyned with the Supplies of the Confederates, determined to raise the siege, being not well resolved to fight, by reason of the inequality of Forces; yet intending (in case he should come to a battel) to finde out the most convenient place, and most advantageous ground that he could for his Army. The Artillery was drawn off upon Monday, being the Twelfth of March, in the morning; but because the King would have the Baggage to go before, and that the Army should march in Battalia, the day was already almost spent when the Camp moved, nor did they arrive at Nonancourt, their appointed Quarter, till many hours of the night were past: At which time, a mighty storm of rain falling from Heaven, among terrible thunder and lightning, put the whole Army into a very great fright, as well because retreats are always formidable to those that know not the intimate secrets of command, as by reason of the fame which was spread abroad of the powerful Forces of the Enemy; and because both Fortune and the Weather seemed to conspire in prejudice of that Army, which almost half drowned, marched as if they were flying under favor of the dark, though close in the ranks and files of their Divisions. The terror of the rawer men, was increased by a prodigious Apparition, which as the rain ceased, appeared in the midst of the skie; for there were seen two wonderful great Armies, of a red bloody colour, which rushed visibly together in the air, amidst the horrible noise of the thunder; and, within a while after, the event not appearing, they both vanished, and were covered again with exceeding thick and most obscure clouds; which though it were diversly interpreted by many, seemed most probably to portend mischief and ruine to that Army, which inferior in strength, and altogether void of other help, then that of their own Forces, retired, as it were already conquered, while the Enemy advanced; and so much the more, because those were the very places, where, in the first Civil Wars, the Kings Predecessors, and his Faction of the Hugonots, lost the first battel against the Duke of Guise, wherein the Prince of Conde in the midst of the terrible slaughter of his men, was both wounded and taken prisoner. But the Army being come to Nonancourt (a Town which had been taken two days before) and refreshed both with great fires kindled in every place, and with plenty of victual, which the Marechal de Byron

A terrible
Prodigy seen
by the Kings
Soldiers.

X x x x x

caused

1590

The Kings
Army 3000.
Horse, and
8000 Foot.

Reasons mo-
ving the King
to fight,
though his
Army was
less by half,
then that of
the League.

caused to be disposed with very good order thorow the whole quarters, as well of Horse as Foot, the Soldiers recovered strength and courage: and the King being come to his lodging with the Marshalls of *Amont* and *Byron*, began to consult whether he should venture the hazard of a Battel. One thing dissuaded him from it, which was the inequality of the number of the two Armies; for in the Kings, there were not above Eight thousand Foot, and Three thousand Horse, which were about half as many as that of the League; and if he had a minde to avoid the encounter, there was also conveniency to retreat beyond the River *Eure* into places of lower Normandy, all abounding with provisions, and all reduced to the Kings obedience; where, with variety of opposition and of effects, the enemy might be hindred and kept in play. But not onely the promptness of the Kings nature inclined to generous resolutions, but also the condition of present affairs withstood that determination: For his forces consisting in the union of the Gentry, who served upon their own charge, without pay or reward, it was necessary to make use of them in the first ardor of their courage, and not to suffer their first fury to be cooled by their expences and sufferings. To this was added, the want of money, which was very great and irreparable, for the payment of the Swisses, and other strangers; so that they could not be long maintained and kept together: Whereas on the other side, there was no doubt but the enemy would never want means, not onely to sustain, but also to increase their Forces to a greater number, whensoever it should please the Pope, and the King of Spain: And finally, the Kings foundation was wholly grounded upon frankness of courage and resolution, it being necessary to hazard the lesser to obtain the greater, and because all other hopes were weak, necessity perswaded to set the sum of affairs upon the edge of the sword; nor could it seem other then faint-heartedness and cowardize, not to second that prosperous beginning which Fortune had favorably shewed him. To all these reasons was added, the opinion of the *Marschal de Byron* (whose counsels, by reason of his wisdom and experience, were by the King observed as Oracles) who thought it not onely difficult, but in a manner altogether impossible to avoid the putting of it to a Battel, and to retire without receiving some notable loss in passing the Rivers, if the Duke of Mayenne should follow them in the Rere: And he judged

judged it better advice to fight resolutely with the vigour and forwardness of the Army, then to be destroyed piece-meal, without the least hope of any good: Wherefore the King, being determined to fight, designed the form of the Battel; and having asked the counsel of the oldest souldiers about it, all of them approved his opinion without contradiction.

The King knew the enemies Army abounded with a great number of Lanciers, who being spread at large along the field, there was no doubt but they would break in, and by consequence endanger the putting of his Cavalry in disorder, composed all of Gentlemen-Voluntiers, who serving upon their own expence, without pay or obligation, had in the revolutions of the Civil Wars given over the use of Lances, for their conveniency, and as more ready, had taken Pistols in their steads, in imitation of the *Reiters*: Wherefore desiring by industry to remedy this disadvantage, which he, and the most experienced Commanders were wont to deplore, he divided his Cavalry into many Squadrons, to render the encounter of the Lances less effectual; in whose passage, two or three lesser Bodies might charge them on all sides, and not receive the shock of their front, with a firm encounter and continued order. To every Body of Horse he joyned Squadrons of Foot, to the end that the hail of small shot might not onely favour his own men in the encounter, but that falling among the enemies, and doing execution upon them, it might make them weaker, and their violence the less united: a remedy which for the need thereof in the difference of Arms, having often been consulted and approved of, did that day give proof how considerable it was in effect. The King having invented the Form wherein the Army was to be drawn up and embattelled, gave the design thereof into the hand of the Baron *de Byron* Camp-Master-General; and chose Monsieur *de Vicy*, an old Colonel of the French Infantry, and a man of great valour and experience, Serjeant-Major-General; and Office, for the high importance of it, not wont to be conferred but upon such persons as by their approved knowledge and long practice in remarkable occasions, had gotten the credit and reputation of Command, and consequently both knew and were known of all. The remainder of the night was spent in rest, till the Drums and Trumpets, at the first peep of light, gave notice of the approaching day; in the beginning whereof

The King designs his form of Battel, and draws it with his own own hand.

1590

Masse was celebrated in all the quarters of the Catholicks, and the Hugonots made their Prayers apart : after which, the whole Army being come forth into the field, the Carriages of provision passed without tumult or confusion thorow all the files, the Marechal de Byron having care thereof, whose orderly government, to the admiration of all, shewed his great experience in the discipline of War.

The Army being refreshed and fed, they began with less haste then they had done the evening before, to march toward the field of Yvry, appointed by the King for the place of Battel, as well because it was large and spacious on all sides, as by reason of many places of advantage, which he (preventing the enemy) had designed to make himself master of. This field takes the compass of many miles in a circular form ; it is bounded on the left side (on which the King's Army came) by two great commodious Villages, one called *Fourcanville*, the other *St André* ; and on the other side, where the Army of the League marched, a thick Wood shuts up the Plain, commonly called by the Country-people, * *Le clos de la prairie* : on the west-side, towards which both Armies marched, it ends in a deep valley, in which runs the River *Enre*, of a reasonable breadth, upon whose banks are two great Bourgs, *Anet* towards the South, and *Yvry* situated on the other side towards the North. The River under *Anet* is wont to be easily forded without danger ; but a large Bridge of planks, upon great pieces of timber, leads from the further side into *Yvry*. The field flat and open on all sides, not encombred with hedges, nor uneven with banks and ditches, hath onely a little natural hollownes, which extends it self a little way, almost in the midst of the plain right over against the above-named village of *Fourcanville*. The *Sieur de Vicy*, and the *Baron de Byron*, together with the *Sieur de Surene*, and Captain *Favon*, who that day executed the Office of Adjutants, being all rode before into this place, drew up the Army as it came, and disposed it in such manner, that the Village of *St André* flanked it on the right side, and *Fourcanville* on the left ; wherein, the ill weather continuing, they might quarter upon all occasions conveniently under cover : and the hollow of the Plain happened to be in the Front of the Army, where the Forlorn-hope (which they call *Les Enfants perdus*) was to be placed. The Duke of Montpensier led the Van, the King commanded the Battel, and

* The hedge or inclosure of the meadow.

The manner of drawing up the King's Army for the battel in the field of Yvry.

and the Mareſchal *de Byron* the Rere. The Cavalry of the Army was drawn into five Bodies, whereof the firſt, led by the Mareſchal *d' Aumont*, with two Regiments of Firelocks by it, ſtood upon the left hand, in the uttermoſt part of the field. Next it, was the ſecond, commanded by the Duke of Montpenſier, flanked on the right hand by a Squadron of Swiſſe Infantry, and on the left by another of the Germans. The third, bigger then all the reſt, in which was the King's Perſon, the Prince of Conty, the Count of *St Paul*, and the choiceſt number of Lords and Gentlemen, was flanked by the Swiſſes of the Guard on the right hand, and by thoſe of Colonel *Balthazar* on the left. The fourth, led by Mareſchal *de Byron*, followed on the right hand of this, and had near it two Regiments of French Fire-locks. The fifth and laſt, of German Horſe, led by Count *Theodorick* of Schombergh, reached down to the houſes of the Village of *St Andre*. Two other Squadrons of Horſe beſides theſe were in the front of the Battel, ſome fifty paces before all the reſt; one commanded by the Grand Prior and the Baron *de Ginry*, wherein were four hundred Light-horſe; and the other by the Baron *de Byron*, in which were three hundred Cuiraffes: And in the miſt, between theſe two Squadrons, were placed the Artillery, commanded by *Philibert de la Guiche*, with * fifty Harquebuſiers on horſeback, two hundred Pioneers, and the ordinary company of Cannoneers. The Forlorn-hope, led by three Colonels, *St Denis*, *Brignolet*, and *Parabiere*, ſome fifty paces before the Artillery and the whole Army, lay cloſe in that hollow that was in the miſt of the Plain, ſo that it could not be hurt by the enemies Cannon; and kneeling with one knee on the ground, could hardly be diſcovered by thoſe that knew not of their being there. In this manner the Army, not in a crooked form, or ſhape of a Half-moon, but ſpreading it ſelf in a ſtraight line, had an equal front, except onely that the Grand Prior, and the Baron *de Byron* with their Squadrons, and the Artillery, being advanced forwarder then the reſt, covered the main Body of the Battel. They had not yet made an end of ordering and imbattelling the Army, when two ſeveral ſupplies from ſeveral parts came up unto the King: for the Sieurs *du Pleſſis*, *de Moüy*, and *de la Tremouille*, came out of Poictou with about two hundred Horſe; and out of Picardy the Sieur *de Humieres* with about * fourſcore Gentlemen, ſtirred

*The French
Translation
ſays five hundred.

* The French
ſay four hundred.

up

1590

up by the report which was spread abroad that there was like to be a Battel about that time : which supplies, though small, yet coming so opportunely, and being increased by fame gave wonderfull courage and assurance to every one, all being of opinion that it was clearly the mercy of Heaven in favour of the King, who unexpectedly received those helps, in so urgent a time of need : and every one more esteeming the happiness of the Omen, then the considerableness of their Forces, they were welcomed with loud joyfull acclamations : and that they might not disturb the order of the Army, they went into the King's Squadron placed just in the middle of the Battel.

The Duke of Mayenne on the other side having intelligence that the King was risen from the siege of Dreux, and that being neither stayed by any hinderance of the rain, nor by the darkness of the night, he marched with exceeding great speed towards Normandy, was of opinion that he, by reason of the inequality of Forces, would have avoided the hazard of fighting, and therefore hastened the march of his Army, hoping that the usual confusion of all Retreats might afford him some opportunity (especially in the passage of so many Rivers) to break, or at least endamage the enemy : and this being not only the belief of the General, but the universal opinion of the whole Army, every one of his own accord quickned his pace, promising themselves an exceeding easie, and very secure Victory without loss of blood : from which haste it came to pass, that though the Army marched as close as they could in their ranks, yet were the Squadrons of it something confused, and almost quite disordered, by the unequalness of the way. But going on with this diligence towards Yvry, with an intention to take the King in the passage of the River, the *Sieur de Rhosne* and *Gessan*, who led the first divisions, in the entry of the Plain discovered the King's Army ; which, drawn up in Battalia, and having taken the advantage of the field, expected the encounter of the day. This news, which passed from Van to Rere, did in great measure cool the courage of many, who already had inconsiderately promised themselves the Victory without fighting, and caused the Army to make a halt to draw up and recover their order. The Army of the League was divided into two Battalions, whereof the right was led by the Duke of Nemours, and the left by the *Chevalier d'Anmale*.

The manner
how the Army
of the
League was
imbattelled.

In

In the point of the Right Wing was the Count *d' Egmont*, with the Lanciers he had brought out of Flanders; next which were a Body of Swisses commanded by their Colonels, *Fifer* and *Berling*, and flanked with the Regiments of *Ponsenac*, *Dismienx*, and *Chasteliere*. Then the Duke of Nemours his Regiment, wherein were Four hundred Horfe; and between these and the Swisses were placed the Artillery. In the Left Wing Four hundred Light Horfe, Burguignons and Spaniards, spread themselves in the uttermost parts to the very edge of the Field, and by the side of them, the Body of German Foot, commanded by the Colonel *St. Paul*, and flanked by the French and Lorain Regiments of *Tremblecourt*, *Tenissay*, and *Chastaigneraye*; and next these, was placed the Squadron of the *Chevalier d' Armale*, wherein were the Troops of the *Sieurs de Longchamp*, *de Perdriel*, and *de Fountaine Martel*. The Duke of Mayenne with his Cornet and Four hundred Gentlemen, which in all made Seven hundred Horfe, was in the midst between the two Wings, flanked by the Flemish Carabines; and before all were two Squadrons of Reiters led by the Duke of Brunswick, and by *Bassompier*, who were to charge, and wheel off after their wonted manner, and so passing between the two Wings, should fall as a Reserve, and rally themselves in order, that they might return more fresh into the Battel.

In this order, the Army marching gently toward the Plain, and by degrees turning their backs to Yvry, and the banks of the River, came up to face the Kings Army, when the day was already almost spent; for having marched disorderly, they had been forced to waste a great deal of time to rank themselves again: Whereupon the near approaching of night, together with the constant extreimity of wet weather, withheld both Generals from giving way, that the battel should be begun; but after they had stood thus some two hours, faintly skirmishing, because each was careful not to engage their Forces, the day being already shut in on every side, the King drew his Army with a great deal of conveniency into Fourcanille, and *St. Andre*, and the Duke of Mayenne with as much inconvenience was fain to quarter his men as well as he could, having but very few houses; which want he supplied by the help of Tents and Pavillions, set up within the descent of the valley, toward the bank of the River. The night was full of unquietness,

The Armies
face one another, but being overtaken by the night, they retire to quarters.

1590 nels, and continual stir on both sides, kindling great fires very thick in each Camp, and Sentinels being set out all over the field, which were changed every half hour by the Colonels who went the rounds; though the Kings Army, by reason of the abundance of victual, of the conveniency of houses, and because the Infantry was enclosed on all sides with barricadoes, rested more quietly, and by their ease received greater refreshment. The Duke of Mayenne, a friend to secure counsels, would willingly have avoided the encounter of a Battel, spinning out the War in length, to tire out the forwardness of the Nobility that followed the King, to reduce them into want of money, and in length of time to make them consume their Ammunition of War, whereof he knew they had no very great store; thinking by these arts, he should at last perfect his designs. But on the one side, Count Egmont opposed it with fierce protestations, that he was not come to consume the Catholick Kings Soldiers unprofitably, who depriving his Low-Countreys of their own Forces to assist Religion in France, desired the War might be ended with one manly blow. And on the other side, it was opposed (though more modestly) by Monsignor Girolamo di Poria, who was present in the Camp in the Legats name, and who alledging the weariness of the Confederates, and the great superiority of Forces, excited the Duke to a generous resolution: Nor was he himself without some consideration of the Parisians, whom he knew to be tired with contributions, pinched with dearth, unsatisfied with him, and ready (if things should be drawn out in length) to embrace the opportunity of a revolt; wherefore at last, he resolved he would no longer defer the encounter. Thereupon the next morning, being Wednesday, the Drums and Trumpets calling at the first appearance of day, the Armies were imbattelled in the same place and manner as they had been the night before: But because the Viscount de Tavannes, who put the Horse in order, while the Sieur de Rhosne did the like unto the Foot, was extremely short-sighted, he placed the several Divisions so close to one another, that he not onely left no space thorow which the Reiters, according to order given, might wheel about, and rally behinde the Army, but even the very Divisions themselves, not having any intervals, by means whereof, they might open when they moved, if they did but stir never so little, justled

The error of
the Viscount
de Tavannes in
drawing up
the Divisions
of the Horse.

justled and crouded one another; a fault, which not being taken notice of by any body, and being therefore left without remedy, put the Army of the League into great confusion.

1590

On the other side, the Kings Forces, by reason of their lesser number being easier to put in order, were not onely set in Battalia without confusion; but first the Marechal de Byron, and then the King himself visited every Division with great diligence, and reviewed every thing very carefully.

The King was upon a great Bay Courser, armed all over, except his face and head, and galloping up and down thorow all the severall Squadrons, did more by his looks and gestures, then by his words, which could scarcely be heard by the multitude; recommend his own fortune, and the common safety unto his Army; in which, his whole strength consisted, and with it the height of their common hopes: And he with an undaunted countenance, but sometimes with tears in his eyes, put his Commanders, and all those that heard him, in minde; that not onely the safety of the Crown of France, but the sole way to save each mans particular life depended upon the point of the sword, and the valor of their own arms; that there were no other Armies to be drawn together, nor other Nobility to take up arms, or open any other way of safety, then to fight stoutly to the death: And at last, standing still at the head of the main Battalion, joyning his hands, and lifting up his eyes to Heaven, he said so loud, that he was heard by many, O Lord, thou knowest the intentions of my heart, and with the Eye of thy Providence, thou piercest into the secretest of my thoughts; If it be best for this people, that I should attain the Crown, which belongs to me by right, do thou favor and protect the justice of my arms: But if thy will hath determined the contrary, if thou takest away my Kingdom, take away my life also at the same time, that I may shed my blood fighting at the head of these who put themselves in danger for my sake. At the end of which words, there arose in the Front of the Battel, a loud acclamation from those that heard him, with an unanimous cry of *Vive le Roy*; which being taken and redoubled from Squadron to Squadron, thorow the whole Army, gave a most happy beginning to the Battel. But he having taken his Helmet, covered with a long gallant plume of White Feathers for a mark, that he might be followed, and knowing that the

The King all arm'd on horse back, visits and exhorres his soldiers with great efficacy, and at the head of his Army, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, prayeth heartily.

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the great care and courage of his men was mounted upon another, being encompassed by the Gentry of Normandy, fought with admirable valour: and the Duke of Nemours, very young, but of a generous spirit, raised by the advantage of the greater number of his Forces, (after the encounter of the Lances) was with short weapons fallen pell-mell into the midst of the Battel. On the other side, the Count *de Schombergh* with the German Horse, not wheeling off, but charging home into the very Body of the enemy, with volleys of Pistols did great execution upon the Squadron of the Chevalier *d'Anmale*, who, no less valiant then fame reported him, being seconded by a strong party of his men, made the Conflict very sharp and dangerous. But the Reiters who were placed before the Duke of Mayenne, having received much damage by the Artillery, advancing nevertheless wheeling to make their charge: but when they came into the hollow of the field, they found the Forlorn-hope, who standing up courageously upon their feet, welcomed them with a terrible storm of Muskets-bullets, by which the Duke of Brunswick, one of their chief Commanders being slain, and many other wounded & beaten to the ground, as soon as ever they had discharged their Pistols, they fell off according to the custom of their discipline, turning to get behind the Body of the Army, as they had received Orders from their General: but not having found the passage open, as by directions it should have been, they, by reason of the narrowness of the intervals between the Squadrons, rushed upon and disordered that great Body of Lances wherewith the Duke of Mayenne followed them to charge the Battel, so that he was constrained to stop, and make his men couch their Lances, setting himself to keep off the Reiters, and disingage himself from them, lest he should have been routed by their inconsiderate violence: which the King observing, and laying hold of the opportunity that disorder of his enemies afforded him, setting spurs to his Horse, and being boldly seconded by the flower of the Nobility that followed his Cornet, he fell in fiercely to the Battel before the Duke of Mayenne could recover himself from the incumbrance of the Reiters, and make his Lances take their career; whereby they becoming useles, because they do their effect and receive their force and vigour by running, it was necessary to throw them away, and fight with their swords alone, against the King's squadrons, in which all
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1590

A page being slain who wore a great white Feather like the King's, it was thought the King himself was killed.

The Cavalry of the League being defeated, save themselves by flight.

were Knights and Gentlemen, who besides their Tucks, were admirably well armed, and had each man a Case of Pistols at his saddle: yet did not this startle the valour of the Duke, nor make those that followed him lose courage; but after a furious volley of Carabines, rushing in boldly with gallant horses, they made the Victory first doubtful, and then bloody to the enemy: for in the very beginning, the *Sieur de Rhodes*, a youth of great expectation, who carried the Royal white Cornet, being slain with a thrust thorow the sight of his Bever, and a Page falling in the same place, who wore a great Plume like that of the King's, it was commonly believed of all that the King himself was dead: upon which mistake, the Squadron began to break, some yielding back to the right, some to the left hand: But the King's horse and plume being known afterwards, he himself fighting desperately with his sword in his hand in the first rank, and with his voice exhorting those that were near to follow him, they turned, and shut themselves close together all in the same place, and taking their second Pistols, fought with the wonted valour of the French Nobility: so that all impediments being overcome and broken to pieces, they at length overthrew the enemy with an exceeding great slaughter, and made them turn their backs; and being mingled with them, pursued them, terribly wounding and killing, to the very entry of the Wood, into which the Reiters also, being disordered, first falling foul upon their Cannon, and then sometimes upon one Squadron, sometimes upon another, were retreated, without ever turning their faces, to their own infinite dishonour, and the no less prejudice of their Army. Almost at the same instant, the Duke of Montpensier, relieved by the *Mareschal d'Aumont*, who fell in upon the flank, had routed the Vanguard of the Duke of Nemours; and the Count of Schombergh, relieved by the Baron *de Byron*, had likewise beaten the Reregward of the *Chevalier d'Aumale*; and the Grand Prior, having rallied his Light-horse, had broken and done great execution upon those of the Spaniards and Bourguignons, who shut up the Reregward in the very uttermost parts of the Army: so that all the Cavalry of the League being disordered and put to flight, had left the field free unto the enemy; and fleeing with all speed, made towards Yvry, to save themselves by passing the River.

But the Victory was neither secure nor pleasing in the King's Camp,

Camp, because they did not yet see the Kings Person ; and the first news of his death that was dispersed, was yet believed true by many : nor would there have been any joy in the Army, if he had not appeared at the head of his Squadron, where-with he had routed and pursued the enemies : But at his appearance, who had put off his Helmet to be the better known, that joyful cry of *Vive le Roy* was reiterated, which in the beginning had given an happy Omen of the end of the Battel. The Infantry of the League remained untouched, but invironed on all sides by the King's Forces. The Swisses made shew as if they would defend themselves ; but seeing that the Cannon were bringing up to rake thorow and break them, they took a resolution to yield ; which the King seeing, because he would not exasperate that Nation, whose friendship was neerly to be valued, as soon as they had laid down their Colours and Arms upon the ground, they were received, and quarter given them by the Mareschal de Biron. The Germans thought to have done the like ; but being the same who having been raised with the King's money, had revolted to the Duke of Lorain, and with a mercenary spirit had born Arms in favour of the League, after they had ordered their Pikes, and laid down their Colours, were by the King's command all cut in pieces, for a punishment of their perfidiousness. The French Infantry that yielded, had their lives given them : for the King from the very beginning of the Victory, having, to gain the general love, cried out aloud often-times, that the strangers should be put to the sword, but the French saved alive ; the same voice being taken up by the whole Army, thorow all parts of the field : and every one, even in the fury of the Battel, enjoying the benefit of this remarkable clemency, the French that yielded themselves were received without any difficulty. These things being dispatched with very great haste, and the Army remaining master of the whole field, the King rallying his men in order, followed towards Yvry, whither the enemy was gotten ; in which place the tumult was dreadful, and the confusion miserable : for the Duke of Mayenne having passed the Bridge, had caused it to be broken down, that the enemy might not have means to follow him : Whereupon a great number of Runaways crowding and stopping one another, by reason of the narrowness of the place, and of the deep dirt that was in the Town, did in that terrible hurly-

The Swisses have quarter given them.

The Dutch that had been raised by the King, and had taken Arms for the League are put to the sword.

The King's clemency towards the French.

1590

hurly-burly delay and hinder their own flight; which disorder the King's Infantry being come up, who flesh'd with the slaughter of the Germans, pursued fiercely to destroy their enemies, many precipitated with fear, resolved to venter the wading over the River, which being deep of it self, and swelled by the abundance of rain, the greater part of them were miserably drowned. But the Reiters not having the heart to hazard themselves in the water, cut off their horses legs, that they might serve them for a Breft-work, and resolved now to give that proof of their valour and courage, which they should much more fitly have done in the Battel. This execution, rather then fight, lasted above an hour: for the Muskets playing upon them on all sides from the higher grounds and places of advantage, destroyed those reliques in such manner, that very few of them remained alive; but not without much blood; for many of the Conquerours, by their too hasty desire of getting to them, were either choaked in the mud, and slaughter of dead bodies, or slain by the Reiters with their Pistols. The Duke of Nemours, the Chevalier d'Annale, Bassompierre, Rhosne, the Viscount de Tavannes, and others, took a different way, and passing by the Wood side, with a longer, but more secure journey, retired to Chartres without being followed. The Duke, Colonel St Paul, Monsignor di Portia, and a great many Gentlemen who escaped from the Battel, having fled seven leagues with very great speed, came to Mante, into which Town they were received the same evening, though the people at first wavered in their resolution. The King omitted not to prosecute them in the heat; but not being able to pass at the Bridge of Yvry, which was already broken and beaten down; to avoid the danger of whirlpools, he was forced to go about, and ford the River near Anet; by which delay having lost above two hours time, he could not possibly overtake the enemy, but quartered in a Village called Rhosny, a league from Mante, where the Mareschal d'Anmont, the Grand Prior, and the Duke of Montpensier arrived also; the Mareschal de Biron staying behinde with the Infantry and the remainder of the Army.

The Reiters
of the League
being reduced
to necessity,
fight till they
are all de-
stroyed.

Six thousand
of the League
slain.

There died that day, what by the sword, what in the passing of the River, above 6000 of the Army of the League, among which the Count d'Egmont, the Duke of Brunswick, and the

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Sieur de la Chastaigneraye. There were taken the *Sieur de Cygogne*, who carried the Dukes white Cornet, the Count of *Anfrist*, a German, the *Marquess de Magnelay*, the *Sieurs de Bois-Dauphin, de Medavid, de Long-champ, de Flandre, de Fontaine Martel*, and their Colonels, *Tenissay, Disemieux*, and *Chasteliere*.

The Conquerors took twenty Cornets of Horse, the Standard of the Flemish Lances, the Banner of the Colonel of the Reiters, Four and twenty Ensigns of the Swisses, sixty French Colours, Eight pieces of Cannon, with all the Baggage and Ammunition which followed the Camp. The number of the dead on the Kings side, were not above Five hundred, among which the *Sieur de Clermont*, Captain of his Guards, one of the German Colonels; the *Sieur de Crenay*, who carried the Duke of Montpensiers Cornet, the *Sieur de Loncaury*, a Norman Gentleman, who being Threescore and twelve years old, died fighting in the fury of the Battel; and the *Marquess de Nesle*, who being left wounded upon the ground, died within a little while after. Among the wounded, who in all were not full Two hundred, were the *Baron de Byron*, the Counts of *Choisy* and *Lude*, *Maximilian de Bethune*, *Sieur de Rosny*, and the *Sieurs de Monlner, d' O*, and *de Lavargne*, of which hurts, they were cured within a few days without any danger.

Two hundred and four Ensigns and Cornets taken by the King, with all their Cannon and Baggage: On his side but Five hundred slain.

This was the Battel fought in the field of Yvry, upon the Fourteenth day of March; wherein, as the Kings valor appeared eminent, and his prudence wonderful; so there was no doubt, but that, after him, the first praises belonged to the *Marschal d' Aumont*, the *Baron de Byron*, and the Duke of Montpensier; since that the first two in the beginning of the day, fighting gallantly, repelled the violence of the Flemish Lances, who were victoriously come up to their very Cannon; and in the later end they defeated the Carabines, who having done much mischief to the Kings Squadron, roving afterwards up and down, and wheeling about the Field, did furiously infect, and hinder all the other Squadrons of the Victory: And the Duke of Montpensier charging the Enemies Right Wing, wherein was the flower of their youth, though his Horse were killed under him, he being fain to fight desperately in very great danger to get upon another, and that before his eyes the *Sieur de Crenay* was slain, who carried his Cornet, which he was fain to recover with much hazard; yet fought

1590 fought he with so great courage, that the enemies being routed and scattered, he was one of the first that followed the King in the pursuit of those that fled.

But in all the revolutions of the Battel, which was for the most part between the Cavalry on both sides, the bravery of the French Gentry appeared very singular, who fighting for no other reward, save onely honor, being excellently well armed, and gallantly mounted, had still the victory in all encounters, though fighting often with Swords and Pistols against the violence of Lances; they also did sometimes finde the disadvantage of those Weapons, which their own convenience, not the Direction or Discipline of their Commanders had taught them to make use of. On the other side, the error of the Viscount *de Tavannes* was very remarkable, in placing the Divisions so near and close together, that they could not turn without falling foul upon one another; so that not onely the Reiters, who were much feared, became useless; but even the Duke of Mayenne, who with great conduct dis-engaged himself, from that so great disorder, was faine after to lose the effect and vigor of his Lances: Which notable example teaches, That in matters of War, Prudence, and bravery of Courage, ought in a Commander to be also accompanied with a strong and perfect constitution of body, free from all defects. Nor was the vanity of the Flemmings less considerable; who out of a pride to turn their horse tails upon the Cannon, disordered themselves in such manner, that it was very easie to break into them, and beat them back: For if with the same fury, wherewith they charged thorow the Grand Priors Squadron, they had rushed upon the Duke of Montpensier who followed him, and had been backed by the Duke of Nemours, who should presently have given him a second charge, the Victory might very easily by that means have inclined in favor of the League. At the same time, the Kings justice and clemency, worthy of eternal glory, appeared likewise; who with an example of memorable severity, commanded, that the Germans who had broken their Faith, should all be put to the sword to the last man: And on the other side, with exceeding great benignity, he received not onely those who yielded voluntarily, but even those also who fighting constantly were taken prisoners. His wisdom also and policy in Government was noted by many; for knowing how much the

the Gentry love the Gentry, which are like themselves, and how nearly those very men are linked, either in blood or friendship, who in Civil Wars charge one another in a hostile manner, he shewed a very great and anxious care, even to the commanding with a hoarse voice, and crying aloud thorow the field every moment, that the French Gentry should be spared; which act was so plausible and popular, that it gained him the eternal love of his own soldiers, and no small praise from his very enemies; every one confessing him to be a worthy King, and a worthy Father, who with so much affection spared the blood of his Subjects and Sons, though they were disobedient and rebellious. His familiarity likewise gave great satisfaction; for supping in publick at Rosny the same night, he would needs have his Commanders sit with him at the same Table, adding these memorable words, *That those who had been partakers of the same dangers, ought worthily also to be partakers of the same conveniencies and honors*: And while Supper lasted, calling all those that were present by their names, praising, cherishing, and thanking even the meanest soldier, with demonstrations (in his present weakness) of a full gratitude of minde in time to come, he filled all men with wonderful great hope, and infinite desire to follow him: Arts, to say truth, admirably well suited to the narrowness of his present condition, and to the urgent need he had of the help of every particular man.

After the Victory, the King made his Commanders sup with him at Rosny familiarly speaking to every one, and praising even the meanest Soldier.

The news of this defeat came the next day to Paris, brought by the *Sieur de Tremblay*, who being a prisoner upon his Parole, had not been engaged in the Battel, and had had opportunity to retire with the first: Which news being told by him to the Archbishop of Lyons, Deputed Chancellor, and head of the Council of the League, was afterward communicated to the Legat, and the Spanish Ambassadors, every one of which being exceedingly dismayed, feared with reason, that this news would make the people rise, and very much disturb the City of Paris, which expecting every hour to be eased of its distresses by the success of a victory, being now deprived of all hope to free it self of the straightness of its present condition by the way of arms and force, would think of doing it by way of composition and agreement, hunger being the quickest and sharpest spur that can stir up an insurrection among the common people, who not withheld

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1590

Father Christino of Nizza tells the Parisians in the Pulpit of the defeat, and makes them resolve to endure any thing for the Catholick Religion, taking an occasion to discourse of these words, *Those whom I love, I rebuke and chasten.*

with the Bridle of Decency, is always most prone to follow their present profit; wherefore desirous to remedy that inconvenience as much as possibly they could, after long deliberation, they determined, that the Preachers (in whom the people had a wonderful great Faith) should be the relaters of the news of this battel in their Sermons, endeavoring with the wonted effects of Eloquence, to confirm their courages, and perswade them stoutly to resist the crossness of their present fortune. The first of them that executed this charge, was Don *Christino de Nizza*, who preaching to the people upon the Sixteenth day of March being Friday, in the first part of his Discourse, took an occasion to bring in these words, *Quos ego amo, arguo & castigo*; upon which he enlarged himself, foretelling, that God would not fail to prove the Faith and constancy of the Parisians, as by infinite examples of Scripture he gave clear testimony, that he was wont to try the courage of his Children; and then in the second part, being come into the Pulpit, with Letters in his hand, which seemed to be delivered to him at that instant, he lamented, that he had not that day done the office of a Preacher, but of a Prophet; and that God had been pleased by his mouth to advertise the people of Paris, of that temptation which was to fall upon them, as now it troubled him to relate; since that the Catholick Army having fought with the enemy two days before, was come off with the worst; to which news, he with the force of his Eloquence added so many, and so effectual Prayers and Exhortations, that the people who hearkned to him, did not onely not stir in the least manner whatsoever, but shewed themselves most ready to persevere in the defence of themselves, and of Religion, without fearing the heavy trials of a future siege or famine. The same did *Gnillaume Rose, Boncher, Prevost*, and all the other Preachers; and last of all, *Monsignor Francesco Panigarola*, who, though he preached in the Italian Tongue, was nevertheless continually followed by abundance of persons, by reason of the fame of his Eloquence.

The Duke of Mayenne came three days after; but not having the heart to appear in fight of the Parisians; and fearing those Tragical accidents which of late years had been seen very frequent among the people, he staid at St. Denis, whither the Cardinal Legat, the Ambassador *Mendoza*, the

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Commendatory Morreo, the Archbishop of Lyons, and the Sieur de Villeroy came to him: and at last, the principal Deputies of the Parisians, by whom (but much more by his sister Madame de Montpensier, who by the quickness of her wit upheld the affairs of the League exceedingly) having understood the good inclination of the people to persevere constantly in their defence, first praising so generous a resolution, he afterwards discoursed with them about the state of present matters, shewing, That the loss of the Battel having proceeded rather from the disorder of the Reiters, and several accidental chances, then from the great Forces of the enemy; and his Army, especially the Cavalry, being rather routed then defeated, he hoped within short time to draw together a Body of men more powerful then the former: That he could not doubt either the Pope or the Catholick King would be wanting to Religion, and to the conservation of the State; and so much the rather, by how much the need appeared to be more urgent; and that thereby they should within a few weeks see a greater Army on foot, with which, fresh, and entire in strength, he doubted not to subdue the wearied and tired Troops of the *Navarrois*: That all consisted in opposing the first onset, and in valiantly supporting the first brunt of the siege which he was confident was preparing against Paris; for the defence whereof, he would willingly have shut himself up in the City, and by his example have taught them how to endure hunger, (for as for any other danger, there was nothing to be feared from the enemy) but that it was generally much more profitable for all, and particularly for the relief of the Parisians, that he should march to the confines of Picardy, to gather an Army with all speed, and receive supplies from Flanders and Lorain, and thence with sufficient Forces to return and raise the siege; which he was certain, if they had but patience to suffer a little inconvenience, would in the end prove vain and fruitless: That in his stead, he would leave his brother the Duke of *Nemours*, a youth of wonderful high courage, and his cousin the Chevalier d'Amale, to command the Souldiers, and have care of the Military part of their defence; and for other things, the Cardinal-Legat, and the ministers of the Catholick King being there, and seconded by the ardent zeal of the Council of *Sixteen*, he could not doubt but all things would be managed

1590

naged with that prudence which need required : That to shew how little he feared the City could fall into the enemies hands, and for a pledge of the speedy relief which he meant to make ready for them, he would leave his Mother, Wife, Sister, and Children in the City, to bear part in that fortune which the Citizens should run : That finally, there being nothing else requisite, but to perswade the people, and resist the greediness of the belly, he could not doubt of a happy issue, with the exaltation of the League, and total subversion of his enemies. All of them commended his advice, and the Heads of the people promised to keep united and constant in defending the place to the last man ; beseeching him onely to use all the speed he could possibly, to prevent the extremities of the peoples sufferings, who for Religion, and in hope of his promises, disposed themselves boldly to meet all those many weighty dangers which they saw hang over their heads. The next day the Duke departed towards Picardy to meet with the Duke of Parma, General for the Catholick King in the Low-Countries, knowing that to be the principal point ; and that if the Spaniards lent not their assistance in a considerable manner to him, it would be a very difficult business to get a sufficient Army to raise the siege, and relieve Paris : and in the City they began with infinite diligence to repair the walls, to scowre the moats, to cast up Works, to dispose their Artillery, to arm the people, and principally to provide whatsoever they possibly could against the imminent necessity of hunger.

In the mean time Mañte and Vernon had yielded themselves to the King since the Victory, in which places he was constrained to stay longer then he intended : for the extremity of ill weather, and continual abundance of rain, had not onely overflowed the fields, and made the ways exceeding deep, but had made it impossible to lie in the field, or march with Cannon and Baggage ; for men and horses could hardly save themselves and be secure within the shelter of houses. In which time notice came to the King of another encounter which had happened in the Province of Auvergne, near the wall of Iffoire, where the Sieurs *de Florat* and *Chaseron*, who were for him, had routed and slain the Count of Randan, who commanded for the League ; and with the death of about two hundred of the enemy, had made themselves masters of the place. Nor was it long before other news came from the Country of Mayne,

Mayne, where *Guy de Lansac*, who commanded the party of the League, and the *Sieur d'Hertré* Governour of Alençon, Head of the King's Forces, charging one another, had not altered the wonted event of things; but *Lansac*, three hundred of his men being slain, and the rest dispersed, was fain to save himself by flight, leaving the King's Forces master of the field in those parts.

1590

These several disasters, the news whereof came to Paris one upon the neck of another, did much perplex the thoughts of those that governed; but above all, of the Cardinal-Legat, upon whose shoulders lay the weight of all present affairs, every one thinking that he, as one that represented the Pope's person, should, in a cause wherein Religion was the principal object, give supplies both of men and money for the relief of that adversity which the League was in at that time: and the Duke of Mayenne complained publicly concerning it, and wrote freely to the Pope, that his backwardness to help so necessary a Cause, was the principal occasion of all those evils. The Spanish Ministers made the same lamentations, being of opinion that the Legat was the cause the Catholick King was not satisfied in his demands; and that while he, neglecting his own businesses, succoured the danger of Religion with men and money, the Pope keeping his purse close, and nourishing ambiguous thoughts in his minde, did neither send those necessary supplies which he had often promised, nor consent to the satisfaction of the Catholick King, who, if his just demands had been yielded to, would have employed his utmost Forces for the common benefit. Nor were the Parisians backwarder in complaints than the rest, who groaning under their present necessities, and the extraordinary scarcity of provisions, did importunately beg to be assisted by the Legat, and relieved by the Pope, since they did all, and suffered all for the Catholick Faith, and for the service of the holy Church: so that the Legat being surrounded by these troubles, was in wonderful great anxiety of minde; which was augmented to the extremity, when he understood that by the Duke of Luxembourg's arrival and negotiation, the Pope was almost utterly withdrawn from the designs of the League; and moreover, that he seemed ill satisfied at his being gone on to Paris, and that he had not rather stayed in some neutral place, as a disinterested Mediatour between both

1590

both parties, and as a labourer for such a Peace as might be effected without danger or damage to the Catholick Religion.

The Duke of Luxembourg was gone to Rome with the name of Ambassadour from the Catholicks that followed the King, but indeed to see if he could reconcile the King himself to the Pope, and to the Church, and to take away those opinions which, being spread abroad by those of the League, were generally believed of him, that he was an obdurate Heretick, a persecutor of the Catholicks, obstinate, and disobedient to the Apostolick See, and a perverse enemy to the Church: Wherefore having first made a little stay at Venice, to determine with that Senate what manner of proceeding was to be held; all things being resolved on with most prudent advice, he continued on his way boldly to Rome; where having in his first audience, by the dexterousness of his carriage, introduced the Cause of the Catholicks into his discourse, he excused them for following the King, attributing it to be an advantage to the Catholick Religion, not to abandon the lawful King in the hands of the Hugonots, but to hold him on with protestations of service, and win him by modest seasonable instances to return into the bosome of the Church; which would absolutely have been despaired of, if beeing forsaken by them, he had been necessitated to have cast himself as a prey to Hereticks; he began afterwards to let the Pope know those interests which, under a cloke of Piety, and under the name of Religion, did sway and govern the Lords of the League, how under that pretence, they sought to rob the lawful Successour of the Crown, to bring it into the power of stranger-Princes, or to divide it into many parts, and so Canton the Kingdom; which, as in it self it was unjust by all Laws, both divine and humane, so would it prove exceeding prejudicial to Religion it self, and to the See of Rome, which would come to lose that Crown that had ever held the protection of the Church, and bring it into the hands of many weak impotent Princes and Tyrants, not else unite it with the too great power of the Spaniards, to the general ruine: That it was much more just, much more easie, and much more profitable for the benefit of Christendom, to invite and perswade the King to his conversion; which he not onely shewed himself inclined to, with those means that were sutable and convenient for his honour,

nor, and which befitted a King of France; but to which, he was also brought by the necessity of his affairs, finding daily how little he could promise himself from the Hugonots, toward the attaining of the Crown, since that in all his most weighty occurrences, he had for the most part been attended and followed by the Forces of the Catholick Lords, who would fall off from him at last, if he should not resolve to return into the Church; which considerations accompanied with all their circumstances, set forth and amplified by the Dukes eloquence, made a deep impresson in the Pope; to which, another motive of the Ambassadors being added, that his Holiness should not think the Catholicks that followed the King to be few and weak, but the best, soundest, and most considerable part of France, and that with the League there concurred very few of the Gentry, but a rabble of mean, disorderly common people; and that not onely men of better quality, but also in a manner all the chiefeft Prelates of the Kingdom followed the Kings party, upon caution of the promise he had made to turn Catholick, and forsake the rites of Calvinism, stirred up in the Popes consideration, besides the fear of losing the Kingdom of France, and increasing the greatness of the Spaniard, this other weighty respect also, not to exasperate so much Catholick Nobility united together, which it was most difficult to overcome by force; but to seek by milde remedies, and gentle ways, to win the King, and procure the union of the Kingdom by the means of peace; and the Ambassador having affirmed unto him, that the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lenon-court, and Gondy, together with the Archbishop of Bourges, and other Prelates had offered the same considerations to the Legat, praying and exhorting him to stand neutral, till matters being come to the knowledge of his Holiness, he might have been able to have given him such Commissions as he should have thought most convenient: The Pope began to suspect no less then others, that Cardinal Gaetano was too much enclined to favor the designs of the Spaniards; and therefore did no longer give that belief, which was requisit unto his Letters, and withheld his hand from furnishing them with more money; wherefore the Legat being encompassed with many difficulties, either to take off that suspicion that lay upon him, of his depending too much upon the King of Spain, or seeking to recover that name

Pope Sixtus V. grows jealous that Cardinal Gaetano is inclined to favor the Spanish designs.

1590

name of Neutral, and dis-interested, which perchance he might more wisely have maintained from the beginning ; or endeavoring to hinder the siege of Paris (as he affirmed and told the Spanish Ministers) invited the Marechal *de Byron* to a meeting with him at Noyfy, a Castle of Cardinal *Condy's*, a days journey from Paris, to finde out some remedy to put an end to the present miseries, which not displeasing the King, for whom it was, by all means, good to shew an affection to the Apostolick See ; and that he was not backward to do what lay in him, to put an end to the War, the interview was agreed upon, and performed within a very few days.

The Cardinal Legat meets with the Marechal *de Byron* ; divers things are treated of without any conclusion.

There met on the Kings side the Marechal *de Byron*, the Baron *de Giury*, Secretary *Revol*, the Sieur *Liancourt*, and *de la Verriere* : And on the other, the Cardinal Legat, the Sieur *de Villeroy*, the Marquess of *Belin*, and other Lords of the League. Their reception was very honorable on both sides, but the event fruitless : For the Legat trying either to persuade the Catholicks to forsake the King, or without any sure foundation of peace, to delay the siege of Paris, which was already set in a way ; and on the other side, the Marechal laboring to get the Cardinal Legat to come to the King, and exhort him to turn to the Catholick Religion, with security to bring all his Subjects unto their obedience, who had alienated themselves for respect of Religion ; intentions so diverse, could not agree, and the wisdom of both parts did not suffer the one to make it self superior to the other, so they parted again without fruit or conclusion, the Legat having neither obtained the name of Neutral, nor the revolt of the Catholicks from the King, nor the diverting of the siege, which perhaps was his principal aim in the procuring of that meeting. Yet neither was all treating utterly broken off by this parting ; for the Sieur *de Villeroy*, either with a hope of concluding a good Accommodation, or for the same end of delaying the Kings coming, did with the Duke of Mayennes consent introduce a Treaty of this business with the Sieur *de Plessis Mornay*, a great Confident, and ancient servant of the Kings ; but being a Hugonot, very urproper for the present business.

But the King not losing time, for all the Treaty of Peace, and knowing, that by how much more the enemy was straitened, so much more advantageous would be the conditions of agree-

agreement, was wholly intent upon taking in those places near the City, and upon making himself master of all those Passes by which provisions were brought thither, in shutting up the Passages of the Rivers, and cutting off the ways into the Country; by this means to obtain that by the necessity of hunger, which was in a manner impossible for him to imagine could be done by force of arms. To which end, marching with his Army from Mante upon the Twenty ninth of March, he possessed himself without difficulty of Cheureuse, Montlhery, Lagny, and Corbeil, all places proper to block up the City; and upon the Fifth of April sat down before Melun. Melun is a little Town, but well fortified, seven Leagues distant from Paris, thorow which run two Currents of the River Seine, and therefore is divided into three parts by the Stream, and only joyned together by Bridges. Monsieur de Forone was in it with sixty Horse, and Five hundred Foot, but little provision of things necessary for their defence, and by terror of the Victory not of too resolute a courage. Yet made they a shew as if they would stand out, and the rather, because Five hundred Townsmen well armed and experienced were joyned with them. But the Raveline of the Gate being battered with seven pieces of Cannon, and two very great Culverins, the Kings Foot (now accustomed to master great difficulties) assaulted it with so much fury, that though the breach was very narrow, and high from the ground, yet entered they both the Raveline and the Gate, killing above sixty of the defendants, who retiring into the further part, beyond the second Bridge, and opposit to the Town, set fire on the place they quitted, to keep the assailants, who were at their heels, from being able to follow them; many houses were burned, and the rest furiously sacked by the violence of the Soldiers. But the other part of the Town whither the defendants were retired, being altogether deprived of the means of making resistance, agreed to yield. (as it did) if within two days there came no relief.

The King being lodged there personally in the Suburbs, the Sieur de Villeroy having a safe conduct, came unto him, and perceiving that the Sieur du Pleffis, for fear the King should change his Religion, did not go on heartily in the Treaty of Agreement, he had obtained leave by the means of the Sieur de la Verriere to have admittance to the King himself,

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and

Melun stands upon the Seine above Paris.

The siege and taking of Melun by the Kings Army.

1590

The Sieur de
Villeroy being
come to Me-
lun to treat an
Agreement
with the King,
perswades
him by many
reasons to
turn Catho-
lick, and pro-
pounds a Ces-
sation of
Arms.

June 29th 1590
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-Y^e 1590

and to that end was come thither unto him. The Duke of Mayenne, who was already gotten to Soissons, had refused at first to give way that *Villeroy* should enter into this Treaty; thinking it might be ascribed to want of courage in their present fortune; but afterward, whether he sought by making the Spaniards jealous of a peace, to stir them up to the giving of greater and more resolute supplies, or that he hoped to delay the siege of Paris by the hope of an Accommodation, or that he sought by this means to penetrate into the Kings designs and intentions, or that all these ends moved him together, he permitted *Villeroy* to meet, and to introduce that negotiation; for which purpose, being come to Melun, and kindly received by the King, he began (with his wonted effebacy, not accompanied with very deep learning, but naturally copious and powerful in speech) to represent unto him, how being anxious for the danger and calamity of his Country, and desirous to see it out of those ruinous distractions, wherein it perished miserably, he had obtained leave from the Duke of Mayenne, Head of the party of the League, to come unto his Majesty, to see if any remedy could be found, whereby discords being composed and buried, a happy peace might be procured; that he hoped (nay, was certain) that his Majesty would have no less desire to end the Civil Wars, and restore the former quiet and tranquillity to that Kingdom, which God, Nature, and his Valor had destined to him; that the only means to attain so great a good, was very easie, and depended wholly upon his own will; for the sum consisting only in the point of Religion, the Duke of Mayenne offered to acknowledge and obey him, as soon as he he the Position of the Catholics (not at all for fear, or for their threatening) should resolve to return into the bosome of the holy Church. Wherefore upon his will depended, not only the settling of peace in the Kingdom; but also the making himself the most flourishing, most powerful, most obeyed, and most revered Prince that France had seen of many years; that the present conjuncture of time was very seasonable for this resolution; for having conquered and overcome his enemies with the sword, it could not be said, that his conversion was caused by fear, or that he embraced the Catholick Religion by force, but that good would be attributed to his own will, his own conscience, and his own election: That this opportune and whole-

wholesome effect would make his Victory twice as fruitful and happy, as his vertue had made it glorious and magnificent; and he might thereby attain that true end which ought to be proper to all Victories (especially those in Civil Wars) which is The enjoying of Peace: for, that goodness of his would bring more Cities under his subjection in one day, then he could take by the force of his Arms (though victorious) in the course of his whole life: That by prosecuting Victory with the sword, would ensue an infinite number of milchiefs, and lamentable calamities; the ruining of Fortresses, sacking of Cities, slaughters of men, desolation of Countries; which all redounded to his own loss, who naturally was the master of them: but, the War ending by this conversion, the Victory would redound to the general security, tranquillity, safety, and happiness, which ought to be more dear to him, being a lawful Prince, then all the Victories that could be imagined in the world: That his Majesty ought to consider, though his victory had been great and signal, yet had it neither dismayed the Cities, nor terrified the adherents of the League in such manner that any of them had been moved by it to forsake their party, and yield themselves up to his devotion; the reason whereof was onely the power and command which Religion hath in the hearts of men, which perswaded every one to suffer all the calamities which could be presented to imagination, rather than put their soul and conscience in danger: but if the common people of their side, perswaded by this respect, were so constant, he might think by consequence, that the Duke of Mayene, and the other Heads of that party, the Pope, and the Catholick King, would be much more constant, being resolved to employ all their Forces for the securing of Religion: That he knew well and had often had experience of it in his Hugonots, that the respect of Religion is so great, that it makes mens mindes invincible, and can neither be tamed by Arms nor Force: That it would be a prudent consideration, to foresee how much use strangers might make of this pretence of Religion for their advantage; which, if in former times it had perswaded the Hugonots to make Agreements with the English, it would be no wonder if the urgency of present necessity should force the Catholick to consent unto the demands of the Spaniards: That this danger ought to be foreseen and prevented by securing mens consciences, and not reducing them to utter desperation:

1590

ration: That his Majesty should set before his eyes how many Cities he must of necessity assault, how many Provinces he must subdue, how many other Armies he must conquer, how many Fortresses he must take in, before he could settle himself King in peace by means of War: and that he might overcome all those difficulties in one day, by satisfying his subjects in point of Religion: That his Victory had been great, but that it was necessary to secure it from the inconstancy of Fortune; which he might do, not by hazarding new enterprises, but by moderation, and the satisfaction of his Subjects: That time and opportunity invited him to that worthy and holy resolution, and not to stay till the Duke and the other Heads of the League should be so nearly engaged and interested with the Catholick King (whose assistance was necessary while the War continued) that they would no longer have power to dispose of themselves: in conclusion, That both duty and profit were joyned together in this resolution: for having received so great a blessing from God, it was no longer time to defer his conversion, since now by the favour of his Divine Majesty he might do it with reputation and glory, and without suspicion of baseness of minde, or meanness of spirit.

The King's
Answer to the
Sieur de Villeroi
roy.

The King answered graciously, That he commended the Sieur de Villeroi's intention to endeavour the peace of the Kingdom, and was glad to hear that the Duke of Mayenne was well disposed to it: That he acknowledged the Victory he had obtained, first from the hand of God, and then from his Nobility: That God, the Protector of Justice and Right, had protected his Cause; and that those invincible Lords and Gentlemen that followed him, had been the instruments of his Divine mercy: That the Kingdom appertained to him of right, by a direct and natural succession, and by a lawfull way known to all; so that forraign Princes were most manifestly to blame for disturbing him in the possession of it; and much more his Subjects, for denying him their due obedience: That he had never offended any, nor deserved so unjust an opposition as was made against him: That he had always moderately and modestly defended himself, and had done neither violence nor injury to forraign Princes, nor to the Subjects of the Crown, for which they now had any reason to revenge themselves; but that when he called to minde the miraculous power, and mercifull favour of God, wherewith he had preferred

ved him in the times of his weaknes and miseries, and had defended him from so many, and so long persecutions, when the whole world seemed to have conspired against him, he could not believe his Divine Majesty would leave so great a work unperfect, but was assured in himself that he would look upon the justice of his Cause, and those Prayers which he to that end always made unto him from the bottom of his heart; and therefore he neither feared the Arms of Spain, nor the Forces of Rebels, but trusted in God, and the faithfulness of his Nobility, that he should ruine and defeat them: That he knew well, modesty and moderation were more profitable in Victory, then at another time; but he neither pretended to oppress nor wrong any body, but onely to make himself be rightfully obeyed by those who by nature were his Subjects, and put under his authority: That his aim was to be King indeed, as he was by right; and that the end of the Duke of Mayenne, and those that followed him, ought to be, to live in peace, security, and honour, under the obedience of that King which God and Nature had appointed for them by lawful succession: That in this he was ready to give them all security, and all satisfaction, and to afford them a gracious share in his favour, without ever calling to memory what was past: That he desired to conquer rather by pardon, benignity, and liberality, then by the sword, as well because it was the shorter way, as because it was futable to his genius and nature, averse from blood and revenge, and inclined to do good unto his Subjects, and to pacifie the troubles of his Kingdom: That it belonged to him to give the Law unto his Subjects, and not to receive Conditions from them; yet nevertheless, if, jealous of their consciences and of Religion, they desire to secure it any way, he would give them all convenient satisfaction; and that the candour and firmness of his Faith was already known to every one by many proofs; which having never broken for the time past, he was most fully resolved never to break for the time to come: That the Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen that followed him, which were much more numerous then those that followed the Duke, had contented themselves with the promise he had made them, and with the security he had given them, that they should live peacefully, in their conscience, liberty, and Religion, and that therefore the others ought to be contented with the same; and being secured in their own particulars, ought

Moderation
more profitable
in Victory
then at another
time.

1590

to permit him to think of his own salvation, by those means which it should please the Lord to inspire into him, in a seasonable time, and a fitting convenient manner. Then he asked the *Sieur de Villeroy*, if he had seen his Promise and Declaration made after the death of the late King : who answered him, that he had; and that the Duke of Mayenne, and the other Lords of his party had seen it likewise ; but that they all believed they could not in conscience, upon any condition whatsoever, obey a King that was not a Catholick, but of a different Religion from that which they held by succession from their ancestours. To which the King replied, that he was neither Infidel, Pagan, nor Idolater ; that he adored and served the same God with the Catholicks ; and that he esteemed the Religion in which he had been bred up, not to be incompatible with the Roman : That in such a case as concerned his conscience and salvation, God was to work, and not men: That it ought to be done by kinde gentle instruction, and not with Sword and Pistol : That if he had not yielded to turn in the late King's time, when he saw his ruine and destruction before his face, much less would he do it at the request of those that rebelled against him, now that by the favour of God he had the upper hand : That he was not obstinate, but would yield to the truth, and be informed and instructed in it ; yet that he would satisfie his conscience in it : and if he left freedom of belief unto his Subjects, it was not fit that he should be constrained by them to do that in a rash humour, which ought to be done with maturity of deliberation, and in the time prefixed by God's divine will and pleasure : That he was a man of conscience, and one that esteemed more the salvation of his soul, then all earthly things ; and therefore he would go very circumspectly about that business, with due and convenient cautions. The *Sieur de Villeroy* replied, That because he was by all accounted a consciencious Prince, affectionate to his Religion, every one doubted so much the more, that, being settled in his Kingdom, he would not tolerate his Subjects to live in a Religion different from his, and which he held to be false and damnable: That he had ever heard say, and even by *Theodore Beza* himself, in the Conference at Poissy, that the belief of the one is further from the other, then heaven is from earth ; but that those Disputes were not to be made with Arms : That his Majesty had always said he would cause himself to be instructed, but never came

came to the act of that instruction : That there wanted not Prelates and Doctors, who in a short time, might certifie him of the truth : That it was not good to foment War any longer, and let discords run on without end, but, by the observation of his promises, to comfort all his Subjects, as well those that had gotten the Victory, as the others, who for the zeal of Religion, stood alienated from him : Finally, That it could no longer be said, that either contumacious or seditious persons were cause of the War, things being now reduced to that point, that it was in his Majesties power to give peace by his conversion ; which if he should not do after so many promises, all future evils and calamities would be imputed to him, and to no other body. These last words pierced the Kings minde to the very quick, who answered, That he would take the opinion of his good and faithful servants that followed him, and that therefore he would confer with them about it, and give his resolution the day following : At which time, he, being already upon the point of his departure from Melun, sent for the Sieur de Villeroy, and bad him return to the Duke of Mayenne, and tell him, That he took in good part what had been delivered from him, that he desired to be reconciled, and do good to every one, and particularly to the Duke of Mayenne, and all the rest of his Family, if by them he should be assisted to settle peace in the Kingdom, as they might easily do, and that in it he would give them all reasonable satisfaction : That for the point of Religion, he had already contented those Catholicks that followed him, who were many, of great extraction, of exceeding great strength, and of profound wisdom, to whose determination he thought all the rest might accommodate themselves : That if they desired to have more security and caution for the preservation of their Religion, and safety of their consciences, he was ready to give it most fully, having taken into consideration, all that he had represented to him ; but that he could not proceed to treat further with him, having no power nor authority at all from the Duke of Mayenne, to conclude any thing ; but if Deputies and Commissioners should be sent unto him with sufficient power, he would willingly admit them, use them well, and endeavor to give the Dukes party the greatest and most complete satisfaction that might be, out of his great desire to free his people from the afflictions and calamities of Civil War.

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1590

The Sieur de
Villeroy is dis-
missed with-
out conclusi-
on, the King
being resolved
not to grant a
Cessation of
Arms.

The Sieur de Villeroy answered, That his Majesties consideration of not treating, but with such as had power to conclude, was very prudent and reasonable; but that he should remember, the Duke of Mayenne was not absolute Master, but Head of his party, which hath relation to all the other members, without whose consent he could not acknowledge his Majesty to be King of France, nor determine in point of Religion: That it was necessary for him to confer with them, and that they should resolve together; how his Majesty having been so many years Head of his party, had by his own experience found, that that could not be done without delaying time; it being needful to unite those that were interessed from so many several distant Provinces: That while the War was so hot, it was impossible to make that Assembly; wherefore a Cessation of arms was necessary, or at least a sufficient number of passes, to draw those together who were to deliberate about the sum of affairs. At the naming a Cessation of Arms, the King replied suddenly, That that was not to be spoken of; for he would not by any delay, lose the fruit of his Victory, nor slacken the Progress of his Arms, having had experience of how great importance that was to the whole business; but that for the manner of assembling his party, he left the thought to the Duke of Mayenne; being resolved not to forbear the prosecution of his arms, no not for a moment: With this answer, and such like discourses had with the Marechal de Byron, Villeroy departed without any conclusion, either of Peace or Truce, and all the endeavors used to divert the siege of Paris proved ineffectual.

Wherefore, the King (to whom Cressy and Moret (weak places) had surrendered themselves, and Provins, a rich Town, but not strong, though chief of the Province of Brie, and but twenty leagues from the City of Paris) marched to Nancy; where having reunited his Army, which had been divided to gain these places, he advanced upon the Fifteenth day of April to take other Towns which might streighten and block up Paris; Montreuil, Bray, Comte-Robert, and Nogent upon the Seine, yielded without resistance; but Mery, a little place, having had the boldness to stand out, was by the violence of the Soldiers most furiously taken and sacked. There remained on that side, the Citie Sens, a great Town, and affectionate to the League, seated upon the Confines of Brie and Bour-
gongne,

gongne, wherein were the *Sieur de Chanvalon*, and the *Marquefs Fortunato Malvicino*, but they agreed not well together; for *Chanvalon* sought an opportunity to go over to the King, and to make his peace by giving up the City into his hands; but the *Marquefs* on the other side would defend it, as his honor obliged him, having (as a stranger) no other aim but to shew himself a gallant soldier, and to do service for the Duke of Nemours, being Lieutenant of his Troop of *Gens d'Armes*; wherefore *Chanvalon* having treated secretly with the *Mareschal d'Aumont*, and exhorted the King to come before the Town, siege was laid unto it, the Cannon planted, and they began to batter, with hopes that some tumult might arise among the Citizens in favor of the King; but having, to try the constancy of the defendants, made an assault, which the *Marquefs* and those of the Town resisted valiantly, the King not willing to lose time about that place, which was not very necessary, and interrupt his design upon Paris, wherein consisted the sum of his affairs, raised the siege without delay, and minded the taking and fortifying of those other places, which might cut off the passage of provisions to Paris.

In the mean time the Cardinal Legat, anxious and solicitous, both for his own danger, and the imminent siege of the Parisians, had caused a new treaty of Agreement to be introduced between the Bishop of Ceneda, and the *Mareschal de Byron*, for which purpose, the Bishop came to Bray, to confer with the *Mareschal*; and as one, who because he was a Venetian, and so of a Country favorable to the Kings affairs, had freer access then any other, he treated with a great deal of liberty about his Conversion; and afterwards descended to speak about a Cessation of Arms, by means whereof they might have leisure to negotiate Peace maturely on either side; but this attempt was no less vain then the rest, the King being resolved not to delay the progress of his Arms; and by how much the more the enemy labored for it, so much the more unwilling was he to allow them any space to take breath; and the more he saw the Lords of the League intent upon gaining time to get Armies and Supplies, the more did he enter into a secret hope, within a while, to obtain the City of Paris by means of a siege, without danger, and without blood. Wherefore all things proving contrary to the Bishops design, he

Marc' Antonio Mocenigo Bishop of Ceneda treats with the Mareschal de Byron, and propounds a Cessation of Arms; but it is not accepted.

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1590

The Bishop of Ceneda confers with the King; prays him to grant a Truce; the King absolutely denies it, complaining of the Cardinal Legat.

procured to confer personally with the King, but in such manner, as it might seem to have hapned by chance, and not to have been sought by him; which having spoken of to the Abbot *del Bene*, he brought to pass, that the King should go forth betimes in the morning a hunting, and that the Bishop should depart a little later to return to Paris, so that they met, as it were, accidentally upon the way; which incounter began with kinde salutations, and then riding together a good part of the way, the Bishop entred into the discourse which he had intended to make, exhorting the King to his conversion, and to return into the bosom of the Church. To which the King having made his wonted answers, That he was not obstinate, but would be made capable of the truth by those circumstances of times, persons, and places which were fitting; nor would he be driven by force, or the threatnings of his enemies, but be drawn by the Grace and Inspiration of God. The Bishop replied, the best means for that, would be a truce, wherein the commotions of mens mindes, kindled by the exercise of Arms, ceasing, he might have opportunity to receive instruction, and to do with honor and deliberation whatsoever was needful. But as soon as the King heard him motion a Truce, he answered with a loud voice, That if he had been a good *Venetian*, he would not have given him that counsell; but, that these were the devices of Cardinal *Gastano*, who shewed himself a much better Spaniard, then a Church-man. And here he began to complain very much of him, that, carrying himself differently from the Popes Commission, he had declared himself his enemy at his entry into the Kingdom, and made his residence in that City, which was Head of the contrary party; whereas it had been fit for him that represented the Apostolick See, to have stood Neutral, and to have endeavored and procured a peace by his good counsell, and by actions conformable to right, and his profession, which then would have had more credit; but, that now terrified by the present danger, or else co-operating with the designs of the Spaniards; he sought not to introduce peace, but to frustrate the effects of his labors, and the fruits of his Victories, while the League might gain time to recover strength; and that therefore he was not disposed to give any ear unto it: With which words they parted, and the Bishop returned with this final answer to Paris.

But

But at his return all hope of truce failing, they set their mindes with so much the more sollicitousness to make necessary provisions to sustain the strict siege which the Enemy was preparing. The people was already disposed by the long exhortations of their Preachers, and the earnest negotiation of those that governed, to endure the siege, and hazard their lives rather than their consciences; being wrought upon by the frequent Decrees of the Sorbonne, and by the Declarations and Protestations of the Cardinal-Legat, that an Agreement could not be treated with the Hereticks without damnation, and that a King of a different Religion, obstinate in his opinion, a persecutor of the Church, and an enemy to the Apostolick See, was not to be received. By these opinions, which every hour were thundered out of the Pulpits, and discoursed of in meetings, mens mindes were so effectually moved and confirmed, that they were not onely ready to suffer constantly the danger and toil of bearing Arms, and that which was much more evident, and more terrible, the extreme misery of an enraged hunger; but moreover, they could not so much as endure any one that durst hold or affirm the contrary: so that many who let slip some words, that it was better to make an Accommodation then starve for hunger, and that Peace was better then a Siege, were by the fury of the people either executed in publick, or cast headlong into the River, as damned persons, enemies of the Catholick Faith, and infected with the poison of Heresie. This constancy was augmented by the presence of the Cardinal-Legat, the residence of the Dutcheses of Nemours, Montpensier, and Mayenne, the forwardness and vigour of the Duke of Nemours, and *Chevalier d'Amale*, and much more by the most certain hopes which the Duke of Mayenne gave them every hour by effectual Letters, that he would relieve the City powerfully within a few weeks. The Heads being desirous to increase and confirm this inclination of the people, by some outward circumstances, a great solemn Procession was made by order from the Cardinal-Legat, to implore God's assistance in those present necessities: in which Procession, the Prelats, Priests and Monks of the several religious Orders, walked all in their accustomed habits; but besides them, armed openly with Corsets, Guns, Swords, Partezans, and all kinde of Arms offensive and defensive, making at once a double shew, both of devotion, and constancy of heart prepared to defend them-

Some are put to death by the fury of the people, for saying, it was better to make Peace with the King then starve with hunger.

A solemn Procession, in which the Ecclesiastical Orders appear in their religious habits; and not only so, but armed as Souldiers.

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1590

selves: which Ceremony, though to many it seemed undecent and ridiculous, was yet of great use to augment and confirm the courage of the common people, who saw the same men that exhorted them with words to stand it out, prepared and armed to hazard the same dangers, and unanimously to undergo the same sufferings. Thus sometimes even the vaineſt ſlighteſt things, help forward the moſt weighty important thoughts and deſignes.

A ſolemn
Oath taken by
the Magi-
ſtrates.

After this Proceſſion, they made another of all the Magiſtrates of the City; and among the Ceremonies of it, the Dukes of Nemours their Governour, and other Commanders of the Souldiers, and the Magiſtrates of the people, ſwore publickly in the great Church, to defend the City to the laſt man, nor ever to incline to yield, or make an Agreement with an Heretick Prince, for any calamity, danger, ſufferance or neceſſity whatſoever that ſhould fall upon them. There were in the City two hundred choſen Horſe, commanded by the *Sieur de Vitry*, the Duke of Nemours his Company of *Gens d'Arms*, and that of *Chevalier d'Annale*; one hundred Harquebuſiers on horſeback, and eight hundred French Foot, part whereof had been in Melun with the *Sieur de Foron*; five hundred Swiſſes, and one thouſand and two hundred of thoſe German Foot that were levied by the Count *de Collalto*, commanded by the Baron of *Erbeſtein*: But the foundation of their defence conſiſted in the union and conſtancy of the people, which infinitely numerous, and now by long uſe accuſtomed to Arms, being diſpoſed under their Magiſtrates, and divided into ſeveral Bands, according to the diviſion of their Quarters, preſented themſelves voluntarily, and ready for all encounters; and by the example of the Prieſts and Friers, who went armed up to the Works, and engaged themſelves in all things with admirable conſtancy, failed not in any duty that was neceſſary for their defence. Double Chains were drawn croſs the Rivers, where it enters, and where it goes out of the City; the Walls and Breſt-works were repaired in thoſe places where they ſeemed to be decayed; Platforms were made in convenient places, and *parapets* made upon ſome new places of the wall: the Artillery was diſpoſed of orderly to the moſt dangerous Poſts; and the readineſs of the Citizens appeared wonderfull in every buſineſs. But this troubled not thoſe that bore the ſway in the Government: for every one was certain

1590

certain that the King would never attempt to take the City by force, defended, in so great a number of Citizens, rather by the bodies of men, then by the strength of their Bulwarks; but that he would strive to tame it by Famine; which seemed to be very easie, by reason there were so many people accustomed to live in plenty and abundance, who now were in so great necessity, that being deprived of all other sustenance, they were forced at an extraordinary rate to feed onely upon bread: and there was no doubt but if relief were delayed, and that the King should straiten the siege closer, the City would be reduced to the last intollerable calamities of want; which they foreseeing, most earnestly solicited the Duke of Mayenne to draw forces together for their relief; and the Cardinal-Legat dispatched his Nephew *Pietro Gaetano* into Flanders, to exhort the Duke of Parma, according to the Catholick King's order, with all haste to send speedy supplies: and the *Commendatory Morreo*, Pay-master and Commissary of the King of Spain's Forces in France, was gone thither for the same purpose. To these provisions abroad, were added also others within: for the Governours in chief being intent to remedy the necessity of the people as much as they could, did with very great care cause that corn that was found in the City to be divided; the price whereof being infinitely beyond the ordinary rate, and the common people not having means to help themselves, Cardinal *Gondy* Bishop of Paris, not out of any inclination he had to favour the League, but out of pity to see the poor wretches perish who had not money to relieve themselves, all Trading being quite left off in the City, gave way that all the Silver and Plate that had been offered to the several Churches, should be taken out and turned into money, to feed the poor, with an Obligation to restore them as soon as the present necessity was over. The Cardinal-Legat intent upon the same, distributed among the poor fifty thousand crowns extorted from the Pope with much ado; and causing his own Plate to be melted and coined, did with a great deal of praise give it among those that stood in need. The Ambassadour *Mendoza* promised sixscore crowns a day in bread: and the Dutcheffes and the richest Lords helped to the uttermost of their abilities, selling their household-stuff, jewels and ornaments for the so miserable necessity of the common people. But these provisions began already to be very scarce,

The City being blockt up on every side, is in great scarcity for want of Victual.

The Bishop of Paris gives way that the Church-plate should be turned into money for the relief of the poor.

in

1590

in respect of the infinite number of mouthes, and the continual wasting of corn: for the King advancing, by the taking in of the neighbouring Towns, did straiten the siege every day more and more: nor was there any kinde of Victual at all brought into the City by the Rivers: for Lagny, St Maur, and the bridge of Charenton (the care of which places was committed to the Baron *de Guiry*) shut up the passage of the River *Marne*: Montereau, where there was a strong Garison under the command of Monsieur *de Chanliot*, shut up the passage of the River *Yonne*: the Garrisons of Moret, Melun, Bray, and Corbeil, stopt up the *Seine* from above: and from below, the Marechal *d' Aumont* quartered at the Bridge of St Cloud, a league from the City; and Poissy, and Conflans, well garison'd, did wholly interrupt the passage up the River; as Beaumont, strongly guarded, hindred all Boats from moving upon the River *Oyse*. So that the Rivers which are commonly called the Nurces of the People of Paris, being shut up, there remained only that little which could be gotten thither secretly by land: to cut off which, the King having passed the *Seine*, and being come into the Plains neer the City, spread his Army from the *Porte St Anthoine*, which looks toward the East, to the *Porte Mont Martre*, which stands towards the West; and making use of the advantage of ground, caused two Pieces of Cannon to be planted upon the hill of *Mont faulcon*, and two others at *Mont Martre*, enclosing them with Trenches, and guarding the place with a strong Guard: and the next day, which was the ninth of May, he caused his Horse to make incursions even to the very gates of the *Fauxbourgs St Martin*, and *St Denis*, which stand between the two aforesaid Gates, and to burn and destroy the Wind-mills every where: yet could they not get into the *Faux-bourgs*, because they were fortified with trenches, banks, and barrels full of earth: which day, while they were smartly skirmishing with the *Sieur de Vitry's* Horse which sallied out of the *Porte St Martin*, with some Companies of Foot-souldiers and Citizens, the *Sieur de la Noüe*, in whose conduct and courage every one trusted very much, was according to his wonted misfortune wounded with a Musket-shot.

The King had made choice to quarter his Army on that side, for two principal reasons: one, because the *Bois de Vincennes*, seated on the East-side near the River, and the Town of

of St. Denis on the West-side holding still for the League, he might not onely send out parties of Horse, and cut off the ways conveniently, so that there might be no passage from those places to the City; but he also besieged them in such manner, that he hoped to take them within a little time; the other reason was, that relief being expected out of Champagne and Picardy, he was quartered just upon the great highway which leads from those Provinces to the City of Paris, so that he was ready to turn his Army thither where he should see the enemy appear. Thus the Army being spread from the banks of the River Marne, to the lower part of the Seine, the whole field was obstructed with continual parties, and there were every hour great skirmishes with those of the City, who being streightned with want, strove to catch either Corn, Roots, or other Victual, even to the very dead Horses that lay there, which they could very seldom effect; and at the very same time St. Denis, and the Bois de Vincennes (a very strong Castle) were closely besieged, and the Count *Montmorancy* having passed the Seine, had laid siege to Dammartin, a Town belonging to the Lords of Montmorancy, seven Leagues distant from the City, into which, there was gotten a great deal of provision; so that the Parisians being shut up on all sides, began already to feel the extremity of hunger, and onely sustained the bitterness of their present fortune, by the constancy of their courage.

While the siege and defence of the City of Paris is thus labored with infinite contention on each side, the Cardinal of Bourbon burnd with years, and wasted by the tediousness of his imprisonment, departed this life at Fontenay, whose death gave evident proof to all the World, that his person had onely served for a cloak to cover the Passions and Interests of those that were most powerful; for it caused no alteration at all in the party of the League, but both the Parisians continued their constancy with new Decrees of Sorbonne, That a new King of a different Religion could not be accepted of; and the Duke of Mayenne setting forth a *Manifest* to invite the Deputies of the Provinces to meet at Meaux, for the electing of a King, with the common consent, kept the same title of Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of France, and continued in the same manner to make War, the end whereof at present was wholly set upon the way of relieving the City

The Cardinal of Bourbon dies at Fontenay, which produceth no alteration at all; onely the Duke of Mayenne invites the Deputies of the Provinces to Meaux to chuse another King.

1590 of Paris, which being not to be done without powerful assistance from the Catholick King, the Duke of Mayenne, both to agree upon the means, and to hasten the execution, went to Conde, a place upon the confines, to confer with *Alessandro Farnese*, Duke of Parma, under whose Government were all the Spanish Forces.

The interests
and designs of
the King of
Spain.

The intention of King *Philip* was, that the League should be relieved, and the people of Paris delivered from the present danger, but with such moderation, that so many sums of money profusely spent, and so great forces as were employed in that enterprize, might not prove vain and unprofitable to his proper Interests: For he foresaw, That if the Duke of Mayenne and the League should agree to acknowledge the King of Navar, he should reap no other benefit from so many labors, but the gaining of a powerful enemy; and likewise, if the Crown should fall to the Duke of Mayenne, or any other of the House of Lorain, he knew he should advantage himself but little more, since the interests of State would in a short time make his enemy, whosoever should be free and sole possessor of the Crown; weighty present interests having more power with men, then the remembrance of past obligations: Wherefore he being to spend vast sums of money for the bringing a powerful Army into France, and in the mean time leave the affairs of Flanders in great danger, where the States of the United Provinces under the command of *Grave Maurice* of Nassau, not finding the wonted obstacles, were like to make very great progress, he desired, that at least things should be composed in such manner, that the benefit might in good measure redound to him, which should succeed from his charges, dangers, labors, endeavors, and from his Armies; which by reason of the nature of the French, and the present state of affairs, was most difficult to be brought to pass: For the Duke of Mayenne, Head of the League, and absolute Master of the Forces, did not onely pretend to obtain the Kingdom for himself, but was also firmly resolved, not to consent that any Member, Province, or City, that belonged to the Crown should be alienated from it; and the major part of the people being naturally enemies to the Spaniards, and made their adherents now onely by necessity, would never endure to be commanded by them, and thought it should suffice the King of Spain to be cryed up for the Protector

Protector and Defender of the Catholick Religion; and that the King who should be established should assist him to subdue the Provinces of the Low-Countries, without pretending any other benefit from that principal relief which he lent to the common cause. Wherefore it was very hard to finde a middle way among so many difficulties, and almost impossible to keep such leight uncertain mindes from inclining to acknowledge and take part with King Henry, a home-born Natural Prince; and therefore it was necessary to govern that design with huge expences, great industry, long delays, and infinite patience, which among so many suspicions, and so many difficult businesses appeared to be of great loss and detriment, without much hope of proportionable advantage. For this cause the Duke of Parma, a prudent wary Prince, and an enemy to leight adventuring upon the arbitrement of Fortune, thought it pernicious counsel to leave his own businesses of Flanders, to employ all his Forces in so uncertain an enterprize, wholly founded upon the instability of the French, and had endeavored to divert the Catholick King from such a thought; but the Council of Spain, either desirous to augment their glory in the defence of Religion, or perchance too much allured by future hopes, having judged otherwise; and order being come from the King that he should apply his minde principally to the affairs of France, he thought that might more easily be brought to pass which was desired in Spain, if avoiding the necessity of venturing whole Armies, and hazarding all their reputation at one clap, the protracting of the War, and the spinning of it out with slow proceedings were endeavored; by which means, the party of the League no less wearied out then the Kings, it would in the end remain in the King of Spain's power, to dispose of the affairs of France and Religion his own way; and therefore he was not so ready to give aid, as the urgent need of the Parisians required, and as the Duke of Mayenne would have had him; who being come to Conde, and having met him there, endeavored by most effectual perswasions to move him to march without delay to the relief of Paris: But he considering that the reputation of the Catholick King, and the sum of affairs, ought not without convenient Forces to be put in danger against a valiant and expert Soldier, and against a victorious Army, shewed, That the provisions that

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were

The Duke of Parma's opinion.

1595

The Duke of Mayenne having met the Duke of Parma at Condé, and not being able to persuade him to go into France, obtains some supplies for the relief of Paris.

Jo. de la Roche
Ligo 2. 1. 1. 1.

were requisite, could not be got together so suddenly, neither could he so soon give order, as well for the drawing of the Army into a Body, as for the defence of their own businesses in Flanders; and concluded finally, that he could not be in France before the beginning of the Moneth of August, a time which seemed wonderful long to the Duke of Mayenne; and doubting, or rather thinking for certain, that the Parisians could not hold out so long, he desired him in the mean time to let him have some number of men, with which, added to his own, he might attempt some way to put victuals into the City: With that the Duke of Parma was contented, it being a proposition suitable to his own thought, which was to keep the War alive with slow proceedings; on the one side, by little and little to consume the Kings forces; and on the other, by length of time to tire out and break the constant resolution of the Duke of Mayenne and his adherents, not to admit a stranger to the Crown, nor to dismember any part of the Kingdom: And therefore he willingly granted him Fifteen hundred Spanish Foot, who had been o it in a plundering mutiny, and being now entered again into service, were commanded by Don Antonio Quiroga, Twelve hundred Italian Foot led by Camillo Caprizuchia, a Roman, and Eight hundred Flemish and Bourguignon Horse; with which Forces, the Duke not losing any longer time, marched with all speed toward Picardy.

The Spanish Ministers deal with some Governors of places, to deliver them up into the hands of the King of Spain.

But at the same time the designs of the Duke of Parma had like to have been ruined, and the mindes of the French to have been stirred up to some commotion by the counsel of the Ambassador Mendoza, and the other Spanish Ministers that were in France, who being more intent upon present benefit, then the greatness of the future design, and not being well acquainted with the secret intentions of the Duke, began to deal with some Governors of places in Picardy, to the end, that being well rewarded for their pains, they might deliver them up into the hands of the Spaniards; which practices would not onely have expressly shown the Catholick Kings intentions to be different from the outward appearance, but would also have so moved the hasty fiery mindes of the French, that without any regard they would have agreed to acknowledge the King, that they might not be deceived by the suspected arts of the Spaniards, and would have smoothed the

the way to the revolt of the Parisians, who with so much art and patience were kept firm in their resolutions. But the Duke of Parma, as soon as he came to the knowledge of it, instantly cut off all those Treaties, and laboured to make appear that it had been the inclination of those Governours, but neither the will of the Catholick King, nor the practice of his Ministers, being most averse from any other interest save that of Religion: and yet the Duke of Mayenne, deeply moved at those Treaties, was fain to lengthen his journey, passing in his return by all those places that were suspected, and making some stay in each of them, caused all the Governours to promise, and take a solemn Oath not to fall off from that party, nor to hold any private Treaty with any Prince: but not trusting wholly to this, he strove to secure those Fortresses with all possible provisions; and it being necessary to leave strong Garrisons of his own men in every place, he was constrained to diminish his Forces in such manner, that they were not sufficient to give any considerable relief to the siege of Paris: yet because he would not fail in any thing that was possible, he advanced upon the way that leads to Paris, with an intent either to raise the King from the siege, or at least to slacken it in some part; which was not altogether without success: for the King being advertised of the Duke's advance with his Forces, went from the siege with one thousand and two hundred Cuirassiers, five hundred Reiters, and one thousand and two hundred Harquebusiers on horseback; and having marched eighteen leagues in one day, meet him neer unto Laon upon the fifth day of June, and arrived so unexpectedly, that the Duke, not being in a condition to fight, was constrained to retire apace into the Suburbs of the Town, and there to quarter his men under favour of the Walls and Cannon, that he might not be forced to a Battel. The skirmish was hot and furious the next day, *Quiroga's* Spaniards coming on very boldly encouraged with the spoil they had gotten while they were out in mutiny, armed with excellent Arms, and wonderfully gallantly set forth. But the Baron *de Biron* having made the Harquebusiers alight from their horses, and two Troops of Reiters to advance one upon each flank, they retired without much disputing, leaving a greater opinion of their vain ostentation, than of their valour and Military discipline, which ill agrees with the licence of plunderings; so that the Italian *Tertia*,
C c c c c 2 made

1590

made up of old well-disciplined souldiers, was faine to second the skirmish, in which those of the League, neither suffering themselves to be beaten off from their place of advantage, nor from the shelter of the Town, it continued till the evening without coming to a Battel.

The Sieur de
S. Paul puts in
relief into
Paris.

But while the Forces skirmish thus at *Laon*, the Sieur de *St Paul* (who from the beginning had separated himself from the Duke of Mayenne with that intention) being with eight hundred Horse and great store of Victual advanced by the way of Champagne, came safe to *Meaux*, and from thence along the bank of the River *Marne* (having avoided the Guards of the King's Army, which, because their number was diminished, could not scowre the wayes with their wonted diligence) entered safe into Paris, where having put in the provisions, he retired without having received any prejudice: which being come to the King's knowledge, both because he might not leave open the passage for other succours, and because he saw that his staying to face the Duke of Mayenne (safely intrenched in the Suburbs of *Laon*, and well furnished with Victual) was no way advantageous, he returned upon the ninth of June to his old quarters, where he was more carefull in the besieging of *St Denis*, and in cutting off all passages to the City; in which business he himself spending many hours both of the day and night, and by his example the other Commanders doing the like, and particularly the Baron de *Biron*, a young man, in the full strength of his years, and unwearied in all toil and labour, all attempts proved vain which were used by the besieged, or by the Provinces bordering upon them, to get any quantity of Victual (though never so little) into the City: but how exact soever the diligence of the King's Commanders was, yet was it no more then was necessary in the present occasion: for a bushel of Wheat being sold in the City at one hundred and twenty crowns, and all other things at a sutable rate, not onely the friends and confederates of the League, but even their enemies also, and some of the King's side, moved by the greatness of the profit, endeavoured to get some small quantity of corn and flesh to pass secretly into the City; which nevertheless, by reason of the multitude of those that scowred the ways, happened but very seldom, and was in a manner but an insensible help to the Parisians, who afflicted by extreme miseries, onely sustained themselves by constancy of courage, and

the near hope of relief; which that it might be kept alive, both the Duke of Mayenne, who was without, and the Lords that were within, used marvellous art and industry, in making rumours to be spread, sometimes that the Forces were upon their march from Flanders to raise the siege; sometime that provision of Victual was making ready to supply the City; sometimes that some favourable accident had befallen their party: so that Letters and Messages arriving every day, and mingling true things with false, both published in the Pulpits, and divulged upon the Guards, fed the people with hopes for some few days: But the necessity increasing daily, these arts at last became unwelcome to the ears of men of understanding; sad doleful voices being heard, and many signes of discontent observed thorow the whole City. The moneth of July was already begun, and the corn of the City was quite spent, nor was any thing left for the people to live upon but oats, of which some little quantity remained; and that being ground in the Mills that stood in the streams of the River within the City, sometimes was turned into bread, sometimes cooked into pottage, which the French call *boüillie*; and for dainties, sometimes a little flesh, either of horses, dogs, asses, or mules, keeping no other horses alive, but those which were made use of in the War; the rest being publickly sold, to keep the families of the greatest Lords. But this manner of living was tolerable, and to be wished for, in respect of the common people, who drawing no profit at all from their Trades, and being reduced to extremity of misery, without money, and without bread, were fain, like brute beasts, to feed upon those herbs which they found in the yards, and streets, and along the *ramparts*; which yet not being sufficient for so great a multitude, and either giving little nourishment, because they were dried up with the heat, or else by their poisonous qualities producing vomits and fluxes, the miserable people were often seen to fall suddenly dead in the streets; which was so sad and lamentable a spectacle, as would have caused horreur in any heart, how fierce or cruel soever. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Heads of the Faction, and those that governed the people, the Legat, the Ambassadour *Mendoza*, and the Princes, were so constant and so firm, that they never so much as entertained a thought of yielding, but with exceeding great severity caused one *Renard* the *Procureur* of the *Chastelet*, and some other of his accom-

The description of the misery the people suffered in the siege.

1590

Renard the
Procureur of
the Chasteler,
with some o-
thers, execu-
ted for having
cried in the
face of the
Council,
*Bread or
Peace.*
* *Bread or
Peace.*

An Insurrecti-
on appeased
with the
death of di-
vers of those
made it.

accomplices to be executed; who desiring to free themselves from so great danger, had had the boldness one day when the Council was assembled, to cry out with a loud voice, * *On Paix ou Pax*: and even the common people, in the midst of so great straits, and the expectation of present death, rejoiced to suffer and endure their misery, being fully perswaded that it was a kinde of true and glorious Martyrdom, for the safety of their consciences, and the maintenance of Religion. Not but that some more compassionate of themselves, or of weaker spirit, or perchance not so constant in matters of Faith, sought and contrived to make some uproar, either to introduce a Treaty of Agreement, or to open a way for the King to be received by the people, and went so far stirring men up, by the apparent terrour of unavoidable death, and the most cruel torment of hunger, that some having made an Agreement among themselves, resolved to meet one morning and seize upon the Heads of the Government, who assembled themselves in Council in the Palace of Justice: but the business being secretly come to the ear of *Don Christino de Nizza*, one of the chief Preachers that laboured to make the people hold out the siege, he caused the Princes and Legat to be informed of it, who having put all the *Militia* in Arms, divided the care of the City, and ordered, that the Duke of Nemours should ride armed both that day and night, thorow all the Wards of the City, and that the *Chevalier d' Aumale* should stay constantly to guard the Palace: yet nevertheless they of the Plot came in great numbers at the time appointed, crying, *Bread or Peace*, and threatening to cut the Council in pieces, if some course were not taken; when one of the City Captains, whose name was *Goix*, inconsiderately going about to oppose them, was shot and killed by one of them, with a Pistol which he carried privately. But the *Chavalier d' Aumale* having caused the gates of the Palace to be shut, and the Duke of Nemours and the Ambassadour *Mendozza* coming suddenly with the *Militia* in Arms, he that had discharged the Pistol was thrown down from the Galleries of the Palace; and some other of the chief of them, who could not escape, being taken and executed the same day, the tumult dissolved of it self, leaving the City free from danger, but not the Heads from fear, that hunger would cause many of those commotions: the state of things still growing worse, and no certain hope of relief appearing. The excessive heats which
this

this year followed the excessive rains, as they made the sufferings more grievous, so did they hasten the ripeness of Corn in the Field; which being seen by the besieged, who watched night and day upon the Walls, was a cause that they went out armed and unarmed in divers Companies, sometimes Horse, sometimes Foot, with Sicles and other reaping instruments, hoping to catch some part of it: But the diligence of the Kings Army was great in running to beat back the besieged as often as they came forth, burning up the Corn, and with shot driving those women and children in again, that came out unarmed to get some by stealth: So that the whole Field being full of burnings and bloody incursions on all sides, the Parisians could not furnish themselves with any fruits out of the Field, save those that grew within shot of their Walls, which was so little as sufficed not to keep them above five or six days, after which, the famine grew more miserable and deadly then ever; they being fain from Meal and Oat-pottage, to come to the eating of noysome things, and even to the grinding of dead-mens bones to make Bread; a food not onely loathsome and abominable, but also so unwholsome and pestiferous, that the poor people died wonderfully fast. They likewise wanted Wood for firing so much, that they eat the flesh they got almost raw; and the skins and hides tanned for shooes and for mens cloathing, were boiled and devoured by those, who pulling down their own houses, or other mens, could finde wherewithal to kindle fire; nor was there any kinde of nourishment so strange, but it came into mens fancies to make use of, being become ingenious by necessity, which forced them to invent ways to keep themselves alive; and that which gave the greatest relief was, that by reason of the infinite number that were dead and fled away secretly, some streets, especially those of the Suburbs, being not frequented, brought forth Grasse, which gave marvellous relief to those poor famished wretches.

The Parisians
made Bread
of Dead-mens
Bones.

But even this small help was likewise quickly taken away: For the Prince of Conty, the *Sieur de Chastillon*, the Duke of *la Tremouille*, the Marquess *Pisani*, the Duke of *Nevers*, and other Lords of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Gascogne* and *Languedoc* being come unto the Army, which was by that means much increased in number, the King caused the siege to be more nearly streightned, and the Suburbs to be there-

1590

Upon Saint
James his day
the King af-
saults and
takes the
Fauxbourgs
of Paris.

therefore assaulted and taken; to which end, upon the Four and twentieth day of July at night, being the Eve of St. James the Apostle, the whole Army being disposed in several places under their Commanders, as the clock struck three, all the *Fauxbourgs* were assaulted at one time, clapping a great number of Scaling-Ladders against the Works. The Baron de *Biron* assaulted the *Fauxbourg St. Martin*, the *Sieur de Foix* that of *St. Denis*, *Monsieur de St. Luc* fell on that of *Mont-Martre*, the *Marescal de Biron* at *St. Honore*, the *Marchal d' Aumont* at *St. Germain*, *Monsieur de Lavardin* near the *Portes de Buffy* and *Nelle*, *Monsieur de Chastillon* assaulted *St. Michael* and *St. Jaques*, the *Prince of Conty* and *Duke de la Tremouille* did the like at *St. Marceau* and *St. Victoire*, in such manner, that being attacked and stormed all at the same time, the defendants strove but in vain with their Cannon and Musket shot from the Walls of the City; for all the Suburbs were taken by the Army, and the City and People thereby much more incommodated and streightned.

The Town of *St. Denis* was taken before this upon the Seventh of July; in which siege the defendants having felt the same calamities, capitulated at last to yield, if within three days they received no relief from Paris, or some other place; which not being come to pass by reason of the weakness of the Parisians, and the places near adjacent, and because the King had obstructed all the Avenues, sitting on Horse-back himself Forty hours together, they in the end gave up the Town, marching out with their Arms and Baggage: And the same did they, who held the Castle of *Dammartin* on the lower part of the River. So the whole Army being now set to streighten the City, which had before been divided to besiege those two places, the evil proved now without remedy; there coming no certain news from any part, that the Forces were upon their march to relieve them. Wherefore though formerly they had refused to answer many of the Kings Letters, in which promising them their lives, and security for their consciences, he exhorted them to desist from so great stubbornness, and yielding up themselves, to acknowledge and obey him for their Natural King: Yet now some Messages having passed between the Legat and the Marquess of *Pisani*, who had been Ambassador at Rome, they were content at last to yield to some treaty of Peace, but more with an intention to

satisfie

The King at
the siege of *St.
Denis* sits on
his horse
back Forty
hours toge-
ther.

satisfie the people, or to slacken the siege in some measure, then with a thought of concluding any thing. Wherefore due security being given and received, the Legat and Cardinal of Gondy went to the Hostel of *Girolamo Gondy* in the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*, whither a while after came the Marquess of Pisani, with others from the Camp: But after a long discourse, nothing was concluded; for the Legat insisted to have the whole business remitted to the Popes arbitrement, and that there might be a Cessation of Arms till the decision came from Rome; and the Marquess demanded to have the Parisians submit themselves unto the Kings obedience, who would afterwards give the Pope due satisfaction in point of Religion; which things being so distant, and so general, could produce no conclusion at all of agreement. The Legats return into the City without effect, deluded the peoples expectation, and every one being afflicted at it, increased the consideration of their present misery, and of the certainty that they should lose their lives within a few days: So that the cries and groans of the people, not onely filled all the streets, but did also multiply the number of those, who being overcome by the sharpness of their sufferings, called out for *Bread or Peace*, cries most frequent in the City, especially in the night. This beginning of insurrection was increased by the *Sieur d' Andelot*, Brother to *Chastillon*, and some other Gentlemen of the Kings party, who being taken by the besieged in the skirmishes, which were most frequent every day under the Walls, and having liberty given them to go abroad upon their *Parole*, divulged among their friends and acquaintance the Kings clemency, his readiness to pardon, the liberty and security wherewith the Catholicks lived under his protection, the respect he shewed toward the Catholick Religion, his great strength, which increased more and more every day, wherewith he was resolved to meet their Succors and fight with them, having assured hopes to beat them, and to finde the same facility he had done in the Battel of Yvry, wherein the Forces of the League, though intire and united, were utterly dissipated; by which instigations, many already despairing of relief, and drawn by their necessity, inclined to try the so much commended clemency and faith of the Conqueror. Whereupon there was like to be a very great insurrection of the people to force the Princes to a resolution of

A Treaty propounded, the Legat and Cardinal Gondy meet the Marquess of Pisani in the Fauxbourg, but return without concluding any thing.

D d d d d

yield.

1590

For fear of an
Insurrection,
the Council of
Paris chuseth
two Deputies,
the Cardinal
Gondy and
Archbishop of
Lyons to treat
with the
King.

yielding, and to make themselves masters of some Gate, and let in the Kings Army ; which if it should have come to pass, the forces of the Soldiers and Citizens were so weakned by famine, that it was thought they would have been able to make little resistance against the fury of the enemy : Wherefore the Parliament and Council being joyntly assembled in the Hall of St. Lewis, they resolved to appoint two Deputies, that should go to treat with the King, and, if he permitted, should pass on to the Duke of Mayenne, and to take care not to yield up the City ; but if it were possible, to include the particular Agreement of the City, in the Union of the General Peace.

For this employment they chose Cardinal Gondy, and the Archbishop of Lyons, being assured, that neither of them would treat any thing that should be prejudicial to Religion ; and yet the Duke of Nemours rose up almost angry from the Council, attesting he would maintain what he had sworn in the beginning of the siege, and that he had resolved rather to die, then yield the City into any other hands then his Brothers who had trusted him with it. Nor did the Cardinal Legat seem altogether pleased, but said he permitted that counsel by necessity, but that he approved not of it, and that having done and suffered so much, they ought to have patience for a few days, and expect the coming and issue of the relief which was ready to appear every hour. But yet the Deputies went forth with safe conduct to the Abbey of St. Anthoine des Champs, half a mile without the Gate which is so called ; where they found the King with a great many Princes and Lords, and, among the rest, the High-Chancellor Chiverny ; who having lived retired from the time that King Henry the Third dismissed him from the Court, had a few days before been recalled by the King, to execute his wonted office in keeping the Seals. The Deputies told the King, that the Council and Inhabitants of Paris, moved to compassionate the miseries of the people of France, which were the consequences of an obstinate Civil War, had given them commission to come and treat with him, and from thence to go on to the Duke of Mayenne, the Head of the Catholick party, to see if they could finde out some way of accommodation ; and therefore they who had willingly undertaken so honorable an employment for the general good and safety, exhorted his

The High-
Chancellor
Chiverny re-
called to the
execution of
his Office by
Henry the
Fourth.

The Speech of
the City De-
puties unto
the King.

his Majesty to hearken to those Conditions which were fit for the security of Religion, and the common peace of the Kingdom; but that he should not think that for any suffering or danger in the World, the Parisians would ever accept of any Agreement which should in the least manner be prejudicial to their Conscience and Religion, being resolved rather to die a corporal death, then injure or blemish the spiritual life of the Soul, for which they were ready to suffer any kinde of Martyrdom; which yet they did not fear, being certain to be powerfully relieved within a few days. Here Cardinal Gondy (though in himself affectionate to the Kings party) added many other things, to make it be believed, that not driven by necessity, but moved with a charitable zeal of Universal Concord, they were chosen Deputies by the City and Council of Paris, to finde out a way to the quiet of the Kingdom. Which things being spoken in publick, and amidst a great concourse of Soldierly Nobility, did so disgust every one that heard him, that the respect of the King could not so restrain the French impatience, but that it broke forth sometimes into laughter, sometimes in words of disdain, hearing a Message more proper for a dis-interested, or a conquering people, then a City reduced to the last inevitable calamities of hunger. And the King, either through his own Spirit, or excited by the general resentment, which had, as it were, prescribed him the tenor of his Answer, replied readily, That he knew very well the common people of Paris had the knife at their throat; and that howsoever the true meaning of the Embassie were palliated, yet were the Deputies come indeed to finde some remedy for the extremity of the condition they were brought to; but that the contents of their Message was very different from what it ought to have been: That if the Senate of Venice, a State not depending upon any Body but it self, yet by its ancient resolution, always a Mediator of Peace among Christian Princes, had interposed to conclude a Peace between him and the Duke of Mayenne, it would not have seemed strange to him, and he should have taken it in good part; but that the common people of one of his own Subject-Cities, who having forgot their natural duty, had shewed themselves contumacious and rebellious against him, should dare to usurp the name of a Council, and presume to be the Mediators of Peace and Concord, was a thing so ridicu-

The Kings
Answer.

1590

lous on the one side, and so worthy of scorn and punishment on the other, that it would be no small matter, if from his clemency they should be able to obtain pardon for themselves, without meddling any further in the business. And here with many expressions (wherein he was naturally very happy) desiring also to give satisfaction to the Nobility that heard him, he said divers other things, to shew that he desired Peace out of his own goodness and clemency, and for the preservation of the people which God had committed to his Government; but that he neither feared the War, nor the powerful succors which the Parisians fancied in their own imaginations: And finally concluded, that he would be contented to lose one finger from his hand, upon condition, the War between him and his Enemies and Rebels, might be ended with the sword the day following; but that he would gladly give two, that by the way of Peace every one would acknowledge their own duty.

The opinion
of the High-
Chancellor
Chiverny.

After which words, the Deputies were led forth into a room prepared for them, and the King retired to advise with his Council. The High-Chancellor *Chiverny* shewed, that the Kings answer had been very sharp and high, and that though that scornful resolute behavior seemed fit in publick, yet now in consulting the matter calmly, that stile was to be altered, not to lose that end which had till then been endeavored with so many labors: That the Kings aim was to bring the City of Paris under obedience, but not with the desolation of the Citizens, nor with force of Arms; but that the way of siege had been chosen, as well by reason of the strength of the people united for their defence, as not to destroy the greatest and richest City of the whole Kingdom: Wherefore, now that the Parisians being tamed by hunger, began to treat of an Agreement, reason perswaded to use them gently, and not to stand upon any Conditions; but, provided they would but yield the most large and honorable capitulation that could be, was to be accepted of; and that if the desire of saving Paris induced the Duke of Mayenne and others of his party to embrace an Agreement, it was not a thing to be contemned, but rather to be wished for: Wherefore he was plainly of opinion, that the Deputies should be moderately treated with in private touching an Accommodation, and also that they should be permitted to go on to the Duke of Mayenne, to see if they could

1590

could draw him to consent to Peace. The Mareschal *de Biron* approved the first part of the High-Chancellors counsels, which was to give any conditions whatsoever to the Parisians, provided, they would submit to the Kings obedience; so much the rather, because by long watchings and continual sufferings, the Forces of the Army were much tired and lessened, and diseases, in regard of the season, began already to be very rife in the Camp: But he was not of opinion, that the Deputies should have leave granted them to go on to the Duke of Mayenne, shewing, that that was a prolonging of the time, till the relief should arrive out of Flanders: That the negotiating of a General Peace was a thing that required long time, and much maturity, which could not stand with the present business: That it was good to strike the Iron while it was hot, and to straighten the Parisians till hunger forced them to think of their own safety: For Paris being subdued, the foundation of the League was taken away, and it would afterward be most easie to make an agreement with the Duke of Mayenne and the rest of his party. All the rest concurred in this opinion; and therefore the Deputies being called, after many discourses, this was the conclusion, That if Paris would yield, the King would give them full satisfaction in the securities, and other matters they desired of him; but that he would not receive Laws from them, in what concerned his conscience and conversion, which he reserved to his own freedom, and to the inspirations of God; neither would he give way, that they should go treat with the Duke of Mayenne, he being resolved not to treat any Agreement, except concerning the City of Paris: And finally, he caused a Writing to be given unto them, penned by Secretary *Revol*, wherein he declared the same things with very gentle words, and proffers of all possible security and satisfaction. He added also private kinde Letters to the Duke of Nemours, the Dutches his Mother, and to Madam *de Guise*, exhorting each of them to Peace, and assuring them all, That they should receive more from his favor, then they knew how to desire. With this Answer the Deputies returned: But the Duke of Nemours being averse from Peace, by the counsel of the Legat, and the Ambassador *Mendoza*, would not give way that the Writing should be read unto the people, but that the Deputies should tell them onely, that the King would have no other Agreement, but that the City should put it self into his

The Mareschal *de Biron*s opinion, to which the King's Counsellors assent.

The Deputies return with the Kings Answer: All thought of Peace is laid aside.

1590

his power, without the assent of, and without including the Duke of Mayenne, and the other Lords of the League; which being contrary to the sense of the major part, especially of those of the Council (for the City would by no means separate themselves from the Duke of Mayenne, but run the same fortune with him to the uttermost) the thought of Peace being laid aside, they returned to the care of their defence.

In the mean time, the Duke of Parma (notwithstanding that he had made his opinion fully known in Spain) had received a new absolute order from the Catholick King to march personally with the whole Army into France to relieve the Confederates, and to raise the siege of Paris; the Council believing that enterprise so honorable, so important, and full of so lively hopes, that it was without doubt to be preferred before the interests of the affairs of Flanders, which they thought to be reduced into such a condition, that they could receive but little or no damage by the absence of the Duke and his Army for a few moneths; and therefore approving that part of the Duke of Parma's opinion which was to nourish and prolong the War, to obtain that from the weakness and the weariness of the French, which at first seemed impossible to be effected, they had nevertheless determined, that Paris should be powerfully relieved, purposely not to suffer the League to be so soon subdued, and the King to remain Conqueror; to whom, that City being once taken, all other things would become easie, and quickly be dispatched: Besides, that that Monarchy, even from the weakness of its beginnings, having been accustomed ever to unite its own ends with the so favorable and plausible pretence of Religion, it could not now in this important occasion disunite those interests so nearly joyned, without taking off that glorious reputation which they so much boasted of, that they never had other enemies, but the enemies of the Church it self: Therefore they had caused a determinate order to be given the Duke, that having strengthened those Garisons of Flanders as much as he could, which were frontiers towards the Confederate States, he should not defer to relieve the City of Paris with all his force; which being once delivered and freed from the siege, he should not care to proceed, or do any thing further. But the Duke, as soon as he had received this last so absolute order, was in much trouble which way to execute it: For on the one side, he could not leave the

The Duke of Parma hath express order from Spain to go and relieve Paris.

Cities

Cities of Flanders so well garisoned, but that some great loss was to be feared, which in Spain (where he saw the opinion in this business was very different from truth) would be imputed to his carelessness, and not to the necessity of things; and the Orders he had received: And on the other side, he could not march into France without the strength of the Army, being to make a War wherein there was little to be trusted to from his Friends, and much to be feared from a brave, valiant, unwearied Enemy, bred up in War, and guarded with almost an invincible Body of French Nobility; and so much the more, because it was necessary to go and finde him at home in the midst of all his Forces. Moreover the straightness of time troubled him very much, because he knew Paris was already reduced to the extreamest necessity of hunger, and yet first to furnish Flanders with what was requisite, and then to go into France with that order, and those provisions which were fit for the greatness of the enterprize, it was necessary to spend some time; so that it was infinitely to be doubted, the Parisians could not be able to hold out so long. But as a Prince of high courage, who to maturity of resolution joyned celerity of execution, judging this (as indeed it was) the most weighty and difficult enterprize that had ever fallen within his conduct, he proposed to himself to overcome all difficulties, and to effect it with that glory which he had gained in his other actions: And therefore having disposed the order of all things in his minde, he betook himself to the effecting of them with so much diligence, that he hoped to be able to relieve Paris by the midst of August; wherefore desiring neither to deceive, nor be deceived, as he had told the Duke of Mayenne before, so he writ a Letter to the besieged, about the end of July, wherein giving them account of his expedition, he assured them, that he would be in France by the midst of the next Moneth, and exhorted them to overcome all difficulties, and arm themselves with patience to expect that time, within which he hoped certainly he should be able to free them from all trouble. This Letter came to Paris upon the first of August, and being read by the Magistrates, and communicated to the people, filled every one with wonderful great despair, the time seeming so long to them, that they believed they should never be able to hold it out with life; wherefore the Soldiers began by stealth to forsake their Colours, and flie away by night: And

At the coming of the Duke of Parma's Letters, which promised relief within fifteen days, the soldiers and people despairing, strive to flie away from the City.

1590

And the poor of the City being destitute of sustenance, sought to get out of the siege, and escape some whither else; the Governors in chief not forbidding them, who from the beginning had given leave to all to depart freely. But the King, as he willingly suffered the run-away soldiers to pass, so had he given strict orders that the Townsmen should be driven back, and forced to return into the City, knowing, that the besieged sought to unburthen themselves; which order being punctually executed by the Guards, was the cause that very few of them could escape by stealth. Among the greatest difficulties that the Governors had, was the restraining of the Germans; who, having lived in all kinde of Liberty, and without regard destroyed fair houses and gardens to sell the wood, and get money; now that every thing was consumed, had given themselves over to all manner of villany, so that they might but get any nourishment by it; and many have reported, that they secretly killed all the Children they could get into their hands, to feed upon their flesh; and notwithstanding all this, they began to mutiny, and desire to disband, though both the Duke of Nemours, and the Chevalier d' *Aumale*, did use all possible means to keep them together. The besieged finding themselves in this streight, writ to the Duke of Mayenne (for a final resolution) that if they were not relieved within ten days, it would be impossible for them to hold out; and having done all that was possible, they should be excused both before God and Man, if they took care of their own safety: and the Dutches of Mayenne wrote to her Husband to the same purpose, conjuring him by his affection to their Children, that he should not suffer them to fall into the hands of so bitter an enemy. Which Letters being received by the Duke, and being in no less perplexity of minde then the Parisians, he united all his Forces together and advanced to Meaux, ten leagues distant from Paris, and dispatched the Marquis *Alessandro Malaspina*, to let the Duke of Parma know, that if he made not haste with his Army, all their labor would be lost, the besieged not being able to hold out any longer; and for assurance of it, sent him the same Letters he had received. There were with the Duke of Mayenne, besides *Quiroga's* mutineers, *Capizucchi's Tertia*, and the Walloon Horse the Duke of Parma had given him, Six hundred Lanciers of the Duke of Lorains, commanded by the Count de *Chaligny*, Brother to the

The German Soldiers in Paris having no other food, kill little children to eat.

The Duke of Mayenne to give hope to the Parisians, advances with his Army as far as Meaux.

the Queen Dowager of France, the French Infantry under Colonel St. Paul, the Duke of Aumale with the Troop of Picardy, the Marquess de Menelay, Monsieur de Balagny, Governor of Cambray, and the Sieur de Rosne, and de la Chastre, with their Regiments and Attendants, which in all amounted to the number of Ten thousand Foot, and Two thousand and four hundred Horse. With these Forces, though he advanced as far as Meaux, to be ready upon any occasion that should be offered, and to put courage in the besieged by being so near, yet did he not think them sufficient to be able to relieve or victual Paris, because he knew the King, by the addition of many supplies, had under his Colours Six and twenty thousand Foot, and more then Seven thousand Horse, among which, Five thousand were Gentlemen, who bearing Arms onely for Honor, being well attended and gallantly mounted, were esteemed by him, both for their number and quality, without comparison superior; and therefore he dispatched Letters and Messengers every hour to the *Vice-Seneschal de Montelimar*, who resided for him near the Duke of Parma, to the end, that he might with all diligence sollicite his coming, without which he thought it impossible to relieve the besieged.

The Duke of Parma having called a Council of War upon the first of August, told them the Order he had received from the Catholick King, to march with the whole Army into France, and said, That that resolution was contrary to his opinion, alledging the Reasons for which he esteemed the enterprise to be of great danger, and little advantage: But since it had pleased the King their Master to command it so, as he was resolved in that Expedition to imploy all those abilities God had given him, so he prayed all the rest to apply their endeavors, to the end, that the Offices committed to their care, might be discharged to the praise of God, the Kings satisfaction, and to their own honor: And there, having given every one his charge, he commanded, that the Army already drawn down together, should be ready to march by the fourth of that moneth. He writ to the Duke of Mayenne the certainty and time of his coming, and gave the Parisians notice of the same, attesting to them, That for the onely purpose of relieving them, and for the maintenance of Religion, the Catholick King neglecting his own Affairs, sparing neither blood nor money, and without those securities of strong Towns for Magazines of Arms,

The Duke of Parma declares, that he had never been of opinion, that the King of Spain should send his Army into France to serve the League.

E e e e e

and

1590

The Duke of
Parma moves
with his Ar-
my from Va-
lenciennes to
relieve Paris.

The Duke of
Parma's man-
ner of con-
duct in his
marching
thorow
France.

and places of Retreat upon the Confines, which are wont to be demanded and granted, to the end, that every one might know his candor in proceeding to be more lively, and more real, undertook that weighty enterprife; which nevertheless he hoped, by the help of God, and the justice of the Cause, to bring to an happy conclusion; and with this Resolution, his Army moved upon the Fourth of August toward Valenciennes. The Marquess *de Ranti* led the Van; in the Battell with the Duke, were the Princes of Ascoli, Chasteau-bertrand and Chimay, the Count *de Barlemont*, the Count of Arambergh, and many other Flemish, Italian, and Spanish Lords. The *Sieur de la Mothe*, Governor of Graveling, commanded the Rere, in which there were 20 pieces of Cannon, two Bridges to be made upon Boats, & all those other warlike instruments, which are wont to be carried along in Royal Armies. The Duke of Parma's Armies had ever been very well disciplined, ready, and accustomed to hardship, punctual in obedience of commands, and no ways given to pillage or plunder in a Friends Country: And now knowing he was to enter into a Kingdom, where the name of a Spaniard was generally hated by the people, and that he was no less to govern suspicious mindes, ready to rise upon every slight occasion, then to make War with a victorious Army, and a wary compleat Soldier, he was more careful then ever, and strove with all possible diligence to keep his Soldiers from doing any injury, using any violence, or giving any cause of complaint unto the French. He encamped always, as if the enemies Army had been close by him, kept all his men together from stragling, and orderly in their quarters; he made careful discoveries, and marched without confusion or tumult; he came into quarters betimes in the evening, and while they were disposed of, and made defensible, he caused the greater part of the Army to stand to their Arms; he ordered strong Convoys to attend the Victual, whereof he had made, and did still make exceeding great provisions; and yielding the honor and advantage in all things to the French, strove to gain the love of the Nation; to which end, he having lived in Flanders among the Spaniards with retiredness and gravity, equal to the humor of those with whom he conversed, now being come into France, he laid aside the state of Ante-chambers, and the strict keeping of doors, ear in publick, kept a Table for the French Gentlemen, and both in

words

words and actions shewed himself wonderful affable and familiar. And because in that multitude of Officers of note that were about him, he resolved onely to trust himself, he would personally hear the relations of those parties that had been abroad to discover and scowr the ways, himself would talk with Spies, dispose the order of the Guards, and hearken to all things appertaining to the discipline of his Army: for which purpose watching all the night, he onely gave those few hours to sleep, which past between the beating of the *Reveille* and the marching of his Army. With this diligence marching gently, not to tire out his men, he came to Meaux, ten leagues from Paris, upon the three and twentieth of August; and having as he marched met the Duke of Mayenne in the field, they joyned their Armies together in that very place.

The Duke of Parma's arrival at Meaux, where he joyns with the Duke of Mayenne.

There the Archbishop of Lyons, and President *Vetus* arrived; who having newly been with the King to introduce some overture of Agreement, and now with his Safe-Conduct (for at the drawing near of the Spanish Army, he had yielded something from his former stiffness) were come to negotiate with the Duke of Mayenne, by whom being brought into the Council, they related in what extremity the Parisians were, and that they could not hold out above four dayes longer: whereupon they earnestly desired, if within that space they could not be relieved, that an Agreement might be made, whereby the City might be freed from the certainty of that danger wherein it was. The Duke of Parma, with modest and grave expressions, made known that he was come by the Catholick King's command, with order onely to relieve the City, and to provide against the danger of Religion, and that he had no Commission to treat of any Accommodation; nor did his conscience dictate to him any thought of making an Agreement with a Prince that was an Heretick, and an enemy to the Church: but that the Parisians having with infinite honour, and with an heroick example of Christian fortitude suffered so much, they should endure yet the delay of a few days; for he hoped, by the help of God, and the strength of that Army, that they should very easily be delivered; and that therefore they should return to the City, and perswade them to that short patience. The Deputies returned to the King, where they had left Cardinal *Gondy*, and declared that in the Army

An Accommodation is again propounded; but the Duke of Parma (saying he had onely order from the King to relieve Paris, and not to treat, the Deputies return.

1590

there was no intention of lending an ear to Peace, and that the Duke of Parma had dismissed them with assurance of a speedy and infallible relief: whereupon, being likewise dismissed by the King, the thoughts on both sides were turned wholly upon matters of War.

The Abbot del
Bene dies.

The King was in great perplexity of minde: for beside the diminution of his Army caused by diseases, whereof many had died (and among the rest the Abbot *Pietro del Bene*, a man of great ability in State-affairs) many various and different resolutions represented themselves unto his thoughts. It seemed hard unto him to rise without fruit from that siege, after so many labours and so many dangers, and after having reduced the City to the last degrees of despair; and therefore he inclined to a desire of leaving part of the Army to make good the passes, and to advance with the other to meet the relief. On the other side, he thought the Duke of Parma's strength to be exceeding great, and that it would be requisite to use all his Forces to oppose and resist him; and therefore durst not hazard to go against him with onely a part of his Army, which he believed not able to withstand him. Thus doubtful and uncertain in his minde, he called a Councel of all his Commanders, in which the principal were the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshalls of *Aumont* and *Biron*, the Baron his son, *Philibert de la Guiche*, the Sieurs *de Lavardin*, *Guitry*, and *de la Noüe*, the Viscount of *Turenne*, the Duke of *la Tremouille*, and *Monsieur de Chastillon*; who not having their mindes possessed with passion, concurred all in the same opinion, that to divide the Army was a pernicious counsel; for that way the siege would neither be maintained, nor the relief hindred: That this was not the first siege which after many experiments had been quitted by famous souldiers; and that if they could but effect the design either of defeating the Duke of Parma, or making him return, the provisions which the Parisians could get in the mean time from places near adjacent, would be so inconsiderable, that at their return the City would in a few dayes be brought to the same necessity:

Upon the 30
of August the
King rises
from the siege
of Paris, and
marches to
Chelles to
hinder the re-
lief.

Which after it was determined in the Councel, the King having given such Orders as were fitting, that they might be ready time enough to oppose the enemy, raised the siege upon the thirtieth of August, and marched with his whole Army to quarter in *Chilles*, a Town three leagues from Paris, and but

four

four from the Army of the League. *Chelles* is a spacious Bourg, seated in a fenny Plain, and overflowed with the water of a little rivulet, which stands in pools round about it: It hath on both sides a large Campagne, and before it two hills, on whose ascent is the great high-way that leads straight from *Meaux* to *Paris*. Here the Army (wherein were seven thousand Horse, and between eighteen and twenty thousand Foot) was disposed in such manner, that the Light-horse backed by the Foot of the *Vanguard*, possessed the bottoms of the hills, and the passage of the high-way: the body of the *Main Battel* lay under cover in the houses of the Bourg; and the Cavalry of the *Rereguard*, sheltering the back of the Army, lay at the entry of the Plain that leads towards *Paris*. On the right hand of the Bourg the Swisses were quartered, and the *Sieur de Chastillon*, with four French Regiments; and on the left, the *Compans* with five Regiments of Fire-locks, and with the *Sieur de Lavardin*: and on both sides were placed the Artillery.

The manner how the Kings Army was disposed at *Chelles*.

The King's Army was hardly quartered, when upon the steep of the hills the Italian and Bourguignon Horse of the League appeared, who began to skirmish at the front of the Quarters; and in the mean time the Dukes of Parma and Mayenne, with few in company riding every where about, discovered the strength and disposition of the Army distinctly; which seeming to them admirably well ordered, they retired to their own Quarter, which was in the bottoms beyond the hills; and were careful to fortifie it with a broad Trench and a high Breast-work, which flanked round about with Bulwarks and Half-moons, upon which the Artillery were planted, made their Camp secure from the fury of any sudden assault whatsoever.

The Dukes of Mayenne and Parma, while their Horse skirmish, go to discover the situation and strength of the Army.

The Armies lay still on this manner for the space of four dayes: for the Duke of Parma knowing that the Parisians going out of the City, had both from the places neer adjacent, and by those things that had been left by the Army, furnished themselves with sufficient provisions for some few days, did not hasten very much, nor would he precipitate his counsels: and the King, though desirous to fight, and full of hopes of the Victory, thought it an extream rashness to assault an enemy stronger then himself in his own Quarters. In the mean time they skirmished very often, proved the valour of all the several Nations, and tried all sorts of Arms; the Horse often charging Foot,

While the two Armies lie still observing one another, the Parisians make some provision of Victual.

1590

Foot, and the Cuirassiers sometimes Light horse and Carabines, sometimes Lanciers, wherewith the Army of the League abounded very much: in which time the King, anxious of that delay, and fearful lest the late sufferings, and want of money should make his men disband, or at least that his Army should decrease, it being full of dangerous diseases; resolved to try the courage of the enemies, by sending a Trumpet to let the Duke of Mayenne know, That at last the time was come of settling the differences, and putting at end to the miseries of the War, and that therefore rising forth of his den, where he lay rather like a Fox then a Lion, he should bring his Army into the open field, where the valour and courage of men might presently decide the future Victory. The Duke of Mayenne sent the Trumpet to the Duke of Parma as superior who smiling answered, That he knew very well what was to be for him to do, for the attaining of his own ends, and was not come so far to take counsel from his enemy: That he saw clearly enough that his way of proceeding displeased the King; but that if he were so great a soldier as fame reported him, he should shew his skill in forcing him to a Battel against his will, for he would never put that willingly into the arbitrament of Fortune, which he had already safe in his own hands. But by this time the affairs of Paris began to press: for that little being consumed which they had been able to catch, the City returned to its former exigency; and it was necessary to open the passes, to the end that Victuals might go in: wherefore the Duke of Parma, having in these days tried the King's soldiers, discovered the Country exactly, and maturely deliberated what he should do, gave out that he would fight in the open field; and having drawn up his Army in Battalia upon the fifth of September in the morning, he advanced very early towards the enemy. In the Van he placed two great Squadrons of Lances, and all the Light-horse of the Army, and gave the Command of them to the Marquess de Ranty, giving him order that as soon as he was out of the woody place, which was upon the ascent of the hills, and was come to the top, where the Plain enlarged itself, he should cover and take up the space of the hills as much as possibly he could, by spreading his Lanciers out at length, commanded by the Prince of Chimay and George Basta, and by making two great wings of the Light-horse, and then marching toward the enemy, should begin to descend,

but

The King sends a Trumpet to the Duke of Mayenne, challenging him to battel.

The Duke of Mayenne sends him to the Duke of Parma, who returns a notable Answer to the King.

but very softly, to go into the open Field, making many stands, and staying to expect his Orders. To the Duke of Mayenne he gave the charge of the Battel, in which he put all the strength of the Italian and Spanish Foot, together with Twenty pieces of Cannon; and the Rere was led by the *Sieur de la Motte*, with the Bourguignon Lances, and the Walloon Infantry. In the Flank of the Battel, but separated on the right and left hand, he put the *Sieur de la Chastre*, and Colonel *St. Paul* with the French Horse and Foot; and he himself remained free to ride every-where up and down, having with him Count *Alessandro Sforza*, *Nicolo Cefis*, and *Appio Conti*, with onely One hundred Horse.

As soon as the Army of the League was seen to march resolutely toward the enemy along the great Highway, it was the general opinion of both sides, that they should certainly fight that day; and the King full of courage, his eyes sparkling for very joy, having with admirable celerity and exact diligence drawn up his Army, in the same manner as it lay quartered before, waited with a longing desire; till the enemy coming down into the open field, should give him opportunity to fight with equal advantage. The Kings Squadrons were already all in order, with the Artillery placed ready to fire, and the *Marquess de Ranty* stretching forth his Body of Lances as far as ever he could, already leaving the Hill, descended but very gently toward the Plain; when the Duke of Parma seeing all the Field covered with his Vanguard, and that the Kings Army stood intently expecting him with a thought to fight, set spurs to his Horse and galloped up to the head of the Battel, where having staid the Duke of Mayenne, who was still marching toward the enemy, he made him turn suddenly toward Lagny, which stands upon the left hand; and having changed his order, so that the Battel became the Van, and the Rere the Battel, he marched speedily to possess the Subrbs of that Town. Lagny is seated upon the River *Marne*, in such manner, that the Suburbs, though but of a few houses, stand upon the Bank on the right side, on which both the Armies were, and the Town is built upon the left; the passage between is by a large Bridge over the River, which being the principal that brings Victual to Paris, was also one of the chief Passes that was to be opened. *Mon-sieur de la Fin* was in Lagny with Fifteen Colours of French Foot,

The Duke of Parma draws his Army into Battalia, marches towards the Enemy, makes shew as if he would give Battel; then running suddenly, goes to Lagny, and deceives the King, who thinking to fight, had disposed his Army in a readiness.

1590

Foot, who (contrary to his expectation) seeing the whole Army of the League turned against him, and not thinking he could defend the Suburbs, which stood beyond the River, on that side the Enemy was coming, having broken and thrown down the Bridge, to the end they might not so easily pass over, he retired with his men to defend the circuit of the Town, which before they could assault, it was necessary to pass the River. The Duke of Parma having taken and possessed the Suburbs without resistance, presently quartered the French Infantry there, and about half a mile from them he encamped in the field of Pomponne with the rest of the Army, endeavoring with infinite diligence, and with Trenches, Brest-works, Redouts, and Half-moons, to secure the Camp, and to hinder and obstruct the passages of all the Countrey round about.

The Marquess *de Ranty*, after he had with the Vanguard, held the Kings Army for many hours in suspense with a hope of fighting, towards the evening began likewise to march toward Lagny, leaving the King very doubtful what the Enemies design should be; for he thought it necessary for them to pass the River, if they would take that Town, which he believed they could not do without great danger of losing at least their Rere-guard, if nothing else; and it seemed to him much more difficult to believe, that the Duke of Parma would assault any place before his face; but most difficult of all, that he would march toward Paris on that side, leaving the pass of Lagny behind him, because so he should have shut himself up in the middle, and depriving himself of the concurrence of provisions, would have besieged his own Army himself; wherefore being doubtful in his minde, and not knowing what to resolve on, to try what the enemies intent was, he sent forth the Baron *de Biron*, the Grand Prior, and Monsieur *de la Noüe*, to follow the Marquess *de Ranty*, and to begin as hot a skirmish as they could, to take some conjecture of the designs and proceedings of the Enemy; but the Carabines (who were got into the woody places that were there round about) having received the encounter very valiantly, and *Georgio Basta* advancing with Four hundred Lances to second them, the skirmish was various till night, which parted them, so that without further action they retired both to their own Quarters. The Duke still busie in taking and fortifying all the Posts that were between both the Armies, to defend him-
self

self if he should be assaulted in the Rere, caused the Artillery to be planted against Lagny that very night, though with the River between, and the next morning by break of day began to batter the Wall with eleven pieces of Cannon. *La Fin* at first despised the Dukes Battery, seeing the River between them, and that though a breach should be made, they could yet by no means come to assault it, by reason of the River; but he found himself much deceived, when he saw that the Duke having caused a Bridge of Boats to be cast over it two leagues above, had commanded *Capizucchi's Tertia* of Italians to pass over, with *Berlotte's Tertia* of Walloons, and *Georgio Basta's* Eight hundred Horse, that they might be ready when it should be time to storm the Wall; which weak, and not lined with Earth, was like within a few hours to afford sufficient passage for the assault.

In the interim, the King at last suspecting what the Enemy was about to do (but at the time when the Quarter of the League was already well enough fortified, and all the passage stoppt up with *Corps-de-Garde*, which the Duke of Parma had placed on every side) sent forth divers Troops, and several ways to relieve the * besieged, which all entred without resistance; for the Duke cared not, nor valued that Relief, so long as the whole Army marched not: But the King could take no way that was not most difficult and dangerous; for if he moved not, Lagny was certainly lost, and the passage was open to victual the City on that side; and if moving to relieve it, he should pass the River, the Duke leaving Lagny, would march with the victual he had brought, the straight way to Paris; for which cause, he staying, as it were, unmoveable, where he was, not being able to take any resolution, consulted nevertheless what was best to be done. The Marechal *de Biron* was of opinion, that following the same way by which the Marquess *de Ranty* was retired, and forcing two *Corps-de-Garde* that were on that side, he should assault the Dukes Camp on the left hand toward Meaux, where it was less fortified then in the other places. Monsieur *de la Noüe* was of opinion, that it was better to pass the River, and placing themselves behinde Lagny, to reinforce and refresh the Garison every moment, hoping, that being so relieved, it might hold out against the violence of the Enemy. To both these the King answered, That either way the Duke had free

* In Lagny.

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passage

1599

passage left him to Paris; for by turning towards Meaux, the way by Chelles was left open, and, by passing the River the same way, would be neither more nor less free to him.

In the meantime, the Duke of Parma being resolved not to lose a minute, and assured of the solidness of his design, caused a furious assault to be given to the Walls of Lagny, though the breach was not very wide; where while they are fighting stoutly on both sides, the King drawn by anger to see all his past toils and labors lost, could not contain himself from advancing that way with his whole Army in Battalia, but not with any settled resolution what to do. The Duke of Parma on the other side, not stirring out of the compass of his works, put his Army likewise in order within the circuit of his Camp, facing toward the enemy, and leaving the appointed Forces without impediment to prosecute the assault, which having at first been happily repulsed by those within, a disorder gave the victory to the enemies: For being about to change and relieve those that had endured the assault, they did it not file by file, as the good rule of defence directeth; but either for haste, or want of experience, would needs do it all at once, from whence tumult and confusion arising, the assailants not losing the opportunity, redoubled the assault with so much readiness, that the defendants being beaten off, who before were half disordered by themselves, they entered the Castle, and took *la Fier* prisoner; and the King, to the greater increase of his affliction was onely a spectator of the slaughter of his men, who being encompassed by the Walloons and Italians (who had given the assault with great emulation of each other) were without mercy put to the sword. Wherefore there being no more possibility of doing any thing about Lagny, neither to defend it, nor recover it, he was constrained, full of most bitter grief, and without any fruit at all, to return the same evening to his old Quarters. Lagny being taken, and the passage of the River opened, the victual already gathered together for that purpose, was carried from the far side of the River abundantly into Paris, the City opening their Gates with joy, and welcome to their deliverers, whereas six days before they thought they should have been forced with utter ruine and desolation, to have set them open to the Enemy. But the King seeing Lagny taken before his own eyes, and the hunger of the Parisians relieved by that

The Duke of Parma takes Lagny before the face of the Kings Army, whereby the passage of the River Marne being freed upon the sixth of September, great store of victual enters Paris.

that means, resolved to withdraw from the enemy, because it was certain that the Duke of Parma, having effected his design, would not fight any more of his own accord; and to force him in his quarters, strongly intrenched, and abounding with all manner of provisions, was not a thing to be thought on; whereas on the otherside, his Army, consumed by the continual toil and duty of the whole Summer, and therefore full of grievous diseases which increased daily, began also to suffer for want of Victuals, the whole Country behinde him being eaten up; and the impatiency of the Nobility, the want of money, the nature of the French, who having lost the hope of taking Paris, and of coming to a Battel with the enemy, could no longer endure the sufferings and hardship of Arms, perswaded him to that willingly, which within a few hours, not days, he would have been necessitated to do by force: Whereupon, the next day, which was the seventh of September, having put his Army in Battalia, he stood firm a while defying the enemy to battel, and none appearing, no not so much as to skirmish, but the field remaining free, he marched away, retiring to the walls of St Denis.

The King withdraws his Army from the enemy, and marches towards St Denis.

But being exceedingly troubled and afflicted for the unprosperous success of his affairs, and desirous to do something that might recover the spirit and credit of his Arms, it came in his minde to give an unexpected Scalado that night to the City of Paris it self, attempting to get that suddenly by force, which he had not been able to attain by so long a siege, and by so great an extremity of famine: nor was it without much reason that he fell into this thought: for the strictness of the siege being over, many of the Citizens, not well assured of the event, had taken refuge in the Country; and those that remained in the City surfeiting in their great weakness with excess of meat, which their hunger made them greedily devour, were so faint and sickly, that for the most part they lay unfit for service: besides, many of the Souldiers were gone forth to convoy the Victuals which were brought from Chartres and other places, and to guard them from the King's Garrisons which were near on every side: and, which imported most of all, it was credible that the neighbourhood of so great an Army of friends, which they knew waited close upon the King's, would make men already tired out and spent with hard duty and suffering, more negligent in their wonted Guards and fitting

1590

* The Italian says *Su le due bore della notte*; but their account of hours beginning from sunset, and so to 24, which end at sunset again, it is plain the Author meant 2 hours within night, which according to the time of sunset there in that season of the year, must needs be before nine a clock; for after 2 they could not have had time enough before day light to march so far, and to make 2 several attempts to scale the City.

The King marches towards St Denis; but in the midst of the night gives a scalado to the walls of Paris; yet the vigilancy of the Duke of Nemours makes it ineffectual.

The King's souldiers return at break of day to scale the walls again; 2 ladders are set up: but being discovered, they are repulsed, with the death of the first that went up.

Watches to keep and make good so great a circuit of ground. Now the King being resolved to attempt that enterprize, gave order that all should meet as at a general Rendezvous in the Plain of *Bondy*, not far from the City; and having put the Scaling-ladders together which for that use were carried with the Army, he took his way toward Paris about * between eight and nine of the clock at night. The *Mareschal d'Anmont* led a fleeing squadron with its ladders; the *Baron de Biron* led such another; and a third, in the same order, was brought up by the *Sieur de Lavardin*. The King followed with all the Princes and Commanders, and with the Cavalry drawn up ready to fight; and having passed the *Seine*, went toward that part of the City which, as being furthest from danger, they thought would be least guarded. The Scaling-ladders were presented to the gates and walls of *St Germain* by the *Mareschal d'Anmont*; at *St Mithel* by *Biron*; and by *Lavardin*, between *St Jacques* and *St Marceau*. But they found the defendants ready and vigilant every where: for the Duke of Nemours, who caused the ways to be diligently scowred, had had an inkling of their drawing together at *Bondy*, and of their marching toward Paris, and therefore had carefully disposed and visited the Guards in every place: whereupon, the foundation of the surprise failing, which was negligence, and the small Guards of the Citizens; the Commanders, without much obstinacy, brought off their ladders, and returned to the place where the King with the Cavalry tarried for them; who facing about with an easie pace, drew off the same way he came: but not being able to withhold himself from trying to effect something, and thinking that the defendants, having beaten off his men, would perchance after that nights watch be more negligent and secure in the morning, having caused his Cavalry to make an halt, he turned about again to lead up the three fleeing squadrons into the Trenches of the Gate and Curtine of *St Merceau*, being resolved there to make his last attempt: nor was his opinion altogether deceitful: for the Towns-men already wearied with long watching, were retired to sleep; by which means two ladders were set up with great silence, so that none either heard the noise, or stirred to hinder them; but a Jesuite who stood sentinel without the *Corps de Garde*, which was kept by those Fathers, and *Nicholas Nivelle* a Book-seller, who was likewise upon the Gate, though farther off, hearing the noise, gave the Alarm,

Alarm, and running presently to that place with the halberds they had in their hands, overturned one of the ladders, which being too long, reached above the wall, and made so good resistance at the head of the other, that the *Sieur de Cremonville* and *Parabiere's* Lieutenant being killed, who were neer getting upon the Brest-work, gave time for the coming of help: for at the noise of *Arm, arm*, and the cry of the Sentinels, the Guards who were asleep drew forth armed, and a great number of Citizens running from all parts, before whom the Duke of Nemours was come, who with singular diligence had rode round the walls all that night: wherefore, the second attempt proving also vain, the King retiring with all his Forces when it was broad day, marched off to the walls of *St Denis*.

Many were of opinion, that in this occasion the King failed much in point of art and Military discipline: for if, leaving the principal post neer Paris well guarded with part of his Army, he had advanced with the rest as far as *Claye*, a much more fenny, and a much more defensible place then *Chelles*, and had there fortified and intrenched himself, keeping that place diligently, he might perchance have held the Duke of Parma's Army so long in play, which could pass no other way to Paris, that the City being reduced to extreme necessity, would have been forced to yield, since the Duke of Parma would not have been able to have forced that passage, kept by such a strength, if it had been fitly intrenched and fortified. Nor could he have had passage to have got to *Lagny*, if the King had been encamped on that way. Many others considered that the King being resolved to fight, and being risen from Paris with that intent, he ought in the first encounter to have fallen boldly upon the Duke of Parma, before he had time to intrench himself: for though the time from night to morning was but short, yet the Duke's souldiers accustomed to labour, wrought with so much order and industry, that in less then 24 hours they finished their Trenches; wherein the Commanders and Gentlemen working no less then the common souldiers, the Duke himself assisted likewise, making the Engineers draw forth, and divide the work in his presence. Some others taxed the impatiency of the King's Army, which had seen so great constancy in the common Trades-men and the very women that were shut up in Paris, that after so many moneths of desperate hunger, they held out stoutly nevertheless

Errors imputed to the King and his Army.

1590

less to the uttermost; and yet that so many Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen whereof that Army was composed, had not had the courage to endure, no not so much as the suspicion of hunger, but after a short stay, and in a manner no opposition, except onely the shew of a desire to fight, left the field free, and the honour of the Victory to the enemy: whereupon on the one side, the Duke of Parma's art and discipline was praised to admiration; and on the other, the French humours and impatiency was much blamed, having lightly believed that a Souldier of so great fame, would rashly put that into the hand of Fortune, which might securely be obtained by solid counsel, and upon this belief had neglected those things which the commodiousness of their ground afforded.

Excuses in fa-
vour of the
King.

Others excused the King, and said (perhaps with as good reason) that the leaving of weak Guards about Paris, would have been but a giving of them up to be cut in pieces by the Citizens and Souldiers, who would have sallied desperately out of the City in great abundance; and that to assault the Duke's Army, much superiour in number, so without consideration at their first coming, would have been a rash and ruinous advice: for though he were not absolutely fortified, yet was he already lodged; and that they should not have had to do with a tumultuary inexpert body of men, gathered together in haste, which might have been frightened with an assault, or disordered by being put into a confusion, but with an old Army, led by Commanders of exceeding great valour and experience, who would have known how to make use of their own advantage, and the temerity of the Assailants. They likewise excused their retiring so soon, and ascribed it not to the impatiency of the French humour, but to a wise well-grounded counsel, since Armies are not to be adventured, nor put to endure certain hardship, unless a benefit equal to their suffering and danger might result from them: but the nearness of the King's Army could no ways incommode the Duke of Parma, who was intrenched in his Quarters, and had the passage of the River open behind him, nor could it hinder the carriage of Victuals into Paris; wherefore that it was prudently done to withdraw the Nobility from the danger of diseases, which increased very fast, and from other sufferings, being sure of hunger, and to reserve it for a better use, and a fitter occasion.

However it was, the King, being come to St Denis, seeing the

the diseases increafe, and not having money either in publick, or particular to maintain his Army, resolved to separate his Camp, and providing for the security of the Provinces, onely to keep a flying Army near himself, wherewith he might hinder the Duke of Parma from making any greater progress. He therefore sent the Prince of Conty into Tourain, the Duke of Montpensier into Normandy, the Duke of Longueville into Picardy, the Duke of Nevers into Champagne, the Mareschal d'Amont into Bourgongne, he left Monsieur de la Noüe in Brïe, and he himself with the Mareschal and Baron de Biron (having furnished and strengthened those Garisons he held near about Paris) marched with a Body of men more expert then numerous, into the most rich and fertil places that are along the River Oyse, to refresh his Soldiers after so many sufferings: And being come to Clermont (a Town which, because it was reasonably well garisoned, had the boldness to shut its Gates against him) he fell to batter it with so much violence, that the Walls being beaten down, it was taken the third day, and sacked with a very great slaughter; and the next day after, the Castle yielded it self to him without resistance; whereupon, remaining Master of the whole Country round about (for Sens and Compeigne were already at his devotion) he had conveniency to quarter at large, and refresh the Army he had with him; at which time, the Sieurs de la Guiche and Sippierre, having left the Camp to return to their own houses with a good number of Horse, met with the Viscount de Tavannes, and the Sieur de Faldandre, who were conveying victual from Dreux to Paris, and without having time to discover one another, they charged at the first encounter, with exceeding great valor on both sides; but after a sharp fight, for two hours, the Kings party had the better; Tavannes and Faldandre leaving their victual and carriages, saved themselves in the Town by flight.

The City of Troyes about that time was in great danger of being surpris'd by Monsieur de Tinteville, the Kings Lieutenant in Champagne; for he having held a treaty with some of the Citizens, it succeeded so fortunately, that being entred the Town, he was already come up to the Market-place, when Claude de Lorain, Prince of Jainville (Son to the late Duke of Guise, a Youth, in valor and courage, not unlike his Father) who was then in the Town, having drawn his men together, charged the assailants with so much gallantry, that being repulsed

1590
The King being come to St. Denis without money or victual, separates his Army, which was oppressed with many diseases.

The King assaults and batters Clermont so violently, that upon the third day he takes and sacks it.

Claude Prince of Jainville defends Troyes, and beats back Monsieur de Tinteville, who had like to have surpris'd it by intelligence, with some of the Citizens.

1590

pulled with a very great slaughter, they had much ado to save themselves.

The Duke of Parma against his own will, lays siege to Corbeil.

In the mean time the Duke of Parma, after the dissolution of the Kings Army, having taken St. Maur, and the Bridge of Charanton, minded the facilitating of the passage of victuals to Paris; and being spurred on by the frequent intreaties of the Duke of Mayenne and the Parisians, upon the 22. of September, laid siege to Corbeil, to free the passage of the River Seine on that side also. The Duke had consented unwillingly to put himself upon that enterprize; for Corbeil was sufficiently manned and fortified: Wherefore, though the Town was little, and of small account, he saw it was nevertheless ready to hold out the siege, so that the Duke having but few Cannon to batter the Walls; and, which imported more, small store of powder and bullet, doubted that to the lessening of his own reputation, and the credit of his Army, it would prove very difficult for him to take it. Moreover he feared lest the Discipline of his Army (till then constantly observed) should be broken: For the French of the League, not making those provisions of victual which he with wonderful order was wont to make, to keep plenty still in his Camp; but on the contrary, the provisions of the Army often failing through their negligence, he was forced to suffer his soldiers to run about the Country, and his Troopers scattered themselves, plundering far abroad, a thing which beyond measure troubling his minde (avers from oppressing or destroying a Friends Country, and from suffering his men to pillage licentiously) now made him take the greater thought about this siege, wherein he saw (if it should last many days) those faults, disorders, and necessities, would be multiplied. Nor did the event deceive his expectation; for having laid siege to Corbeil, defended by *Rigant* the Governor, it resisted so constantly, that for want of victuals the Spaniards and Italians, and much more the Walloons were faine to spoil all the Country, facking even those places which the King in the long siege of Paris had left untouched: Whereupon the French of the League, though the fault proceeded from themselves, murmured nevertheless against the Dukes soldiers, and hated them no less then formerly they hated and murmured against the Hugonots. But the siege of Corbeil also, through many defects proceeded slowly, not being furnished with those things that are necessary for the taking of strong places; and particularly,

The French of the League begin to hate the Duke of Parma's Soldiers.

larly, there being such small store of great shot, that it was necessary to send for some, though but a few, from Orleans and Pontoyle; and yet the Duke endeavoring with industry to supply those so important wants, renewed the Battery in so many several places, and with so many experiments, that upon the Sixteenth of October, after they had fought four hours together, with wonderful obstinacy, the Spaniards, Italians, and Walloons, entred pell-mell into the Town; *Rigaut* with the greater part of the defendants being slain, *la Grange* taken prisoner, and the Town sacked with infinite violence.

The Duke of Parma takes Corbeil: *Rigaut* the Governor is slain, with most of the defendants, and the place sacked.

In the mean time, the King was moved from Clermont with Eight hundred Horse, to try if he could put some relief into Corbeil; but having heard it was lost, in his return back he fell upon a Quarter of two Troops of Light-horse, which lay apart from the rest, and having defeated them in a moment, and taken the Captains, he put most of the Soldiers to the sword.

Corbeil being taken, the disgusts between the Duke of Parma, and the French heads of the League increased; for the Duke thought it convenient to put a Garison of Walloons or Italians into it, which might be sufficient to keep what he had gotten; and the Duke of Mayenne and the Parisians grew jealous that the Spaniards, under shew of helping them, would make themselves Masters of that place, and many others, and usurp for themselves whatsoever acquisitions they should make. Wherefore the Duke of Parma having found what the French suspected, and being again returned to his first designs of spinning the War out in length, to consume the forces, and tame the humor of both parties, and knowing that mens minds were not yet disposed to receive that form which the Catholick Kings affairs required, he resolved to depart, and go back again into Flanders, where there was exceeding great need of him and his Army. Many other circumstances, perswaded him to the same resolution; the wasting of his Forces, which by reason of diseases diminished every moment, want of money, and scarceness of provisions, which were causes that he could not maintain the Discipline of his Army; the unsuitableness of the season, which hindered him from making any further progress; whereupon he doubted, that by lying still, his reputation would decrease, and the valor of his soldiers degenerate; the necessary redoubled instances which from all parts were insatiably made unto him for moneys; every

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1590

one having perswaded himself, that he to satisfie the covetousness of them all, had brought Mountains of Gold along with him; and finally, the suspicions of many, who already did rather murmur, then give him thanks for the relief he had given them in so great necessity, and in so evident danger. For these causes, having put Corbeil into the hands of the Duke of Mayenne, and having left Lagny entire, which before he had determined to dismantle, he gave the Duke and the Parisians to understand, that the necessity of the affairs of Flanders called him back, and that having obeyed the Catholick Kings command in raising the siege of Paris, and opening the passages that were convenient for victuals, he ought not to stay longer in so contrary a season, and so unfit for action, but return to take order for his own affairs, which to relieve his friends, had been left in danger and confusion.

This resolution did much trouble those of the League; who having conceived hope that the Spanish Army should not forsake them till the enterprize were fully perfected, and that the Duke of Parma with his Men, and the Catholick Kings money, should totally assist their party, did now see all those designs fall in one instant, and their party remain destitute of those necessary supplies of men and money. Wherefore, both the Duke of Mayenne in person, and the Deputies of Paris, and *Monsignor Sega*, Bishop of Piacenza (whom the Cardinal-Legat, departing suddenly by reason of the Popes death, had substituted Vice-Legat) urged the Duke of Parma with earnest reiterated intreaties and considerations, to change that resolution: And when they saw words prevailed not, and that the Duke was still setting his Army in order to depart, the Duke of Mayenne, by the means of *Monsieur de Villeroy*, began a new Treaty of Accommodation with the King, to work a jealousy in the Spaniards, and make them believe, that if their Forces were once gone, the Peace would immediately be concluded, and by consequence, that all the expences and pains they had already undergone would be utterly lost: But neither did this move the Duke of Parma from his determination, knowing the Duke of Mayenne would not easily bring his minde to lay aside his present hopes, and to submit himself to the power of his enemies; and that though he should do so, the business consisted not in him alone, but it was necessary that so many others, who were far off, divided, and drawn by different

The death of
Sixtus Quintus.

The Duke of
Parma,
though earnestly intreated to stay in
France, prepares nevertheless for his
departure.

different interests, must consent unto it : That before they could conclude any thing, he might have leasure to return, and undo whatsoever should be agreed upon in the mean time. But lest the affairs of the League should grow desperate, he promised them, as soon as he came to *Brusselles*, to pay down two hundred and thirty thousand Ducats, for the payment of the forraign Forces, and to leave a convenient number of Horse and Foot under the Duke of Mayenne's command, to uphold and continue the War. But that sum of money seemed very small to those who had fancied to themselves that all the treasures of the Indies should be poured down upon them : and the men he left were indeed sufficient to maintain the War, but not to make an end of it : Whereupon every one (but especially the Parisians, who had suffered so much before the coming, and had conceived so great hopes after the arrival of the Spanish Army) was reduced into wonderful great perplexity of mind, which was increased by the departure of Cardinal *Gustano*, and because they knew not what might be expected from the new Pope *Urbane* the seventh, and after him (who lived but twelve dayes) from *Gregory* the fourteenth, who succeeded him in the Apostolick Chair.

Urban VII created Pope after *Sixtus V*: he lives but 12 days, and is succeeded by *Gregory XIV* a Milanese.

But the Duke, firm in his resolution, after twenty dayes time which he had given the Army to refresh it self, marched toward *Champagne*, to hold the enemy in doubt which way he would bend his course, and by that means to keep his passage free from Ambuscadoes. He divided his Army into four parts; the Vanguard led by the Marquess of *Ranty*; the first Battalion by the *Sieur de la Mothe*, the second Battalion he commanded himself, and the Rereguard was led by *Georgio Basti*. All the several Divisions marched always drawn up in Battalia, and with their Carriages of Baggage on each side, which shut them up, and enclosed them like a Trench, and were so near, that they might help one another mutually in a short time. Provisions of Victual were made : and marching thorow fertile plentiful Countries, they were not necessitated to enlarge themselves; except the Light-horse, who scoured the neighbouring Ways, to discover the Country : neither did they go far off; for the Army being alwayes ready, and disposed to fight, feared not to be catch'd, and assaulted unaware.

The ordering of the Spanish Army in their return into Flanders.

But he was scarcely gone, drawing toward *Chasteau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, when the Baron de *Ginry*, who at was *Melin*,

Gggggg 2

assaulted

1590

The Baron de
Giury recovers
Corbeil and
Lagny, which
had been ta-
ken by the
Duke of Par-
ma.

assaulted and took *Corbeil*, which the Parisians had negligently and weakly garrison'd, and with the same fortune returned, and recovered *Lagny*, which, contrary to the Duke of Parma's advice, had not been slighted: at which the Parisians, much moved and troubled, were exceeding earnest with the Vice-Legat *Saga* to procure the stay of the Spanish Army, until such time as those places, so necessary for the bringing in of provisions, were recovered. The Vice-Legat dispatched the Pro-Notary *Caracciolo* to the Duke, to present unto him the earnest desires and the necessity of the City of Paris: and the Duke of Mayenne, who was in the Army, laboured with all possible efficacy to perswade him to stay: But the Duke of Parma excusing himself, That his Army was much diminished by sickness, That the season was so contrary, nothing could be done, and that the Low-Countries solicited his presence, continued on his march, having some hope to obtain *Chasteau-Thierry* by a Treaty which he held with Viscount *Pinart* Governour of that Town.

But the King, who was departed from *Compeigne*, accompanied by the Baron *de Byron* and the Duke of *Longueville*, with a select number of men, followed the track of the Spanish Army, to hinder it from getting those places that held of his party, and to watch some opportunity of doing it some mischief: and having had some suspicion of the Treaty, he caused the *Sieur de la Noüe*, with three hundred Horses, and six hundred Foot, to enter into *Chasteau-Thierry*; by which means, the Duke of Parma, deprived of that hope, bending on the left hand, took the straight way to return into *Flanders*. The King followed, and marching speedily, was sometimes before him, sometimes quartered besides him, sometimes pressed him in the Rere; and by giving frequent Alarms, and bold skirmishes, did both day and night molest and surround the Army. The Duke of Parma proceeded with no less order and circumspection; and keeping all parts of his Army under the same discipline, was quick and ready to turn which way soever the enemy should press or shew himself. But having marched on this manner from the thirteenth to the five and twentieth of November, the King, desirous to see the effect of so much diligence, and of so many labours, having drawn the Cavalry into five Bodies, advanced upon the same way by which the Army of the League was to pass, making shew that he would charge

charge them as they marched. The Carabines, who were ready for all assaults, received the skirmish very fiercely; and coming forth of the Barricadoes of their Carriages, wheeling, giving fire, and falling in again, did no small harm to the King's Cavalry: wherefore the Baron de Biron, thinking to rout them, and ease himself of that trouble, charged up more boldly then considerately, with fourscore Cuirassiers, hoping to chase them back and disorder them: but the Carabines giving way, according to their custom, to retire behinde the squadrons of the Army, the Baron advanced so far in pursuit of them, and was so deeply engaged between two squadrons of Lances of the Vanguard, that his Horse being killed under him, he was in manifest danger to be taken prisoner; which being perceived by Count de Tillieres, who was on the right hand with a body of Cuirassiers, and by the Sieur d'Humieres, who was on the left hand with ninety Horse, they advanced no less courageously then he, to disengage him: but being charged by the whole Cavalry of the Vanguard, and the other Battalions coming one after another, who knowing by the ratling of the shot that the skirmish was begun, had hastened their march, they were fain (leaving the field) to retire, fleeing full speed, with evident hazard of being all cut off, if the King himself, and the Duke of Longueville, with the other two squadrons, had not advanced to make the retreat; wherein having disengaged Biron, and with much ado set him again on horseback, who at the foot of a bank, with two companions, had defended himself a great while against the enemy: they were followed by them as far as a Village called *Longueval*, where night coming on, put an end to the fight, and gave the King a convenient opportunity to retire. He quartered with all his Forces at *Pont-Arty*, where they stood all night in Arms; nor did the enemy rest more quietly: for the King's celerity and courage kept all their Quarters in great jealousy; and so much the rather, because the rout of the two squadrons had been with more terror and danger then loss, there not being above five men slain, and onely twenty wounded. The next day the Duke of Nevers joyned with the King with the Forces of *Champagne*, and likewise the Sieurs de *Ginry* and *Parabiere*; who having taken *Corbeil*, and put a Garrison into it, were come with all diligence to finde him again; by which means being increased in strength, he began with more boldness then before to molest the

The Spanish Army marching towards Flanders, and the Kings Army following, they skirmish many dayes; but upon the 25 of November, the King, making shew that he would fight, the Baron de Biron engageth himself so far, that being relieved by his friends, he had much ado to escape with the help of night.

1590

the Duke's Army; who intent upon his journey, not stirring for any cause whatsoever out of his ranks, nor out of the shelter of his Carriages, marched on commodiously before.

The King assaults the Spanish Army a gain; and his Horse having encompassed the enemies Rereguard, would have cut it in pieces, if *Georgio Basti*, a famous Captain of those times, had not disengaged them with his Lancers.

But upon the nine and twentieth day, the Army coming towards Guise, and the King being resolved to attempt something, with all his Cavalry fell upon their Rereguard, which having made a halt and put their Army in a rediness to fight, the Carabines failed not with their wonted courage to begin the skirmish; but the King's Cavalry, which being for that purpose divided into little squadrons, and had order to charge home, and not give them time to do hurt with their shot, inclosed them in such manner, that they all had been cut off in the place, if *Georgio Basti*, with one thousand and two hundred Lances, had not disingaged them. The squadron of *Basti* rush'd upon the small Troops of the French Cavalry, so ordered to repress the Carabines; but not being able to receive the shock of so many Lances, the Baron of *Biron* was faine to retire half in disorder. But being sustain'd by the King himself, who with the rest of his Horse, and a thousand Foot of *Parabiere's* old Regiment mounted behind them, advanced to re-enforce the Battel; *Basti* not having order to fight, retired under the shelter of his Squadrons in very good order; yet could he not do it with so great circumspection, but that the French remained masters of some carriages, which by chance were separated from the rest. But the King being come near the Rere-guard, where *Pietro Gaetano* was making himself ready to oppose him, with the Foot drawn up in order, encompassed with his Carriages; and the Duke of Parma, who had faced about and changed the order of his march, coming up with the second Battalion, he resolved to retire without attempting any further, by reason the Enemy was in so souldier-like order, and that their forces were so exceedingly unequal. This was the last day that the King molested the Spanish Army in its march. The Duke of Parma being arrived at the Frontiers, took leave of the Duke of Mayenne, striving with apt expressions to confirm his courage, and to perswade him that within a little while he should receive powerfull assistance of men and money; and that he might not leave him so weak, that he should be forced to made an agreement with the Enemy, he commanded the Italian *Tertia* of *Pietro Gaetano*, and

The Duke of Parma takes leave of the Duke of Mayenne, leaving him a *Tertia* of Italians, and another of Spaniards, and 500 Horse.

and the Spanish one of *Alfonso Idiaques* to stay in France, and absolutely to obey the Duke, with whom he also left Four hundred Horse, and One hundred Walloon Carabines; which Supplies added to the German *Tertia* of *Collalto* paid by the King, and to the other French forces, he thought a sufficient Body to uphold the affairs of the League, especially in a time when the King having divided his Army for want of money, and because of the past misfortunes, was manifestly declining.

The end of the Eleventh Book.





THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
CIVILL WARRES
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The Twelfth B.O.O.K.

THE ARGUMENT.

THe Twelfth Book relates the various turbulencies in several parts of the Kingdom; the progress of the Duke of Mercœur in Bretagne, and of the Duke of Savoy in Provence and Dauphiné. The King takes Corby; he is troubled in mind by reason of the contrary importunities of the Catholicks and Hugonots of his own party. He sends the Viscount de Turenne into England and Germany, who raises a great Army to bring it into France the Spring following. The Duke of Mayenne also is no less troubled then the King. The Parisians attempt to surprize St. Denis, but effect it not, and the Chevalier d'Aumale is killed there. The King on the other side attempts to surprize Paris, and that design likewise proves vain. Pope Sixtus Quintus being dead, Gregory the Fourteenth succeeds, who declares himself favorable to the affairs of the League, and dispatches his Nephew the Duke of Montemarcano into France with strong Supplies. The King in the meau time besieges and takes the City of Chartres.

The

The Duke of Mayenne not having strength to relieve that place, marches towards Champagne, takes Chasteau-Thierry, and goes to Rheims to confer with the Duke of Lorain. Marfilio Landriano the Popes Nuncio arrives there, he publishes a Monitory against those that follow the King, from whence divers alterations do arise. The young Cardinal of Bourbon tries to form a third party of Catholicks to bring himself to the Crown; the King advertised of it, applies divers remedies to that important accident. The Duke of Mayenne makes an attempt upon Mante, which takes not effect. The King besieges Noyon, and after many encounters, it not being relieved, he takes it. The Popish and Spanish Forces pass the Mountains, they assist the Duke of Savoy; and there happen several encounters. The Duke of Guise escapes from his imprisonment at Tours. The King and the Duke of Mayenne advance; the King to receive, the Duke to oppose the Viscount de Turenne and the Germans in Lorain. The Armies draw near to one another at Verdun: The King having received the Viscount with the Supplies, retires. The Council of Sixteen make an insurrection in the City of Paris, and cause the first President of the Parliament, and other Counsellors, to be executed: The Duke of Mayenne hasts thither, brings the City into obedience, and punishes the delinquents. The King marches into Normandy, lays siege to the City of Roüen, defended by Monsieur de Villars, and a great number of choise soldiers and Commanders; the various accidents of that siege are related. The Duke of Parma with the Spanish Army marches to relieve that place: The King with part of his Army goes to meet him; they encounter one another, and fight at Anmale; the King is wounded, his men routed, and he has much ado to save himself. Villars sallying out of Roüen, enters the Trenches, and gains the Artillery. The Duke of Parma advances; but finding the City secured by that sally, resolves to retire and watch his opportunity. The King returns to Roüen, and renews the siege: The Duke of Parma also returns to bring relief; and the King (his forces being wasted) rises from the siege, and marches to the Banks of the River Seine.

1590



Ens mindes were no les inflamed, nor the resolutions of the War less bloody in the other parts of the Kingdom, then they were in those places where the chief Armies lay; for the affections of Religion, mingled in their hearts with particular interests, and with the already inveterate animosities of the Factions, every one forward of himself, as in his own cause, and as in a controverſie that concerned him, did with all his power apply thoughts to the exercise of arms. Wherefore the War was made both by the Heads and Governors of the two parties, and by private persons of their own voluntary accord, with the same contention thorow every Province, but with various successes and different fortune on both sides.

The principal and most dangerous commotions were in Bretagne, a great and rich Province, well peopled, full of Gentry, considerable for the greatness of its Cities, and convenient for the benefit of the Ocean Sea, along the coasts whereof it extends it self towards the North. *Henry* of Bourbon Prince of Dombes, Son to the Duke of Montpensier, a youth of exceeding high courage, was for the King, and had the name of Governor for him; but there were so few Towns under his obedience, that if it had not been for the help of lower Normandy (which, confining with that Province, held of the Kings party, and was governed by the Duke his Father) he would either have been driven out of the Province, or easily suppressed by the greater forces of the League. On the other side, *Emanuel* of *Lorain*, Duke of *Mercoeur* governed the party of the *Union*, who had not onely from the beginning been (as Governor of the Province) in possession of the best Cities and strongest holds, but also pretending, that the Duchy of Bretagne it self, belonged to his Wife *Mary* of *Luxembourg*, Countess of *Ponthieure*, he had a wonderful great dependence of all those, who rather desired a Prince of their own, then the union with the Crown of France, which was not very pleasing to them; and longing above measure to establish himself in that possession with the opportunity of present affairs, he had negotiated secretly in Spain by the means of *Loreno Tarnabuoni*, a Gentleman of his, who was sent by Sea unto that Court, and had obtained that the Catholick King should

The Duke of
Mercoeur's
pretensions to
the Duchy of
Bretagne.

should send and pay Four thousand Foot for his assistance, upon condition that Blavet should be consigned to him for his security; a place as then not considerable, but which with the benefit of a very large Port fortified and improved by the Spaniards, came by little and little to be of exceeding great consequence, not only to the affairs of that Province, but also of the whole Kingdom: Which as soon as it was known to the Prince of Dombes (though his Forces were but weak, so that till then he had only exercised himself in actions of small importance, to keep the Kings name alive in that Province; yet now, helping with art in so great need) he turned himself to oppose the entrance of strangers: And having routed Three hundred of the Duke of Mercœur's Light-horse, which were going to join themselves with his Army, he assaulted Annebont suddenly, a place near Blavet; and having easily taken it, began with infinite celerity to build a Fort by the Sea side, which might command and hinder the entry of Ships that should come unto that Port, and bestirred himself in such manner, that he would have brought to perfection the service he had in design, if (the Duke of Mercœur's Army, still increasing, which was advanced to Vannes, seven leagues from Blavet) he had not been constrained (though the Fort were not yet quite finished) to retreat into the places of his own party. Nevertheless having left a strong Guard in the Fort, with six peeces of Cannon; and having put Eight hundred Foot into Annebont, he hoped that those places might be able to hinder the entering and settling of the enemy. The Spanish Fleet arrived at Blavet with Six and thirty sail of Ships, and four Gallions, and with so prosperous a gale, that notwithstanding the shot from Fort Dombes, redoubled with infinite fury by the defendants, it entered the Port without receiving much harm, and landed Four thousand and five hundred Foot commanded by Don *Juan de l' Aquila*, who, to free the Port from all impediments, set himself without delay to take in Fort Dombes: Which not being brought to perfection, and having no hopes of relief from any place, yielded it self the fifth day of the siege, and was presently demolished by the Spaniards: After which enterprise, being joyned with the Duke *de Mercœur*, they recovered Annebont, and the other neighboring places, with the same facility, and at last, under favor of the Fleet, began to fortifie Blavet, securing it no less with two Forts Royal, built at the entry of the Haven for con-

The Prince of Dombes, Governor for the King in Bretagne, opposes the Duke of Mercœur's designs, and causes Fort Dombes to be built, which is demolished by the Spaniards.

1590

veniency of bringing in relief by Sea ; then they strengthened it with Moats, Bastions, and all other kindes of Military Fortifications on the Land-side. But the King, and the Prince of Dombes, knowing that they could not resist the power of the Duke and the Spaniards, with the Forces they had in that Province, sought for assistance from England ; which lying over against it, hath conveniency of giving relief to that coast, no less then Spain : And having obtained Six thousand Foot from the Queen, they expected their Landing at St Lo, the farthest Port of lower Normandy.

With the like variety, and as great danger, did the War rage on the other side of the Kingdom : For Dauphine and Provence (Provinces bordering upon the Duke of Savoy, and spread in length to the very foot of the Alps) wavered with various fortune in the management of Arms. The Duke of Savoy, from the very beginning of the War, had applied the greatness of his minde to divers, and those not all-grounded hopes : For the affairs of Piedmont being secured, by his seizing upon the Marquessate, and lying conveniently for the affairs of Dauphine by the near adjoyning of Savoy, he hoped by fomenting the League, in some sort to enlarge his confines : On the other side, being interessed in Provence by the Towns he holds there, he had an eye set upon getting the whole, whereof already he possessed a part : So that he held intelligence in both Provinces, and with Money and Arms endeavored to advantage the course of his designs. Nor did his hopes stay there, but seeing the Kingdom in so great distraction, and ready to break the Salique Law, and to cut off the Legitimate Succession of the Royal Family in the King of Navar, there arose a certain conceit in him, that the States might perhaps incline to make choice of him, as being born of a Daughter of France ; which he thought would prove so much the more easie to him, by how much more his name was famous in Arms, and by how much greater merit he should acquire with the Catholick party, and in the opinion of the Pope, the principal mover (in respect of Religion) in the determination of the affairs of France. Nor did he forget (whatsoever event these designs should have) that the opportunity of present affairs, gave him an occasion of subduing the inhabitants of Geneva, now that the King of France, being busied by himself, could not afford them any present relief. With this height

height of hopes, which increased his courage, having sent his Agents to treat with the Duke of Mayenne; and having contracted a reciprocal intelligence with him, he had raised a great Body of Horse and Foot, and had sent forth Count *Francesco Martinengo*, General of his Army into Provence, and his Brother *Don Amadeo* of Savoy against Geneva; and by means of the Governors of his Garisons, he gave help and assistance to the Forces of the League in Dauphine. Nor was the beginning unlike the greatness of his design: For the *Sieur de Vins*, and the Countess *de Seaux* (a Lady of more than manly spirit) who both held for the League in Provence, finding themselves inferior in strength to *Monsieur de la Valette*, the Kings Lieutenant, not onely willingly received supplies and assistance from the Duke, but began also to treat of giving him the dominion of that Province, and to put themselves under his protection and superiority: Which being treated and concluded by the Duke, he went in person to his Army, carrying with him some addition of Horse and Foot, which by Commission from Spain he had obtained from the Governor of Milan. At his arrival, the Kings party, inferior in strength, going down the wind (though *Les Dignieres* being come out of Dauphine) into that Province, did labor marvellously with his wonted valor and celerity, which were singular) the affairs of the League grew up to such a height, that his Arms already gave the Law to the whole Country. Wherefore the Duke being come into the City of Aix, where the Parliament of Provence doth reside, and being received with those pomps and solemnities which are wont to be given to Sovereign Princes (though he, imitating the Duke of Mayenne, refused to use the cloth of State) he was in the Parliament declared Head of the War, and of the Civil Government in that Province, to preserve it in the Union of the Catholicks, and under the obedience and Royal State of the Crown of France.

This business displeased the Duke of Mayenne no less than it did the King; thinking not onely that the Duke of Savoy sought after and usurped that Authority which the general consent had conferred upon him, but also that he had an aim to dismember Provence, and with the help of *Nizza* and his other Towns, by little and little to make himself master of it; Wherefore he waote sharp resenting Letters, not onely to the Parliament, but also to the *Sieur de Vins*, and to the Countess,

shewing

1590

The *Sieur de Vins* and the Countess *de Seaux* conclude to give the superiority of Provence to the Duke of Savoy; he goes to Aix, and is by the Parliament declared Head of the Politick and Military Government.

The Duke of Mayenne writes resentingly to the Parliament of Aix, and to the *Sieur de Vins*, who, repenting himself, begins to dis-favor the Duke of Savoy's designs.

1590

shewing them the fault they committed in separating themselves from the rest of the *Union*, and in putting themselves in danger to alienate so great, and so important a portion of the Crown. These Letters wrought a very great effect in the *Sieur de Vins*, an old dependent upon the house of *Lorain*; and he began to shew himself more backward in complying with the designs and forwarding the progress of the Duke of Savoy: By whose example the City of *Marseilles*, which (following the footsteps of the Parliament) had with a readiness in the people called the Duke before, began now to repent themselves, and to mutiny.

On the other side, the King (grieved to see foreign Forces brought into that Province) had given order to *Les Dignieres*, that leaving the City of *Grenoble*, in *Dauphine*, besieged; as well as he might, he should march with the greatest number of men he possibly could, to meet *Monfieur de la Valene* in *Provence*: Whereupon, *Les Dignieres*, accustomed from his youth to fight with the difficulties and ambiguities of Fortune, having left the posts about *Grenoble* well guarded, to continue the siege already begun many moneths before, went with Four hundred Horse, and Two thousand Foot in relief of the *Provençals*, and kept the Duke of Savoy in trouble and disquiet, who half forsaken by the Catholicks of the Province, and but slenderly supplied by the Spaniards, who were not too well pleased with his proceedings, went spinning out the time in petty encounters, having dispatched *Monfieur de Ligny* into Spain, to set his affairs in order with the Catholick King; and the *Sieur de la Croix* to the Duke of *Mayenne*, to excuse what was past, and to confer about the manner of carrying himself for the time to come.

His affairs were much more prosperous in the Territories of *Geneva*, where having to do with the Forces of those Citizens, which were not very powerful, and with Commanders of small fame and experience, *Don Amadeo* had often routed the enemies in the field, beaten up their Quarters, taken many Castles, overrun and sacked the Country, and finally straightned the City on all sides; which with frequent and effectual importunities solicited for relief, sometimes from the King of France, sometimes from the Canton of *Berne*.

On the contrary, the War in *Dauphine* went on prosperously for the King; for though the Duke of Savoy's Counsellors

1590

fellows and Commanders, united with those of the League which were in that Province made great resistance; yet were they not so strong as Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, and Monsieur *Les Diguieres*, who after he had stopt the precipice of affairs in Provence, being returned to the siege of Grenoble, streightned that City in such manner, that after having suffered many months, the besieged about the end of the year, agreed to surrender, upon condition not to be molested in their consciences, goods, or liberties; that the City should be preserved in the Catholick Religion, and in the State it then was; and on the other side, that they should acknowledge King *Henry the Fourth* for their lawful Prince, by whose appointment they should receive a Garison, and a Governor.

Grenoble in Dauphiné after a long siege, returns to the Kings obedience.

At this time the King freed from the Spanish Army, and from the late fear of the Duke of Parma, was come (in his return) to St. Quentin, where watching with his wonted diligence for all opportunities, he took a resolution suddenly to assault Corby, a Town seated upon the River Somme, and convenient to bridle the City of Amiens, the Head of that Province, which held of the party of the League. With this design he removed his Camp from the Walls of St. Quentin in the dusk of the evening; but in his march finding all the Countrey up, and that the Villages furiously rung their Toquesaints, he could not get to the Walls of Corby, till within an hour before day. There the hope of effecting his intent appeared no less uncertain; for they found the whole Town in arms, and the defendants with Torches and Fires, ready to sustain the assault, whereof they had been advertised by the cries and tumult of the Country people: And yet Monsieur *d'Humieres* coming up with the Regiments of St. Denis and Parabiere about break of day, caused a Petard to be fastned to the Iron Gate of a Channel that came out of the Town on the lower side, which falling suddenly by the violence of the fire, the Foot advanced, some to the Channel which was frozen, some with Scaling-Ladders to the Wall adjoyning, to give the assault; which though it were constantly received by the defendants, who ran together boldly to hinder their entry at their Iron Gate, and to make good the Walls; yet the *Sieur de Belle-Fourtiere*, Governor of the Town, being slain in the first encounter, and many of the stoutest Soldiers falling, after a most bloody fight of three hours, the Town remained in the Kings power, who after his late

The King assaults Corby, and takes it.

1590 late misfortunes, thought he had concluded the year very prosperously.

1591

From Corby he marched to Senlis, seated just upon the way which leads from Picardy towards Paris; and there in the beginning of the year, he began to dispose his counsels, to set his affairs in order, and finde means to dissolve and subdue the League. But he was no less troubled which way to keep his Catholicks, then he was to draw together sufficient Forces to overcome the enemy; for having promised from the Autumn of the year Eighty-nine, that in March following he would call an Assembly, to the end, he might be instructed in the Catholick Faith with that honor that befitted his person, and not having been able to perform his promise, because the chief actions of the War hapned in that time, the battel of Yvry, and after that the siege of Paris, and the coming of the Spanish Army (to his loss;) now, That by their departure, and by the diminution of the enemy, he seemed to be in a quiet condition; he was called upon by the tacite consent of discreet persons, to observe his promise; and those that had not so much respect, or that were affectionate to Religion, murmured publicly, and complained as if they were deluded and deceived. But more openly the Parliament of Bourdeaux, which with much ado had been drawn to the Kings obedience by the Marechal de Matignon's diligent care, and arts of governing, now seeing his conversion was deferred, began to resent it, and at this time had sent their first President and two Counsellors to beseech His Majesty to take a final resolution; the Catholicks not being able to quiet their consciences, unless they saw him reduced to the true Religion, held for so many ages by all the most Christian Kings his glorious Predecessors. Which Commission having been fully and effectually performed by the Deputies, though the King seemed to take their Petition in good part, and answered it favorably, yet inwardly being troubled, and stung to the quick, he saw not what course he might take as a middle way which might give satisfaction to both parties. He saw the foundation of his affairs was settled in great part upon the Hugonots; for his command was no where more full, then in the places under their obedience; and the Catholick Provinces divided between themselves, were shared between the two Factions, so that neither declared absolutely for him: He argued within himself

The Catholicks make great complaints for the Kings persevering in Calvinism.

himself from the example of things past, how much mischief for the most part comes by forsaking old friendships and confederacies, to give ones self up wholly to the will and discretion of new ones: He considered, that not having changed his Religion at that time when being more strong and victorious he might have done it with his reputation; now that he was declined in strength, it might seem he did it timorously by force; the need he had at that very present of the assistance of the Protestant Princes of Germany, and of the Queen of England, represented it self unto him, so that he was necessitated to think of not making them distrustfull of him. But on the other side, he knew moreover that if he lost the Catholicks, he should no longer have strength to resist; and that, except the will of King of France, he should return unto the same condition wherein he found himself so straightned, before he went from Rochell. In this uncertainty of minde, he knew but two remedies; one, to give full satisfaction to the Great-ness of his Army, to the end that they not stirring, all the rest might stay likewise; the other, to keep his men in perpetual exercise, that idlenesse and rest might not suggest those thoughts unto them. For this cause, knowing how great authority the Duke of Nevers had in the Catholick party, and how conspicuous his actions were, as a Prince that had always given testimony of Conscience and Religion, he conferred upon him the Government of *Champagne*, a great and principal Province, and which he had long before desired: And to the Baron de Biron, for the eminent reputation of his Father, and for his own merit and valour, besides the Office of Field-Marschall, he promised the dignity of High-Admirall; and using terms of infinite kindness to all the rest, shewed himself gracious and liberal, always disposing places and honours to those Catholick Lords, who for birth, desert, or ancient devotion towards the Church, were proper to keep those loyal who were like to fall away because of the delay of his promises. And that he might not give way to idlenesse, and to those thoughts that take birth from thence, he recalled the Duke of *Espenon* to his Army, not onely with a desire to reconcile him unto himself, but also to make use of him, and likewise of the Duke of *Nevers* (who at that time besieged *Provins*) the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count de *St Paul* his Brother, and many other Catholick Lords; intending when he had drawn

Remedies
used by the
King to con-
serve the af-
fections of
those of his
party, and
keep them in
obedience.

The King re-
calls the Duke
Espenon to
the Army, and
other Catho-
lick Lords, to
reconcile
them unto
him.

1591 them together, to set himself upon some enterprize, which with the advancement of his own affairs, might keep every one of them honorably employed.

After this resolution, succeeded that of gathering Forces, that he might be able not onely to oppose the progress of the Spaniards in Bretagne, and the attempts of the Duke of Savoy in Provence; but also so to re-inforce his Army, that if the Duke of Parma should return and joyn with the Duke of Lorain, he might be equal to resist them in the Field. Nor being to address himself for supplies of money, and to obtain a numerous leavy of men to any others, then the Queen of England, and the Protestant Princes of Germany; since he saw both she and they were slack and cold alike, he determined to send a person of eminent vertue, quality, and authority unto them, who conferring with every Prince in particular, and afterwards casting up the whole, and treating with all in general, might be able to procure that fruit which the urgent necessity of his affairs required. First he thought upon the Mareschal de Biron, a man of renowned fame and prudence, equal to so great an exigent; but then judging him much more necessary for the conduct of his Army, because the Order, Discipline, and Foundation of all enterprizes rested chiefly upon him, He resolved to send Henry de la Tour, Viscount de Turenne, a man not onely by ancient conversation, and by having run the same fortune with him, long known to be most faithful; but also for his wisdom and singular eloquence sufficient to manage a business of so great importance, and moreover for valor and Military Discipline fit to lead and conduct those Supplies that should be granted; and so much the rather, because he being a Hugonot, would be so much the more acceptable, and proper to negotiate with Princes of the same Religion; since Monsieur de Beauvis, who till the death of the late King had been Ambassador to Queen Elizabeth, being a Catholick, was not very well received; and the Count de Schomberg, who had already been a long time in Germany, was likewise in respect of his Religion grown suspected to the Duke of Saxony, and to Prince Casimir, the Guardian of his young Nephew the Palatine of the Rhine; but much more to the Marquels of Brandenburg, who was jealous that he, under colour of negotiating the Kings affairs, endeavored to discover their in-

ments, and found their designs, to make them known unto the party of the League.

The Viscount went presently into England, where things were not so well disposed in favour of the King, but that the Queen thought to make her advantage of his present exigency, and upon occasion of the necessity he was in, to induce him to restore *Calais* unto her, or else to give some other Fortrefs of no less importance into her hands; a thing not onely desired by all the Kings that had possessed that Crown, but impatiently longed for by all the people of England. But because the business was to be cunningly treated of, nor did the Queen want prudence or dexterity to manage it, she first made known that the Merchants of her Kingdom demanded to have a secure Port upon the Coasts of France, where their ships might put in and secure their persons and goods when they had occasion. Then she urged the reasons she had to desire it from a King that was her friend and confederate, and whom she always called by the name of Brother, since she had made the same demands to King *Charles*, and to King *Henry*, his last Predecessors, by reason of the Duke of Guise's unjust usurpation of the Town of *Calais*, due unto her Crown by the possession of so many ages. But because the Viscount with no less industry, did not openly deny to satisfy her, but avoided and deferred it with several excuses, sometimes alleadging the hatred that would thereby result unto the King, not yet established, if he should think to alienate any place: That the revolt of the Catholicks (who were already more then moderately offended and disgusted) would follow upon it: sometimes telling the Queen her self, that she ought not make that demand at that present, lest she should shew a desire to put the King upon a necessity of consenting unto it, and in the urgency of his occasions put (as they say) the noose about his neck, she seemed to desist, and reserving the pressing of that point till the time that the promises were to be fulfilled, which would be a more proper and a more urging conjuncture. In the mean time, the Viscount obtained that she should lend the King one hundred thousand Crowns for the Levies that were to be made: That she should send the six thousand Foot we spoke of, into *Bretagne*, for relief of the Prince of Dombes: That along with *him, she should send *Horatio Pallavicino* (a *Genoëse*, who for Religion was fled into that Island) to perswade the

* The Viscount.

1591

The Viscount
of Turenne
obtains assist-
ance from Q.
Elizabeth, the
Hollanders,
and the Prote-
stant Princes
of Germany.

States of Holland, and the Princes of Germany to assist the King with men and money on their part: and she promised likewise, that if the Duke of Parma moved again to return into France, she would powerfully assist *Grave Maurice* of *Nassau*, and the Hollanders, to make a strong diversion, by entering into *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

With this Agreement the Viscount being gone out of England, and come to the *Hague*, obtained from the States of Holland, not that which he pretended, which was thirty thousand crowns ready money, but three thousand Foot paid, which were to unite themselves with those Forces that were to be raised in Germany; though afterwards, by reason of the urgency of their affairs, that promise also remained without effect. With the Princes of Germany there was much more to do, because there were many of them, and their interests different: but the Viscount carried himself with so much dexterity, being opportunely assisted by *Pallavicino*, that in the end, of some he obtained men, of some money, and took order for the levying of four thousand Horse and eight thousand Foot, which with a convenient train of Artillery and Ammunition, should be ready at the beginning of the Summer to march with him under the command of *Christian* Prince of *Anhalt*, for the assistance of the King of France.

The thoughts that troubled the Duke of Mayenne, were not very different from those that perplexed the King: for there being many Princes of his Family who pretended no less than he, he could not finde means to satisfie them all; and to the other Lords and Commanders of that party, who continually demanded money to maintain the Souldiery, it was impossible to give a full satisfaction: whereupon many being displeased, and many falling off, he feared a division, and that some would resolve to go over to the King's party; which was much to be doubted: for on the one side, the people thought themselves extraordinarily burthened, and were no longer able to bear the losses and incommodities of the War: on the other side, the Souldiers were not contented with any kinde of licentiousness; nor did they ever cease crying out for liberty, pay, rewards and satisfactions: but amongst them all, the Parisians, as they were chief of the party, so were they chief in their complaints, not onely because they saw not that progress which from the beginning they had fancied to themselves; but because

The party of
the League
take a disgust
against the
Duke of May-
enne, which
is fomented
by the Spani-
ards.

because the contributions and charges increased without end, they accused the Duke of want of conduct, or of too greedy a desire to engross all to himself, or of extreme profuseness and prodigality of other mens moneys : nor did they consider what a huge gulf a Civil War is, and how many interested particulars were to be provided for in all parts of the Kingdom. To this were added the practices of the Spanish Ministers, who, not to suffer the authority of the Duke of Mayenne (whom they thought little inclined to follow their designs) to grow too excessive, and to put the Catholick King in greater reputation and favour with the people, magnifying the expences, supplies and provisions which had been afforded them, cried out against the ill management of the Duke, who for want of well employing them, had reaped so little advantage.

There were some discontents between him and the Duke of Lorain : for he having taken Villa Franca, the Duke of Mayenne, because it was a place belonging to the Crown, pretended to nominate the Governour, and to place the Garrison : and the Duke of Lorain having taken it at his own charge, and with the industry and blood of his men, contended that he ought to be the disposer and master of it ; and being incensed that he had not obtained his desire, he arose from the siege of Monlealto, which he had begun, alleadging that he would not have the fruits of his pains and dangers converted to the use of others : but these were but sprouts that grew from a deeper root : for the Duke of Lorain, who pretended to the preeminence as Head of the Family, knew that the Duke of Mayenne did not onely possess the top, and count himself superiour now, as Lieutenant-General of the State of France, but had also a design to advance himself to the Crown ; to the pretensions whereof, he thought the right of a son born of a daughter of France to be more valid, and conceived it reasonable that all the rest of the House should give place to the Head of the Family. But these secret thoughts, which were yet internally hid, did not let things break out to a manifest discord.

The Lords of the House of Lorain begin to be displeased, &c. to grow jealous of one another.

Greater were the disgusts with the Duke of Nemours, who (of a bold generous courage, but of a proud disdainful nature, having constantly and valiantly defended and made good the City of Paris, beyond all mens belief) pretended to no lesser place then to be his brother's Lieutenant-General, and

1591

The Duke of Nemours, for some discontents received from his brother the Duke of Mayenne refuses the Government of the City of Paris, which the Duke of Mayenne confers upon his eldest son the Duke of Esquillon, appointing the Marquess of Belin his Lieutenant.

The Complaints of the widow Dutchess of Guise.

and to have supreme authority in the affairs of Paris, as their Preserver and Governour: which being a thing of great jealousy to the Duke of Mayenne, who would not that any other should meddle in the Government, and that the affairs of Paris (the foundation of the League) should not onely be managed by him, but that they should not be so much as touched by anothers hand; they disagreed in such manner about the election of the *Prevost des Merchands*, and the other Magistrates, that the Duke of Mayenne, without making him or any body else acquainted with it, chose them to his own liking and satisfaction, without demurring upon those that were proposed and favoured by others; judging it to be so tender and so important a matter, that the respects which moved him to it, ought not to be imparted to any body: but the election being divulged, the Duke of Nemours (making open clamour, that those were refused who had done best service in the siege; and on the contrary, men were chosen either of little trust, or no valour) told the Duke of Mayenne, that with such like Magistrates as those, he had not heart enough to defend and maintain Paris as he had formerly done, and that therefore he did surrender up his Government to him: which falling out luckily according to the Duke's intention, he made no difficulty to take the surrender, and presently invested in the Government his eldest son *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Esquillon*, giving him for his Lieutenant (during his minority) the Marquess *de Belin*, a man wholly at his devotion: at which, though the Duke of Nemours shewed himself highly incensed, and no less then he, the Parisians, who, by reason of his late defence of them, bore a wonderfull great affection to him, yet matters were composed on this manner; That the Marquess of *St Sorlin*, Nemours his brother, should have the Government of *Dauphine*; and that he himself should have Forces and Money assigned him, to make War in his Government of *Lyons*; to which he went without delay: being neither well satisfied with his brother, nor openly disgusted.

But more grievous were the complaints of *Madame de Guise*, who with tears and womanish lamentations made her moan every hour, that among so many enterprises, there was no attempt thought of to free her son; and that Colonel *Alfonso Corso* (one of the complotters of the death of the late Duke

Duke of Guise her Husband) having been taken in some encounter, was not torn in pieces in revenge, but set at liberty for a ranfome of thirty thousand crowns; and finally, that the Widow Dutchess of Longueville having been kept prisoner, in stead of treating to exchange her for her Son, they treated of exchanging her for the Duke d' Elbenf. To which, though answer was made, that the Duke her Son was in a place environed with the Kings Forces, which they could not come at without a great Army, and without being Masters of the field; and nevertheless that divers treaties had been held to that effect: That Colonel *Alfonso* being a prisoner of War, it was not lawful to do him any outrage, nor take away his life; & that the thirty thousand crowns had proved of great advantage to the publick affairs: That there never had been a treaty of giving the Dutchess of Longueville in exchange for the Duke d' Elbenf, till after the King had declared he would not free the Duke of Guise upon any exchange; yet she nevertheless, being a querulous woman, and full of disdain, ceased not to disturb all businesfes, and fill all ears with her lamentation. Nor could the Duke of Mayenne agree with the Duke of Mercœur; for, having fetled a firm resolution in his minde, that no part of the Crown should be dismembred under his Government, he was very much grieved that Mercœur should attempt to appropriate Bretagne to himself, and should hold secret intelligences and practices with the Spaniards.

To the thought of home-bred discords was added the trouble of forreign supplies, which he saw not to answer his expectation; for he found the Duke of Savoy had designs and pretensions of too much interest, whereby in stead of succouring and assisting, he seem'd rather to divide and dismember the party of the League; and knew that the Duke of Parma and the other Spanish Ministers had but little inclination to assist him so powerfully, that under their favour he might be able to make an end of the War; but he perceived they spun out the time in length, looking for some opportunity to promote their own designs. The change of the Pope did much more afflict him; for though *Sixtus Quintus* in the later moneths of his life (grown suspitious of the dealings of the Spaniards, and displeased at the sharp proceedings of the *Conde de Olivares*) shewed himself alienated from the League, and little satisfied with the carriage of businesfes, and perhaps

The Duke of Mayenne is troubled at the attempts of those of his Family, at the designs of the Duke of Savoy, and at the delays of the Spaniards.

1591

The Duke of Mayene is not satisfied with the new Pope Gregory the 14 doubting his too great dependency upon Spain, and the unactivity of his nature.

The Duke of Mayene dispatches President Jeannin to the King of Spain; and the Sieur des Portes to the Pope to sollicite aid.

perhaps disposed toward a reconciliation with the King, if he had given occasion for it by his conversion; yet the new election of Cardinall *Sfondrato* with the name of *Gregory the Fourteenth* did not satisfy him at the first, judging him to depend so much upon, and to be so closely united unto Spain, that he would not move, but in the Catholick King's steps; and besides that, of so slack a nature (as Fame with a general consent reported him) that there was little life or quicknesse to be hoped for in his resolutions. Amidst this confusion of thoughts, thinking his principal aim ought to be to increase his strength so much, as to be Master of the field, because by that means the streightning of the City being hindered, the Parisians would be appeased, and the reputation of Victory would keep all humours in awe; he set himself with his uttermost endeavours to augment his Forces in the Kingdom, and dispatched President *Jeannin* (a man of singular prudence, and incomparable dexterity in matters of Government) to the King of Spain; and to the Pope he sent his Secretary *Baldoin Sieur des Portes*, who for his long experience in the affairs of the Court, where he had been bred in the times of the late Kings, and for the vivacity of his understanding was thought fit to quicken the slownesse, and forward the determinations of the Pope; and to these his Agents he not onely gave in charge to make great haste in their journeys; but also, as their principal end, to procure from both these Princes a firm, settled, speedy, and powerfull supply of men and money.

With these designs and preparations came in the year 1591, at the very beginning whereof the Parisians attempted the enterprize of *St Denis*. The City thirsted much after the recovery of that place; for standing but two leagues from thence, and upon the pass that leads into the most fertile Plains of the *Isle of France*, it did much hinder the bringing in of Victual; and the Garison that was there over-running the whole country, did exceedingly molest and obstruct all the wayes. That which gave them hope of an happy issue, was, that the place was almost empty of inhabitants, and onely kept by three hundred Foot, and one hundred and fifty Horse, which though they rovd very boldly about the fields, yet were they not sufficient to maintain the compass of the walls, which of themselves were very weak, and in some places broken

ken and faln down ; and that which ordinarily serves to strengthen and defend a place (to be seated in the midst of Fenns that encompass it, and to have a Moat always full of water) did in this season serve for the conveniency of those that would assault it, all the Waters being with the infinite cold frozen round about, so that they made a firm Bridge, and did facilitate the passage and way to come to the assault.

The Governor of the place was the *Sieur de Viq* (lately come in the room of *Lawardin*) who though he used all possible endeavors to keep good guards in it, yet the weakness of the Garison, and the continual sending parties abroad to stop the ways, tired out his men, and made them in that extreame cold weather, not very careful to make good the Wall: Many there were that thought the enterprise not feisable, by reason of the small number of men that could be sent from Paris: But the *Chevalier d' Aumale*, a friend to bold resolutions, and well informed of the state of the Town, undertook the managing of it, and with One thousand Foot, and Two hundred Horse, marched out by night at the Gate which (because it stands that way) is called by the same name ; and having taken a little compass, drew near to the Town on that side, which joyning to the Abby, he knew (as most remote) was kept with the least diligence ; where having found the Ice in every place very firm, and particularly in the Moat, he caused four Ladders to be set up against the Wall with so great silence, that they were not discovered by the guards, in that part very thinly set. There went up two Captains with Four and twenty Soldiers fully armed, and having found no obstacle, made themselves Masters of the Gate adjoyning, which being broken open, the *Chevalier d' Aumale* himself entred on foot before them all, with his sword drawn, and after him the rest of his men marching up in order to possess themselves of the place. The Governor having heard the noise, and being informed that the Enemy had already taken the Gate, and were gotten upon the Wall ; grown desperate to see that by the negligence of his Soldiers, he should lose all the honor he had gotten in so many years of his life spent fortunately in War, getting on Horse-back with onely thirty of his men that followed him, and being resolved to die, and not to survive his own ruine, he caused two Trumpets he had with him

The *Chevalier d' Aumale* goes to surprise St. Denis, and without resistance enters with all his men ; but the Governor with onely thirty Horse charges, and routs the enemy ; the *Chevalier d' Aumale* being run thorow the Throat and left dead.

1591

to sound furiously, to make the enemy believe the number of those that charged was greater, and, with his Beaver down, rushed boldly upon the Front of the Squadron, that was marching in order up the high street toward the Market-place. (The fury of the horses in the uncertainty of a very dark night (the Commanders not having been willing to fire the houses, lest they should totally destroy the Town) put the foot in disorder in which tumult, while the *Chevalier d'Annale* turning about, and reproving his men, endeavored to make them stand, and to set them again in order, being wounded with a thrust in the throat, fell suddenly dead upon the ground; and his men having no longer, either strength, courage, order, or resolution, flying, fell foul upon the other Squadrons, and, disordering themselves from one to another, they got out at the same Gate, and without being pursued by any body, ran with all their might till they came to Paris, where remaining above a hundred of them, either slain by the defendants, or trampled under foot in the flight. The *Sieur de Vix* having recovered the Town, and redeemed his fortune by his own valor, gave the King an account of the success, and did not only win great commendations, but also obtained of him a rich Abby, which had been possessed by the *Chevalier d'Annale* with the title of the *Cross of Jerusalem*. Those that were curious observed, that the *Chevalier* fell dead before the door of an Inn whose sign was the *Espée Royale*; and they esteemed it a much greater prodigy, that being laid upon the Bier in the Church of the Friars of St. Denis, his carcase the night following was all gnawed and mangled by Moles.

It was observed, that the *Chevalier d'Annale* fell dead before an Inn whose sign was a Sword embroidered with Golden Flower-deuces, and that his body being set in the Church, was gnawed by Moles; The French says, Rats.

President Brisson, one of the principal adherents to the League, having changed his mind, plots insurrections in favor of the King.

The example of this mischance did not withhold the King from attempting (though upon a better foundation) to surprise the City of Paris in the same manner. The first *President Brisson*, who so voluntarily (not to say precipitately) had made himself the head and author in the Parliament of adhering to the League, perceiving now (as his friends said) that the ends of the great ones were not so sincere toward the publick good, as he at first was perswaded they were; or (as his ill-willers said) corrupted by the great promises which were made him from the King, by certain persons who were prisoners in the City; or (as the general opinion was) drawn by the instability of his own nature, had secretly begun to favor the Politicks, (for so they called those that were affected

to

to the King) who taking courage from his protection, did already make a considerable Body, and began to consult which way to make the City revolt, and submit it to the obedience of the King. The attempts and practices of these men were assisted by the careless nature of the *Prezost des Marchands*, who either did not believe, or did not heed the relations that were made to him; nor did he use any care or industry to interrupt those new designs, the report whereof was very common: But that which more favored the Kings party, was the ill satisfaction of the people, not onely tired with scarcity of Victual, and the hard duty they underwent continually in guarding the Walls, but also from macking that the *Marquis de Belin*, a man of ordinary condition, and of an inactive nature, should be put upon them for a Governor, whereas they were wont to have formerly the first Princes of the Blood, and the most eminent Officers of the Crown. The Duke of Mayenne was absent, the Duke of Nemours far off and discontented, and the *Chevalier d'Armale* lately dead, whose fierceness was wont to keep life in that party. All these things concurring, invited the King to make some attempt upon that City. And what perswaded him much rather, was a desire not to keep his Army idle, but to employ it in some enterprize, which for the greatness thereof, might keep it in some action full of expectation. Wherefore the Dukes of Nevers and Espernon, who were sent for before, being now arrived, and moreover thinking some practices now ripe which he held with his dependents in the City, he meant to help strength with cunning on this manner: That Fourscore Commanders and Reformadoes, disguised in the habit of Country-fellows, with as many horses laden with meal, should go to the *Porte St. Honoré* to be let in after midnight (because, in respect of the frequent parties that scoured the ways, provisions were commonly brought and received by night) and that these secretly armed, should at their entrance strive to possess themselves of the Gate, being assisted by an hundred men armed Cap a pe that followed them, in which tumult he had privately given order that those of his party should make some commotion within, but on the opposite side to the Gate that was assaulted, and should endeavor to seize upon *St. Jacques*, or *St. Mercati*; and that at the same time the Army on the side of *St. Honoré*, *Montmartre*, and *St. Denis*, should come up close

Eighty Cap-
tain, &c. other
Reformadoes
disguised, with
as many horse
load of Corn
and Meal, re-
ceive order to
go up to the
Port St. Honoré
about mid-
night, and to
attempt to
surprise Paris.

1591

to scale the walls: with which assaults, which were all to happen at one instant, he firmly hoped either to enter by force, or to be willingly received into the City; his adherents not ceasing to use many practices to raise the people in several places. These things were resolved on for the twentieth day of January; the night whereof, though it had not been rainy, must nevertheless needs have been dark, the moon setting towards midnight. But the Duke of Espernon's passing by Beaumont, and his being joyned with the King's Army, and the Duke of Nevers having done the same, leaving the siege he had laid to *Provins* without any apparent reason; the Baron *de Giury's* having passed the River at Lagny, to unite himself with the rest, and the seeing the King lie still in a place so near them, had put a jealousy into the Princesses who resided in Paris: whereupon they did effectually exhort the Marquess *de Belin* to take care of the City, some sign being already discovered of the first President's inclinations, and of the machinations of many others, who went about stirring up the common people. The Marquess, excited by the earnest periwasi- of those Ladies, began to apply his minde to the things that were told him; and falling into the same suspicion, upon the eighteenth day he published a most severe Proclamation, That any commotions or tumult happening in the City, every one, at the ringing of the Palace-bell, and the others of every Parish, should take Arms, and come forth of their houses into the street, but that no man should stir out of that Quarter wherein he ordinarily dwelt, upon pain of death without mercy: and he gave order to the Masters of the several * Quarters strictly to observe the motion of every one; from whence it came to pass that the *Politicks*, being fewer, were kept and watcht by the much greater number, and that being dispersed in their several Quarters, they could not meet together in a Body to molest or to make themselves masters of any part of the City, all which also by this command were equally guarded. But the signes and suspicions still encreasing, by the discovery of certain Souldiers belonging to St Denis, who were taken by the *Sieur de Tremont* as they were scowring the Country, from whom they understood that there were Scaling-ladders and other instruments proper to assault places withal, providing in that Town. The Princesses anxious and solicitous, sent for the Governour unto them in the house of Madame

The Marquess
de Belin, Lieu-
tenant-Gover-
nour of Paris,
advertised of
the King's de-
sign, and of
some tokens
of President
Brissot's pra-
ctices, makes a
severe Procla-
mation, and
orders and
disposes the
Militia and
the Citizens
for the de-
fence of the
City.
* Or, *Wards*.

de Montpensier, and desired him to make the *Porte St Honoré* presently to be shut up and lined with earth, as being weaker, and more exposed to danger then the rest; which was diligently performed upon the nineteenth day; and the *Sieur de Tremblecourt* was put there to guard it, with his Regiment of Lorrainers. The Marquess de Menelay's Regiment went to keep the *Portes* of *St Denis* and *Montmartre*; and *Collalto's* Germans stayed to guard the *Fauxbourgs* beyond the River.

Upon the twentieth day in the after-noon, the King [not being advertised of the orders given in the City, because extraordinary care had been taken, that none should stir out of the gates] took his way towards Paris. Monsieur de *Vig* Governor of *St Denis*, led the fourscore that were disguised in the habit of Country-men; and the other hundred were commanded by the *Sieur de Lavardin*. After these, followed the *Baron de Biron* with one thousand and two hundred Fire-locks, which were to march up to possess themselves of the gate; and behinde them were four squadrons of four hundred men a-piece, who, armed breast and head, were to advance to the wall on the side toward *Mont-Martre* and *St Denis*, there to set the Scaling-ladders; and these were led by the *Sieurs de Guiry, de Dunes, d'Humieres, and de la Noüe*: after these marched the Swisses, with three small pieces of Artillery, two Petards, to be made use of if occasion were, and all other instruments serviceable for this assault. The King himself was in the Rere-guard, with the Dukes of *Espernon* and *Longueville*, and eight hundred Gentlemen; who, being alighted from their horses, and very well armed, had their Swords and Pistols, with which they were to fall on where need should require: and last of all, the Duke of *Nevers*, with the rest of the Cavalry, stood in Arms to maintain the field. Assoon as the first were arrived with their loads of corn and meal, demanding to be let in, they spoke with *Tremblecourt*, who, being made wary by suspicion, talked a long while with them; and assoon as he knew them, he [to hold them in hand] gave order they should go down to the entry of the River, and that there they should be received by the boats that waited for that purpose; and presently, by ringing of a bell, he gave the Alarm to the City, and the Souldiers in Arms went readily up to the Works. The fourscore retired a little back; and making shew that they would obey, and go down toward the River, gave the King intel-

The order observed by the Kings souldiers for the surprising of Paris.

The fourscore disguised Reformedoes are discovered by the *Sieur de Tremblecourt*.

1591

intelligence of the noise that was in the City [whereof he was already advertised by the sound of the bells] and desired to know what was to be done. D'Humieres and the Baron de Biron were of opinion that the Scaling-ladders should be set up, and a Petard fastened to the gate: but all the other Commanders thought it was not a thing to be attempted, and that (the Plot not having succeeded) to use force was too full of danger, and altogether hopeless: wherefore, after they had made a stand for a while, to see if their party within did make any Commotion, and this thought not succeeding neither, they faced about; and leaving the Cavalry to make good their Retreat, returned in the same order to their former Quarters.

The Parisians, that they might not be left unprovided, receive a *Tertia* of Spaniards and another of Neapolitans into the City.

This attempt wrought an effect very different from the King's intention: for the Parisians unsatisfied with the Duke of Mayenne, for that upon all occasions he left them with a weak Garrison, exposed to these dangers, and seeing the King continually bent to do them mischief, they were contented being perswaded by the Catholick King's Ministers, to receive into the City the Spanish *Tertia* of *Idiaques*, and another of Neapolitans, which was *Pietro Gaetano's*, commanded by *Don Alessandro de Monti*; which did not only confirm and strengthen the King's enemies, and suppress his friends and adherents, but did also put the City in danger of remaining at last at the devotion of the Spaniards. Yet did there presently follow another consequent to the advantage of his affairs: for the Duke of Mayenne (who had consented to the resolution of the Parisians, not to lose them utterly, though it displeased him much, that, as not confiding in him, they should fall off to the protection of forrainers) being confirmed in his suspicion that the Spaniards had particular designes of their own, and that they sought to disturb his authority, and to make their profit of the instability of the Parisians, quickened the Treaty of Agreement, which, by the means of *Monsieur de Villeroi*, had never been intermitted with the High-Chancellor and the *Mareschal de Biron*; and not having been able upon any terms to obtain a Truce and free Commerce between the two parties, he was contented the King should give so many Safe-conducts, that the Deputies might meet together from all the Provinces, to consult in common of the means to conclude a Peace, with the safety of Religion, and the acknowledgement of the King, which passed so far, that for many days the Peace was held to be

The Duke of Mayenne, jealous of the Spaniards designs, procures a Treaty so far that for many days the Peace was certainly thought to be concluded.

be absolutely concluded. But as the opinions of men are un-
 settled, and the most important determinations are altered
 by petty accidents, the Duke of Mayenne in the mean time
 while the safe conducts were dispatching, (in the grant where-
 of the King was for some days very backward) having found
 the firmness of the Parliament in favor of him, and the
 weakness of the Garrison that was received into Paris, not
 being in all both Spaniards and Neopolitans above One thou-
 sand and three hundred Foot; a number fitter to satisfy the
 people in appearance, than to bridle the City: Nor being yet
 able to wear himself from his conceived hopes, as soon as he
 had received the safe conducts, he dispatched them with Let-
 ters added to all the Provinces, that they should meet together
 in the City of Rheims in Champagne, not to apply themselves
 to peace (as had been agreed) but to make election of a new
 King; which as soon as it was known and divulged abroad,
 the King finding himself deceived, since now the talk was of
 assembling the Deputies to his prejudice, which he had per-
 mitted to meet together to treat of a re-union and peace be-
 tween the two parties; having made grievous complaints
 thereof to *Villeroy*, he recalled his safe conducts, and gave
 command, that all the Deputies that should fall into the hands
 of any of his party, should without delay be put to death;
 which nevertheless would not have hindered the Duke of May-
 enne from calling the Assembly: But things not being yet ripe,
 nor disposed fully in the manner he desired; under pretence of
 that fear, the convocation of the States was suffered to vanish
 insensibly of it self.

The Dukes hopes were augmented by the Declaration of
Gregory the Fourteenth, who (as the resolutions of Popes, are
 almost ever hot and earnest at their first coming in) despising
 that flegmatick humor which *Sixtus* (not to forment with the
 colour of Religion the interests of those who were in greatest
 power) had in the later end of his life expressed in the affairs
 of France; shewed himself wholly inclined to favor, and pro-
 mote the progress of the League, accounting it necessary so
 to do, for the safety of Religion, and the reputation and great-
 nesses of the Apostolick See; and desirous that *Hercole Sfon-*
drato his Nephew, newly by him invested in the title of Duke
 of Montemarcano, should with military actions and eminent
 command increase in reputation and riches, he decreed to
 send

Pope Gre-
 gory the
 Fourteenth,
 resolves to
 send men and
 money to as-
 sist the
 League.

1591

Marfilio Landriano, a Milanese, is chosen Legate to the Kingdom of France by Gregory the Fourteenth.

send him with numerous Forces in assistance of the League; and had therefore given order that Horse and Foot should with all speed, be raised in the Territories of the Church; for the payment of which (though he found great contradiction in the Consistory of Cardinals) he resolved to take those moneys, which, having with extream diligence been gathered together by *Sixtus*, were kept in the Castle of St. Angelo; and to spend what should be requisite, as in the greatest and most urgent occasion the Church could have: And at the same time he appointed Legat to the Kingdom of France, *Monsignor Marfilio Landriano* a Prelate of Milan, his Confident, and a man that was wont (as they say) stoutly to assert the liberty of the Church. Which things, after they were resolved on, and set in order, he sent several Messengers with speed to the Duke of Mayenne, and to the Bishop of Piacenza (whom he had in the mean time confirmed Vice-Legat in France) promising to them both plentiful supplies of men and money, that they might be able, not only rooting out heresie, to secure the Kingdom from imminent danger, but chusing a Catholick Peaceable King, and one obedient to the Church, to compose discords in peace, and restore tranquillity, and repose to the people, already wearied out, and ruined with the calamities of War; and because the City of Paris, had with infinite merit shewed it self by proof to be the true *Metropolis* of the Kingdom, and the constant Bulwark of Religion, he professed, That he would employ his utmost endeavors to ease it of its grievances, and settle it again in its first splendor of riches and greatness.

Gregory the Fourteenth, assigns Fifteen thousand crowns by the month for the service of the League.

These Letters did not onely rejoyce the Vice-Legat, and confirm the courage of the Duke of Mayenne (and so much the more, because with them the Pope sent an assignment of Fifteen thousand crowns a moneth to be paid by the Merchants of Paris and Lions) but being published in Print to the whole party, did also fill every one with infinite expectation, seeing that the new Pope stood not like *Sixtus*, doubtful and unresolved what he should determine to do, but declaring himself resolutely, shewed he was an open enemy to the King, and an effectual Protector of the Union, adding also deeds to words, while he was scarcely fought unto. That which increased the hopes of the Duke of Mayenne, no less then the Popes forwardness, was the cunning of the Duke of Parma; who

who (persisting in his design of drawing out the French Wars in length, to make advantage at last of their weariness and weakness, and therefore not willing that the Duke of Mayenne, remaining inferior in strength, should lose courage, and resolve to make an agreement with the King) seemed not to like well of those things which *Mendoza* and *Don Diego d'Iwarra*, who were in Paris, managed particularly without the Duke; and with frequent Messages assured him, that he was settling the affairs of Flanders, that he might be able with all speed to march with his Army into France; promising him, that he would dispose of things in such manner as they with a joynt consent should resolve, without taking notice of the opinions of others, the Commissions being such which he had from the Catholick King: For confirmation of which things, to those men the Duke of Mayenne sent to him, he shewed preparations for the gathering of an Army, and the lists of Forty thousand fighting men to enter into Picardy; for the payment of which, and to supply the League plentifully with money, according to the desires of the French, he desired, a course was taken in the Court of Spain, and that he expected the assignment for it every hour. By which, the Duke of Mayenne being encouraged, and returned to his wonted hopes, had dispatched his Secretary *Baudoin, Sieur des Portes* to Rome the second time, with order to sollicite the Pope to hasten away the Duke of Montemarcano, who was to pass thorough the States of the Duke of Savoy, and the County of Bourgonne straight into Lorain, to oppose the Forces which were preparing for the King in Germany by the Viscount *de Turenne*, and the Prince of Anhalt; and to the same effect he dispatched an expresse Messenger into Spain to President *Jesmin*, who was already gone to that Court, to the end that he might obtain from the Catholick King, that the Forces which that year were to pass from Milan into Planders, should joyn in Lorain with those of the Pope for the same purpose, hoping assuredly, that the Germans finding a brisk opposition at the Confines, so that they might not be able to advance and unite themselves with the King, and the Duke of Parma with the Forces of Flanders entering into Picardy, the League would quickly and very easily remain victorious. In the mean time he had invited the Duke of Lorain, and the other Lords of his Family, to meet at Rheims,

1591

to the end, that with their general liking and consent, things might be disposed to their due ends, and that the difficulties might be removed which hindered the interests of their House from being brought to perfection.

These things were contrived at that time by the Duke, and negotiated with great diligence in all places by men of prudence and experience: But the King, whilst opportunity and the weakness of his enemies invited him, not to lose time without advantage, firm in his design to streighten still the City of Paris, in the fall of which he thought the principal strength of his adversaries must fall too, resolved to lay siege to Chartres, from the Territories whereof Paris is wont to receive the greatest part of its ordinary provisions; and because the City being great, populous, and very well fortified, represented at first view the difficulty of the enterprise; he determined to prevent those Supplies which for the well furnishing of a place of so great importance might be sent by the Parisians and the Duke of Mayenne, who with those Forces he had left, lay still at Soissons, to be ready to turn which way soever need should require. Wherefore having sent the Mareschal de *Biron* toward Diepe, to receive and conduct the Ammunition and other necessities come out of England, he taking a contrary way, went with the Duke of Nevers once more to besiege Provins, a place of small moment, and for the defence whereof, they of the League were resolved not to run any hazard; but after that the Mareschal de *Biron*, having received the provisions which were at Diepe, began to return back, the King gave him order, that making as if he would assault the City of Dreux, he should on the sudden clap aside before Chartres, and surround it in such manner, that the relief which should be dispatched thither, might have no opportunity of entrance. *Biron* having passed the Seine at Vernon with his men and his Artillery, pointing sometime this way, and sometimes that way, did at once give his Soldiers conveniency to refresh themselves, and hold the enemy in doubt to what place he would bend at last; making shew sometimes that he also would go to joyn with the rest of the Army at Provins; sometimes, as if he would put himself in order to besiege Dreux; now he placed himself upon the great high Road to Paris, and then at last having marched twelve leagues without resting, he came upon

upon the sixteenth of February under the walls of Chartres.

1591

The City of *Chartres* is seated in an uneven place, varied with fertile rising hills, so that the East-side stands upon the top of an hill, and the West spreads it self in the bottom of the Plain, thorow the midst whereof runs the River *Eure*, which, as soon as it comes to the walls of the City on the South-side, divides it self into three branches; one of which entering into the Town, drives a great many Mills; the second passing under the walls, falls into the moat, and runs along thorow it; and the third taking a compass about a hundred paces from the wall, invirons the circuit of the Suburbs, till being all come to the limits of the City turning towards the North, they meet again, and run together toward Normandy. The East-side, which stands upon the hills (by reason of the difficulty of bringing Cannon thither, and because it looked toward those places from whence there was no expectation of any relief) was not besieged by the Army: but the other side, which extends it self along the Plain, and looks towards Paris, was all blocked up at the same instant: for the *Sieur de Vivans*, with his Harquebussiers on horseback, quartered on the North-side in the *Bourg des Espars*; Monsieur *de Sourdis*, with the French Infantry, lay over against the *Porte de Dreux*; and the *Mareschal de Biron*, with the remainder of the Cavalry and the Swisses, encamped himself on the South-side, over against the Gate and Bastion of *St Michel*.

The description of the situation of Chartres, before which the *Mareschal de Biron* lays siege.

The Governour of the City was Monsieur *de la Bourdaisiere*, a careful diligent Cavalier. The Foot of the Garrison was commanded by Captain *Pesseray* a very famous Souldier; but the rest of the provisions were not correspondent to the valour of the Commander: for there were but few Foot in the Town, and much fewer Horse; and the supplies that were lately come into it, were so weak, that they had made but a small addition: for the *Sieur de la Croix*, who departing from Orleans, was suddenly come with 60 Cuirassiers, and 200 Harquebussiers on horseback to enter into the City, inconsiderately fell for haste into the Army, which was drawing near the walls, and being routed and put to flight, hardly got in with eighty of his men: on the other side Monsieur *de Grammont*, who was upon his march to go into Normandy, returned speedily that way, but brought not with him above forty Gentlemen,

LIIII 2

and

1591

and an hundred souldiers : and Monsieur *de Vitry*, who doubting the enemy would go to Dreux, had shut himself up in that Town, had not had means nor time to get thither ; so that the number of the Garison was much inferiour to what need required. To this defect was added the want of Ammunition : for though when at first the Governour visited those stores, there were found three hundred barrells of Powder, yet the cozenage of the Officers had so diminished it (at a time when it was exceeding dear in all places) that the first day of the siege (to *la Bourdaisiere's* great grief of heart) there were not left above eighty; and there likewise appeared a great want of those other things that are necessary for defence. These important wants were in part supplied by the forwardness of the Citizens, who with a free courage exposed themselves to all services ; and the same did a great many Country-people, who were got into the City, and laboured with the spade to make up the Works. For the first dayes, the Marechal thought it sufficient to shut up the *avenues* to the City, to exclude all relief, till the King should come to the Camp with the rest of the Army ; and therefore he advanced at the first dash, to quarter in the Suburbs. The Governour endeavoured to deprive him of that convenience (very necessary in respect of the season) and set fire on the houses to burn them down ; but the remedy was so late, by reason of the enemies sudden coming, that they had means to quench the fire before it could destroy many of the buildings ; and so the assailants had free possession of the Suburbs, in which after that the Marechal *de Biron* was commodiously quartered, the King arrived upon the nineteenth day : yet did they not presently begin to raise Batteries, as well because the Commanders were not well agreed among themselves on which side they should assault it, as also because the want of Ammunition was perchance no less in the Army, then that of the defendants within the Town; the provisions that came from England being far short of the King's demands, and of the promises made to the Viscount *de Turenne* : But the High-Chancellour *Chiverny*, Governour of the Province, who was exceeding rich, and had very great authority in the Country, having at his own expence sent for many necessary things from the Towns and Castles thereabouts, it was resolved to batter on the side toward the *Fauxbourg des Espars*, as a place less fortified then the rest, there being

no other defence but great Towers of the old fashion, and a wall not very strong, nor formerly fully lined with earth; but the defendants having foreseen where they were like to be assaulted by the besiegers, though they had no Engineers skilful in Fortifications, yet they did draw a Line, as well as they could, on the inside behinde the wall, flanking it with Ravelins, and raising it exceeding high with earth, in such sort, that the Artillery having battered down a good part of the wall, their Works behinde it appeared so strong, that the King, not willing to expose his men to manifest danger, but knowing the small number of the besieged, and meaning to tire them out with hard duty and working, resolved to remove his Battery to another place, thereby to render their past labours vain and useless: so in the beginning of March two Batteries were raised over against the *Porte de Dreux*, and they began to play on that side with eleven Pieces of Cannon. The defendants presently turned to make Works there, and with so much the greater heart, because that part was already flanked with two convenient Ravelines, which had been made ever since the year 1569, when the Prince of Conde besieged that place; and adding new Fortifications to the first, they reduced it to such a pass, that redoubled assaults were given in vain, and with the loss of many men. All the moneth of March they laboured in that place, without being able to do any good, battering without, working within, and skirmishing almost every day at the points of the Ravelines, and at the entry of the Courtine: but upon the fifth of April, the King, with the same intention of frustrating the pains of the defendants, removing his Battery yet again from thence, with eleven Redoubts, went something lower towards the *Porte St Michel*. The business was undertaken on that side by the *Sieur de Chastillon*; who doubting lest the darkness of the night might make him mistake the place where he had resolved to open his trench, found this way, which was, to make a Truce for two hours with those of the Town, under pretence of fetching off the dead; and that being concluded, he himself was busie in making the bodies be pulled out of the moat, and for quicker dispatch, to be brought along the Line, to the place where the Battery was prepared; which not onely gave him a wonderful great conveniency to discover and measure the situation, but also he feigned that one of the dead bodies could not be fetched off time enough, and

The *Sieur de Chastillon's* stratagem to cast up his Trench by night without error.

1591

For want of
Ammunition,
the Battery
goes on so
slowly at
Chartres, that
the King
thinks to raise
the siege.

and caused it to be left for a mark upon the edge of the moat, in that very place where he had designed by night to entrench himself. So the effect followed proportionably without error: for the Battery being raised, and his Trench cast up in the appointed place, he began to batter with twelve Pieces of Cannon, and at the same time took care for the building of a Gallery covered with timber, that he might securely pass the moat, and come to the foot of the wall. The endeavours used on that side were thought to be very hopeful: for the defendants, already tired, had not had time to cast up many Works there: But the Batteries went on slowly, and with intermission; for there wanted Ammunition in the Camp; so great a defect, and so hard to be remedied, that the King was oftentimes minded to give over the enterprise, if the Duke of Nevers, and much more the High-Chancellour, had not stayed him with earnest intreaties and perswasions, and if some that ran over to him from the City, had not reported the want of Powder to be much greater within then it was without; which was so true, that it being all spent, there was hardly the quantity of two barrels left, and that brought in by particular men, to be delivered to the Souldiers. The besiegers had already finished their Gallery, which was a thing built like a bridge, covered with boards overspread with earth and turfs, and then on the top of all, other boards and pieces of wood were fastened to make it stand the more firmly: the sides were made of thick beams joyned so near together, that they defended those that were in the hollow of the Bridge; and the bottom was raised so high with planks, as might bear up the assailants level with the breach. But the besieged having yet some Fire-works, and having also got together all the pitch which could be found in the several shops, set fire on the Gallery, at the time when being ready to give the assault, many were already advanced into it; in such manner, that the Engineer himself (who was called *la Garde*) and some others with him having lost their lives, Colonel *Parabere* was forced with his men to come out of the Gallery, and to go a good way without any shelter, to get before the appointed time unto the assault, which caused the death of many of his most valiant Souldiers; and yet the fight being stoutly maintained on both sides, lasted four hours together, with much blood, there being slain two Colonels, eight Captains, and above two hundred Souldiers: and *Parabere*

here himself; and the *Sieur de Montet*, a valiant Gentleman of Languedoc, *Chastillons* Adjutant, were very dangerously wounded. But the want of Powder was already become irreparable to those within; wherefore *Monfieur de Vitry* first, and then the Viscount *de Tavennes* having attempted to put Men and Ammunition into the City, and not having been able to effect it by reason of the diligence of the Cavalry, which with continual care, scoured all the ways; and after it was known that the Duke of Mayenne being come to the *Bois de Vincennes*, not having strength enough to make opposition in the field, had set himself upon the enterprize of *Chastillon-Thierry*, in a Country far remote, the besieged (being reduced to defend themselves with their Swords and Pikes, because they had not wherewithal to charge their Muskets and Cannon, and being decreased with toil, hard duty, and the loss of men slain in the late assaults) in the end, upon the Twelfth of April they agreed to surrender, if within three days they were not relieved with the number of, at least, Four hundred men, and some limited quantity of Ammunition; which days being expired without receiving any assistance, at last upon the Nineteenth day, *Monfieur de la Bourdaisiere*, and the *Sieur de Grammont* (for Captain *Pesseray* was already slain in an assault) marching out in order with their Baggage, and Colours flying, gave up the place into the hands of the *Baron de Biron*, who entred into it with 800 Foot, and 200 Horse; and the King put *Monfieur de Sourdis* in the Government, to gratifie the High-Chancellor, upon whom he, or (as his detractors said) his Wife depended.

The Defendants of Chartres not being relieved, surrender the Town.

At the same time, while the King was busied at the siege of Chartres, the Duke of Mayenne being departed from Soissons with all his Forces, and come to the *Bois de Vincennes*, stood doubtful a good while, whether he should venture the Army he had to relieve that place; but those Forces that were sent for from many places not arriving time enough, and knowing himself so much weaker, that his advancing would have endangered the Army, without hope of giving any relief to the besieged, turned toward the way of Champagne, where he had appointed the meeting of the Princes of Lorain; and to keep up his reputation, sat down before *Chastillon-Thierry*, a great place, well peopled, and pleasantly seated; but whereof no long defence was to be hoped for, either in regard

1591

The Duke of
Mayenne be-
sieged Chaste-
au Thierry,
a place more
pleasant then
strong, the
Governor
whereof was
the Son of
Secretary *Pinart*.

Secretary *Pinart* having
brought all
his goods into
the Castle, for
fear of losing
them, treats a
Composition
with the *Sieur*
de Villeroy.

regard of the Walls of the Town, or of the strength of the Castle. The Governor was the Viscount *de Combley*, Son to Secretary *Pinart*, who besides his Wife and Children, had also his Father and Mother, and a great many Women shut up with him in the Castle, who being all affrighted, made a great stir and confusion, though the defendants were sufficient to make it good for some days. To this was added, that the Father and the Son had brought into the Castle all their Plate, Money, and Householdstuff, which amounted to a great value, and were above measure solicitous, for fear if the place should be sacked, they might fall into the enemies hands. On the other side, the Dukes Army had a desire not onely to pillage the Town, which was full of inhabitants, but much more to plunder the Castle, wherein, the report was, that there were inestimable riches; by which hopes the Soldiers being encouraged, and especially the strangers, at their first arrival they bravely possessed themselves of the Suburbs, fighting and confounding the heartles defendants with their resolution. As soon as the Suburbs were taken, the Cannons were planted without delay, which having beaten down a good piece of the Wall, the assault was given; and though it was happily sustained till the evening, yet it left the besieged without hopes of being longer able to defend the Town, wherefore presently quitting it, they retired the same night into the Castle. At that the tumult increased, and louder grew the cries of the Women, who with their Prayers and importunities, were the cause that *Pinart* sent a Trumpet for his old Colleague the *Sieur de Villeroy*, who was in the Duke of Mayennes Camp, to treat with him about some composition; and yet having conferred together for two long hours, they came not to any conclusion: Wherefore, no sooner was *Villeroy* gone out of the Castle, but instantly the Canon began to play, the noise of which troubling not onely the Ladies, but even *Pinart* himself, and also many others not accustomed to the trade of Arms, the *Sieur de Villeroy* was sent for again the next morning, who was met by Madam *de Pinart*, with the other Ladies that were of her company, kneeling upon the ground & beseeching him with tears, to free them by a composition from falling into the power of the Soldiers, and especially of strangers. This sight moved even *Villeroy* himself, who returning to the Duke of Mayenne, labored to perswade him, that it

was

was much better to receive the Castle upon a capitulation, and to get a good sum of money from it for the maintenance of the War, then to enrich strangers, and shed French blood to satisfy their greediness: To which, the Duke of Mayenne (averse from cruelty and plunder) easily consenting, though the Army grumbled very much at it, yet the agreement was concluded, the Castle compounding for Twenty thousand crowns, great store of Victual which the Town was to provide, the place with the Artillery and Ammunition remaining freely at the Dukes disposing. But *Pinart* thinking himself free from the calamities of the siege, fell presently into other troubles: For being accused of treachery, and that, not out of cowardise, but perfidiousness, he had delivered up that place without any necessity, he was therefore censured guilty by the Parliament of Chalons, and being absent, condemned as a Rebel; and afterward bought out the Kings pardon, and the confiscation of his Estate with Thirty thousand ducats. The taking of Chasteau-Thierry, though not equal to that of Chartres, either for the quality of the place, or for the consequences that it drew along with it, did yet give some reputation to the arms of the League; whereupon the Duke of Mayenne, augmented in hopes and courage, went to the meeting at Rheims, where a common consultation was to be held, of the way that should be taken to advance the common interests, and to oppose the progress of the King; who after the taking of Chartres, had by policy and force gotten Louviers also, a place in Normandy near Rouen, which for its situation and fortification was esteemed of very great importance.

The Duke of Mayenne received the place and Castle, with the composition of Twenty thousand crowns.

But though the War proceeded fortunately for the King, other things were not so prosperous, but new troublesome accidents arose within his own party; for the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen (seeing that the time of his conversion was deferred without end, and that all the promises, and all the appointments of assembling the States, and calling the Prelates together, to give him those instructions propounded by himself, and talked of every hour, proved vain, and without any effect at all) began already to stagger in their resolutions, to think of retiring, to murmur among themselves, and to shew their discontent, which was increased beyond measure by a Declaration of the Kings; who after the taking of Chartres, being come to Mante, had called his Council, with many of

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1591

The King in Council with the most conspicuous men of his party, declares the necessity of giving some satisfaction to the Hugonots. He proposes the confirmation of the Edict of Pacification made last by Henry the Third, which grants them Liberty of Conscience, with some circumstances and limitations; and it is consented to.

the most conspicuous persons that followed him, and had given them to understand, how the Queen of England and the Princes of Germany his Confederates (of whose arms and assistance he had such urgent need, that without them he had no hope of being able to sustain his Crown) did press him daily, that (giving peace to mens consciences) he would permit Liberty of Religion, and a peaceable indifferent way of living to his Subjects, to unite them with perfect charity in the same body; and that the German Army being now upon the point of coming, he thought it good to prevent those requests, which would then be made unto him with arms in their hands, in a time of extream necessity, and to grant something now to those of the Reformed Religion, that he might not be forced then to yield much more unto them: That he did not intend to grant them more then what King *Henry*, his glorious and most Catholick Predecessor had done, but simply to renew the last Edict of Pacification which had after been broken and revoked, not by the Kings will, but by the violences of the League; and that he thought fit to tell his Reasons there in Council, to the end, that none might make a sinister interpretation of that resolution, but should know that all was done for the advantage of the Catholick Religion, not to suffer himself to be reduced to a necessity of giving them greater liberty, then what had been granted and established in the times of his Predecessors: That every one should weigh the state of present Affairs, the Forces which the Pope and the Catholick King sent against him, necessitating him to make use of the Supplies of the Protestants, to whom he could not with reason deny some just satisfaction, if he would be upheld by their blood, by their moneys, by their endeavors, and by their assistance; That this should not retard his promises, nor in the least manner prejudice the Catholick Religion, which he would constantly favor, protect, and maintain. The major part of voices assented to the Kings proposal, some others were scandalized at it, and particularly *Charles*, Cardinal of Vendosme, (who, his Uncle being dead, made himself be called Cardinal of Bourbon) who (saying that he could not with a safe conscience be present at that determination) made shew as if he would have gone away; but being not followed by the other Prelates, and sharply recalled by the King, he came back (though not much to his reputation)

tation) and sat down again. The Archbishop of Bourges, and the Bishop of Nantes, President de Thou, the High-Chancellor, and many other Catholikes, demanded that the Edict for liberty of conscience might not be absolute, but that a clause might be added to it, to shew it was intended to be in force until such time as Peace being obtained, the differences of Religion might be accommodated, to reunite all the Subjects in one and the same belief: which being willingly consented to by the King, the Edict was made, and some days after published, and registred in the Parliaments of his party. Those of the Council did not much resist this Declaration, as well because they saw the urgent need the King had to make use of the Protestants, as because they perceived the opposing of it would have produced no good: besides, the Hugonots already enjoyed that indeed which was now granted to them in writing: But those Souldiers that were affected to the Catholike Religion, and that had not heard the reasons of it, took marvellous great offence at it, and began almost openly to be disgusted; and so much the more, because the Cardinal of Bourbon and other Great ones fomented that discontent, and with words not onely in private, but publicly oftentimes stirred up mens mindes to a resentment.

The Cardinal of Bourbon had already long before entertained a thought of framing a party of Catholikes, different both from the League, and from those that followed the King. This thought was sprung up in him from the consideration that the King's obstinacy in not turning his Religion, did not onely make his own possession of the Crown more difficult, but also deprived the whole Royal Family of the just pretensions it had to the inheritance of the Crown, since that all of them, as followers of an Heretick, were excluded from it together; and they of the League began already to discourse of breaking the Salique Law, and of calling other Princes to the Crown, who had nothing to do with the Royal Consanguinity: and this thought perplexed and troubled him much more then the rest, because his Cousin the Prince of Condé, being then as it were yet in swadling-clothes, and of the Hugonot Religion; and his elder brother the Prince of Conty, both by reason of a great imperfection in his speech, being not very fit to govern, and because he had been cut for the stone in his childhood, accounted unable to get children, he thought the neereft hopes

The Cardinal of Vendosme begins to raise a third party of Catholikes, to make himself Head of them, and thereby to bring himself to the Crown;

1591

of the Crown belonged to himself, because the Count *de Soissons*, the third brother, was younger then he; and the Duke of *Montpensier* was much farther from the Succession then they. From this meditation, and the disdain it wrought in him, he began by little and little to nourish a desire of withstanding that prejudice, and to make himself a Faction that might bring him to the election of the Kingdom, since neither the Pope could oppose the person of a Cardinal, nor the Catholike King refuse him as an Heretick; nor could they of the League in the end deny him due obedience. He had imparted this thought to *Jehan Touchard* Abbot of *Bellozanne*, who from his Infancy had been his Tutor, a man not at all of Pedantique breeding, nor of a mean dull understanding, but full of lively active spirits, and well versed in the discipline of the Court. This man looking after the advancement of his own greatnesse in being his Master's instrument, fomented the Cardinal's designs, and regulated his pretensions with good instructions, counselling him to proceed secretly and very dexterously till he had gotten followers and adherents, and teaching him to make use of the conjunctures of times, which would offer him fit and profitable opportunities. And that he might have assistance in the raising of so eminent a designe, having discovered the businesse to *Jaques Davy* Sieur *du Perron* (a young man of mean birth, but of most profound learning, and therefore from the first received and well looked upon in the Cardinal's Family) and *Scipio Balbani* a *Lucchese* (one who having spent many yeers unfortunately in Traffique, was of a Merchant become a manager of affairs in Court) they applied themselves with all their utmost endeavours to the framing of that third party. To this end *Perron*, under shew of complement, went to the Duke of *Longueville* and the Count *de S' Paul*, brothers, who being descended from the Royal Family, but by Progenitours that were not legitimate, calling themselves of the House of Orleans, were zealous Catholikes, and kept themselves united with the Princes of the blood for the maintenance of the Crown; and having represented unto them the considerations of that prejudice which from the obstinacy of the present King did fall upon their common interests, drew them cunningly to the same opinion, and to hold secret intelligence and correspondence with the Cardinal. On the other side, *Balbani*, under colour of his own private affairs, went

went to Rome, to make excuses to the Pope for the Cardinal's abode in those places that were of the King's party, which was to no other end, but onely to exhort and perswade him to his conversion; which being now protracted contrary to the common expectations, and to so many promises he had made, the Cardinal, not willing to offend his own conscience, sent him to excuse it to his Holiness, and to pray him to protect the Royal Family, which ought not to forfeit its rights for the obstinacy of one man; and that when the Cardinal should once be made certain of his hope that the Apostolike See would suffer no other to be King but a Catholike of the legitimate stock of *S. Lewis*, he would declare himself with the Catholike Nobility and Commons, and deprive the King of the greatest strength of those who followed him at that present, to uphold the rights of the Royal Family. Now whilst *Perron* and *Balbani*, one within, the other without the Kingdom, did labour to plant the roots of this third party, the Cardinal staying at *Tours*, as Head and President of the King's Council that resided there, did by himself, and by the means of *Toucheard*, try to work upon the mindes of many, and particularly of *Gilles de Souvray* Governour of that City, a man of exceeding great piety, and no lesse prudence, and who in the Court had always been wonderfully famed for goodnesse and knowledge. But these designs, which, being communicated to many, could not be kept secret, were come to the ear of *Philip* Cardinal of *Lenon-court*, an old dependant upon the House of *Navar*, who likewise following the King's party, resided in *Tours*, and was one of the Council: and there being no very good correspondence between him and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he was the first that gave the King notice of it, representing confusedly unto him what he had been able to finde out concerning those designs that were contriving. The King knowing the emulation that was between the Cardinals, did not absolutely credit *Lenon-court's* relation; and yet he remained a little perplexed in minde, and began to stand at watch, that he might come to more certainty of the businesse, which Fortune brought him as it were of her self, in such a way as a man's own imagination could not have thought: for *Balbani*, who was already come into Italy, having in his journey met with *Des-Portes* the Duke of Mayene's Secretary, who was likewise going to Rome about the present affairs,

1391

Scipio Balbani is sent to Rome by the Cardinal of Vendosme, to treat with the Pope, and to communicate his designs unto him.

The Cardinal of Lenon-court gives the King notice of the designs of the Cardinal of Vendosme.

1591

fairs, made friendship with him, as they use to do that are interested in the same Nation: after which, either inconsiderately, or that he might begin to scatter some seeds of it in the League, he imparted the businesse to him, for which the Cardinal sent him to the Pope, and shewed him the Commissions which for his information he had given him, distinctly comprised in writing. *Des Portes*, a subtil man, and a wary manager of things, knew how to behave himself, and to flatter *Balbani* in such manner, that he not onely sounded the depth of the businesse, and what adherents the Cardinal had, but withal got a copie of his Instructions out of his hands; whereof he sending several duplicates in his Letters to the Duke of Mayene, it so fell out, that one of them was intercepted by the Garison of *Auxerre*, and came to the King's hands, with full information of the whole Plot. For the clearing and confirmation of this intelligence gotten by the Letters of *Des Portes*, it happened that *Jaques du Quesnay* a Norman Gentleman, who was bred Page to the Duke of Longueville, as he was one night on the far side of his Lord's bed, where he was unseen by reason of the Curtains, (the custom of France being to entertain great persons while they are undressing) by chance heard a long discourse of *du Perron* to the same purpose, which he, thinking nothing, related to *Jehan d'Espinau* his kinsman; but he being a Hugonot, and of a discreet understanding, delayed not long to discover all to Monsieur *de Chaseron*, under whom he served in the War, by whom afterwards the King was distinctly informed of every particular.

The Sieur *des Portes* Secretary to the Duke of Mayene, informs him of the practices of the said Cardinal: but a Letter being intercepted, falls into the King's hands.

The High-Chancellor being told by the King of the Cardinal of Vendosme's designs, persuades him to turn Catholic-like.

When the King knew what was plotting against him, he was extremely afflicted and troubled in minde; and having told the businesse to the High-Chancellor and Monsieur *de la Noüe*, desired to have their advice in it. The High-Chancellor intent upon the King's conversion, or because he so thought it best, said it was in the King's own power to remove those obstacles, and dispel those clouds: for by turning Catholic-like, he might at once take away the foundation of all those contrivers, and open a most secure way to Peace and Union: That to think of any other remedy, was not onely vain, but destructive: for by alienating the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and other Princes of the blood who sided with him, he should cut off one of his own arms, and weaken his party in such manner, that he would no longer be in a condition to resist his enemies:

and

and on the other side, by dissembling the knowledge of their machinations, they would have conveniency to perfect the design, drawing with them a great part of the Catholicks, discontented at the so long delay of his conversion: Whereupon, to shun those two inevitable dangers, it was necessary at last to give satisfaction to all his servants, while the state of Affairs permitted him to do it with his honor; for when the Catholick party should fall from him, it would be no longer time to convert, nor to give them satisfaction, thinking to lure them again, as they do Hawks, when they are loose from the fist; that therefore he should rouse up his courage, and with a Royal resolution, cut off the Roots of those evils that were creeping about so dangerously. Monsieur de la Noue said, That he would speak the more freely, because his Majesty and all the World knew, he had said from the very beginning, That if the King did not turn Catholick, he should never be King of France; but that now it was neither time nor conjuncture, to make that determination; That the King knew how great a power of his Enemies was like shortly to come upon him, the Pope and the Catholick King having made wonderful great preparations to assist the League; that to oppose those Forces, he had no other prop but the Supplies of the Queen of England, and of the Princes of Germany, who were drawing a great Army together under the Viscount of Turenne, to uphold them in so great need; which Provisions and Supplies would all vanish in a moment, if he at that present should change his Religion; for not onely they being offended, would forsake him, but all the Hugonots of the Kingdom that followed him would fall away, whereby at the arrival of the Enemies Forces he would be found alone, unprovided, abandoned, without any means to resist, and left to the discretion of his Enemies: That the exigency of affairs would not give way to the counsel of preventing the future, with a present ruine: That the Forces of Italy were already set forward, the Duke of Parma already was gathering an Army; nor did the straitness of time permit the thought of things that were far off, but perswade the use of present remedies: That the Cardinal of Bourbons design had no very firm foundation, and though it should succeed, yet it required a great length of time: That at the present, not very resolute and powerful remedies were to be applied, but such as might mitigate

Monsieur de la
Noue's answer
to the High-
Chancellor.

1591

mitigate and defer the disease, till means might be had to purge it away: That it was needful to separate those Lords into several places, to have an eye upon their actions, to seek to pacifie them, and keep them in till the event were seen of the coming of the foreign Forces of each party: That afterwards time and occasions would of themselves minister remedies proportionable to the disease, and the means of getting one day out of those Labyrinths. The King best liked this advice, which was also confirmed by the Marechal de Birron, to whose opinion all serious matters were at last referred. Whereupon he presently dispatched Letters to the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the other Lords of the Council, that they should come to him to the Camp, he having need of their help and assistance; and removing the Count *de Soissons* from the Government of those parts, he sent to govern Poitou and Tournain the Prince of Conty; a man not engaged in the plot, and already excluded by his own Brothers: For the Count *de Soissons* also (angry, because the King having often promised him his own Sister, the Lady *Catherine*, to Wife, did now refuse to give her him) assented to the Cardinals designs, with hopes also, that though he were the younger Brother, yet being a Lay-man, the election which the Catholick Princes of the Blood should make, might fall upon him: Whereupon, the Cardinal being come to the Camp before Chartres, and continuing to come to the Council, hapned to be present at the Edict which was made in favor of the Hugonots, which he opposed both by his gestures and words, and after it was passed, ceased not to talk sinisterly of it, to perswade the Catholicks to comply with him. Nor could the King so easily have dis-entangled himself from that tumult, if an engine framed by the League, to do him hurt, had not proved of admirable advantage to him.

The Count *de Soissons*, Brother to the Cardinal *Vendosme*, is removed from the Government of Poitou upon suspicion.

Landriano the Popes Nuncio arrives at Rheims with Monitory-Letters to the Prelates and Catholicks of the Kings party.

Landriano the Nuncio was come to Rheims, being sent by the Pope, with Monitory-Letters directed to the Prelates that followed the Kings party, and to the Nobility, Cities, and people of the same party; wherein, after the wonted Prefaces, and having copiously exaggerated and detested the Error which the Catholicks, especially the Clergy, committed in following and fomenting a King that was a relapsed and excommunicated Heretick, and in voluntarily putting upon their own necks, the miserable yoke of the servitude of Heresie, he

he did at last with pregnant words ordain, & expressly command the Clergy (under pain of excommunication, of being deprived of their Dignities & Benefices, and of being used as Sectaries & Hereticks) that within a certain time, they should withdraw themselves from those places that yielded obedience to *Henry of Bourbon*, & from the union & fellowship of his Faction; and admonished & exhorted, but in the end, also commanded the nobility and people, that forsaking all, & leaving those places that acknowledged the Heretick, they should retire among the Catholics, & such as obeyed the Apostolick See in the true unity of the Faith. The whole *Monitory* was full of grave and exquisite words, high and threatening expressions, sharp & rigorous commands, & in sum, such as seemed not to suite much with the present time, wherein the Kings forces went on prosperously, and the affairs of the League were diminished both in strength & reputation: wherefore being taken into consideration by the D. of Mayenne & the principal heads of his party, many were of opinion, and particularly *Monseigneur de Villeroy*, that it was good to defer the publication thereof till another time, when (the Arms of the Confederates being in greater credit & reputation) they might hope to reap some fruit by it: But the *Nuncio* (little versed in the affairs of France, & accustomed to measure things by the opinions of the Court of Rome) the Bish. of Piacenza also (though he was better experienced in the present businesses, yet wholly intent to please the Pope, & win his favor) and the Spanish Ministers (being perswaded by hatred, & inticed with a desire to see things every day more disturbed) were resolved, that the *Monitory* should be published. The French Lords considered, that it was not only a thing very difficult, but also not by any means to be hoped for; that the Prelats & the Nobility, who had their wealth, dignities, and Prelacies in the Kings hands, should resolve to forsake them to satisfy the Pope, their number being but small now a days, who for their souls sake are content to forgo their estates; that moreover they had already from the beginning expected these commands and menaces from the Pope, and had prepared their minds to bear them: That the more they were forced, the more obdurate they would be, & losing all hope of ever being received into the Popes favor, would become more obstinate in following their party, and laboring to get the victory: That it was needful to allure them, and draw them cunningly, not to terrifie them and drive them into

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utter

1591

utter despair: That such-like threats would be proper after a Victory, to give them colour and occasion upon that pretence to fall from the King when his affairs were languishing; but not now, when being powerful and flourishing, it was not to be believed that any body would forsake him: That prudent resolutions were not to be grounded upon probabilities, but truths; nor ought things to be regulated according to the opinion of those that judged afar off, but by the judgment of men who, besides their long experience in affairs, were present upon the place it self. The Popish and Spanish Ministers thought these things were spoken out of a common charity to the Nation, not because they were true: And the Duke of Mayenne, who had set all his hopes upon the coming of the Forces out of Italy and Flanders, and would not distaste those Princes, referred himself to them; and therefore without delaying, the Monitory was presently published, which produced the same effect the French Lords had foretold; for the King having called his Council (wherein he would have all the Prelates that were in Mante, and the most conspicuous persons of his Army to be present) complained grievously of the course which the Pope took with him at that present, praised and commended the moderation of *Sixtus*, who being made sensible that the discords grew from the ambition and covetousness of dividing the Kingdom, and not from zeal and affection towards Religion, had forbore to give assistance to the League, and tacitely granted him time to think of turning opportunely to the Catholick Faith; cherishing, and graciously heartkning to those who followed him for a good end, and for the service of God, of Justice, and of their Country, as the Duke of Luxembourg could give full testimony: He declared his intention to observe what he had sincerely promised to the Catholick Nobility in the beginning of his Reign; he excused himself, that he had been hindered by the heat of War, from using those means which he thought fitting, both for the importance of the business, and the quality of his Person; and at last exhorted all the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons to use all their uttermost endeavors to conserve the immunities and privileges of the Gallick Church, not to suffer that Kingdom to be divided and dismembred, which they had received so flourishing from their Ancestors; and not to permit the people to remain without their Prelates and Pastors

After long opposition by the French Lords, the Monitory is published to the satisfaction of the Spanish and Popish party.

to the danger of errout, schism, and damnation; things which though they were neither seen nor considered at Rome, were yet nevertheless too obvious to the eye of whosoever should look upon them with Christian piety. Hereupon he caused a very grave Decree to be made, declaring that he would inviolably observe his promise, and exhorting the Parliaments to take care for the dignity of the Crown, and the Prelates to look to the people under their Charge, and to preserve the liberty of the Gallique Church.

The Decree being made with a most free consent (because every one was offended at the severeness of the Monitory, and at the coming of the Nuncio Landriano) he dispatched President de Thou to Tours, and President Favre to Chalons, in which Parliaments the person of Landriano was with very great liberty spoken and decreed against, and there it was determined that the Monitory should be publicly burnt, and at the same time most severe Decrees were made against those that should forsake the party, and follow the intimation of Landriano, depriving the Clergy of their Dignities and Benefices, and confiscating the Estates and Goods of whatsoever Lords, Gentlemen, or others should do so, and making them all subject to the pain of High-Treason and Rebellion; which, added to that disdain the French liberty had conceived at the severeness of the Monitory, did so bridle mens mindes, that there was not now any one that stirred: but on the contrary, those that were turned after the new designs attempted by the Cardinal of Bourbon, did now alienate their mindes from all other thoughts, save the conservation and maintaining of the King, whose arms they saw in a fair way to Victory; the Clergy saying publicly, that the Canons did not command them to abandon their flocks in such distracted dangerous times, nor did duty enjoin them to forsake their Countries, their own houses and estates given by the liberality of former Kings, as a reward for their labours, to go like miserable vagabonds to beg a hundred crowns in pension from the charity of the Pope's Nephews. That in the end, the King, remaining victorious, would compose matters with the Pope; and then, whosoever had been obstinate and rebellious against him, would be utterly undone: and that they could not in conscience forsake a Prince who implored their aid and instruction to come to the obedience of the Church. Thus always those

The Parliaments of Chalons & Tours decree that the Pope's Monitory should be publicly burnt.

1591

The Parlia-
ment of Paris
makes Decrees
contrary to
those of the
Parliaments of
Tours and
Chalons.

engines that were framed to oppugn the King, did wonderfully succeed to his advantage ; and poisons were converted into medicines. To these Decrees of the Parliaments of Tours and Chalons, the Parliament of Paris opposed contrary Decrees, receiving the Monitory, and admitting the Nuncio's Commissions, exhorting and commanding that all should be accepted, published, and obeyed ; imposing most severe punishments upon those that should transgress. But neither for this did the Prelates or Nobility that followed the King's party stir one jot from their first proposal : and all those discourses and complaints which before were made for the liberty granted to the Hugonots in the exercise of their Religion, were now turned against the Pope's severe, and (as they call'd it) precipitate resolution.

In the mean time, the Lords of the House of Lorain, the Nuncio *Landriano*, the Spanish and Savoyard Ambassadors, and Cardinal *Pellewé* Archbishop of *Rheims* (an old protector and favourer of the League) were all come into that City to the appointed Meeting ; and there their common interests were with long discourses exactly treated of : wherein, though every one did under various colours and pretences palliate the interests of his own designs, yet was it very clearly seen they could not all agree in the same end. The Spaniards trusted upon their power, and the necessity that others had of their assistance ; the Nuncio upon the Majesty of the Apostolick See, and upon the foundation of Religion ; asserting that the authority of disposing those matters was proper and peculiar to the Pope : The Duke of *Lorain* grounded himself upon fitness and decency, as Head of the Family, and pretended that the rest ought in reverence to yield to his pretensions ; the Duke of *Savoy* aspired to the acquisition of *Provence* ; the Duke of *Mercœur* to that of *Bretagne* ; the Duke of *Nemours* designed to Canton himself in his Governments ; and finally, the Duke of *Mayenne*, General of the Armies and leader of his party, trusted upon the union of the People, and the concurrence of the Nobility that bore an affection to his name. But things were not yet ripe ; and every one proceeding with great wariness and secrecy, concealed his own thoughts, and made shew to be moved onely by the consideration of the general good ; which being observed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and being confident that with time, opportunity, and his prudent

dent managery, he should bring the rest to consent to his opinion, having onely concluded, with their common Forces to oppose the coming of the King's forraign Supplies, all other things were remitted till a more seasonable time, the Duke having demonstrated that it was necessary to employ the present inaction, and not in consultation; the King's Germans being already upon their march, and he himself continuing prosperous in the progress of the War.

The Meeting at Rheims dissolves without any determination.

Wherefore the Meeting at Rheims broke up without any other determination, and onely the Duke of Mayenne lost a little of that confidence he had conceived of the Pope's adherence, having found the Nuncio in all things inseparable from the interests of Spain; whereupon, designing to make use of the Ecclesiastical Forces onely to hinder the entry of forraigners, in other matters he was resolved not to trust to any but his French-men. To this end he presently dispatched a Gentleman in all haste to President Jeannin, who already was arrived in Spain, to give him directions, not so much to labour for supplies of Spanish or Italian Forces, as to procure Pay for a set number of French Foot and Horse, under pretence that the Officers of those two Nations were unwilling to obey his commands, and that with French Forces, which scorned not to acknowledge him, and were acquainted with their own Country, he might sooner, more easily, and with fewer rubs, effect their common interests. To the same purpose he by redoubled Messengers gave commission to Des Portes to sollicite the Pope for an express order, that his Army under the Duke of Monte-Marciano should stay in Lorain, and there, united with that Duke's Forces and the Supplies from Flanders, should oppose the coming of the Viscount de Turenne, alledging that that was the principal means to hinder the King from assistance, and very easily to become Conquerours in the War: which having already agreed upon with the Nuncio, whom he had easily made believe that the sum of affairs consisted in that, he with his own Forces took his way towards Paris and Normandy, to withstand the King's daily progress.

The Duke of Monte-Marciano's Forces were considerable, which being drawn together at Lodi, chosen by the Catholick King's permission for a place of Rendezvous, they amounted to the number of one thousand and two hundred Horse, and

1591

The Pope
sends 1200
Horse & 6000
Foot into
France under
the command
of the Duke of
Monte-Marsi-
ano.

two thousand Foot, all under noble and experienced Commanders: to these, four thousand Swisses were to joyn, being raised in the Catholick Cantons by the Pope's money taken out of the Castle. The Catholick King's Forces destined for Flanders, consisting of two *Tertia's* of Foot, and four hundred Horse, commanded by *Marco Pio* and the Governour of *Alexandria*, marched with the Pope's Army making the same Voyage. To this Body which (passing from the Confines of Savoy thorow the County of Bourgongne) was to come into Lorraine, the Army of that Duke intended to joyn it self, being already four thousand effective Foot, and eight hundred Horse: so that the confederate Princes made account that the King's Germans (though he with all his Forces should advance to receive them) would not be able to resist; and at their entry into the Kingdom, must either dissolve of themselves, or be defeated.

But the Duke of Mayenne being departed from the Assembly, had posted with infinite speed to *Rouen*, in which City, the people, ill satisfied with the Government of *Monsieur de Tavannes*, were furiously risen up in Arms to drive him out; and *André Brancace Sieur de Villars*, Governour of *Henric de Grace*, being come thither with some number of men, for fear the City should revolt, and put it self into the King's power, there was afterwards such emulation and enmity sprung up between those two Heads, that they were in danger to assault each other, which could not come to pass without much blood, nor without exceeding great hazard of the Cities falling into the enemies hands. The Duke arrived so opportunely, that if he had stayed but one day longer, matters could not have been composed without a great deal of mischief: but his coming bridled both those Heads; and being unwilling that discord should endanger a place of so great moment, he satisfied the desires of the people and Parliament, by chusing his son *Henry de Lorain* Governour of the City; and because he was very young, he made the same *Sieur de Villars* his Lieutenant, who was a man of exceeding high spirit, and singular valour, and sent the Viscount de *Tavannes*, his old servant, to command as Camp-Master-General, under the Government of the Duke of Aumale in the Province of *Picardy*.

About that very time, *la Fere*, a place of wonderful importance upon the confines of *Picardy*, was like to have revolted:

for

The people
Rouen dislik-
ing the Vis-
count de Ta-
vannes their
Governour,
make an In-
surrection,

for the Marquês de Menelay who had that Government (though from the beginning he had been most obstinately for the League, yet at this time) having changed his minde, whatsoever the reason was, he had secretly agreed to deliver up the place, and to go over to the Kings party. For this purpose, the King himself lingred with his Army in those parts: But the Duke having had notice of the business, or (as some said) onely suspecting it, dispatched the *Vice-Seneschal de Montelimar* (of whom for his sagacity he was wont to make use in the most urgent occurrences) and the *Sieur de Magny*, Lieutenant of his Guards, unto la Fere, with order, that if they could not get the Marquês out of the place by other means, they should endeavor to take away his life as speedily as possibly they could; nor did they fail to effect what was given them in charge: For being come into the Town, and having delivered Letters from the Duke, to the Captains of the Garison; while the Governor was at Mass, without staying till he should resolve upon any thing, they set upon him suddenly as he came out of the Church; and having found him unprovided, and half astonished, killed him with two Stoccadoes; and without any opposition, made themselves Masters of the place. This action, more proper for an absolute Prince, then for the Head of a Confederacy, displeased many, though the Duke labored to shew, that extream necessity had produced it against his will; and much more did it displease, that the Government was given to *Montelimar*, one of the murtherers: Whereupon it was publickly said, That the Arms of the League were always blunt, but when they were used against their friends.

The Marquês de Menelay is killed by order from the Duke of Mayenne, because he would have delivered up la Fere to the King, and have gone over to his party.

Great was the commotion of mens mindes, by reason of the Marquesses blood and dependencies; and because it displeased all, that the Duke should arrogate so absolute a power unto himself: Whereupon he, who knew he had lost much of his credit, and that it was necessary to revive it again by some notable enterprize, (for ordinarily later actions do in great part cancel, and take away, the memory of former ones) resolved to give a *scalado* to Mante, where the Kings Council was, and many Lords, Prelates, and most of the Officers of the Crown that adhered to him; but without that guard which the quality of their persons and the weakness of the place required; and thinking this attempt so great, if he could bring

1591

The Duke of Mayenne gives a scalado to Mante, where the Prelates, Lords, and Officers of the Kings party were weakly guarded; but being discovered, is beaten off.

He goes to assault the Swisses at Hudan, and having found them well fortified, is faine to return.

By the Council of Mocenigo the Venetian Ambassador, the King removes his Officers and Prelates from Mante to Chartres.

bring it to perfection, that it must needs increase the glory of his name, and exceedingly weaken the Kings party, and the prosperity of his affairs: He commanded out the men that were in Paris, and the Garisons of Meaux, Dreux, and Pontoyse, and having chosen a very dark rainy night, he drew near on two sides with Scaling-Ladders to the Walls of the Town (the situation whereof, was by long practice perfectly known to him) with assured hopes, by reason of the small number of Soldiers that were within, to enter it without much trouble; but it so pleased fortune, that in both places he found the Sentinels watchful, at whose cries, the Guards betaking themselves to their arms, ran up to make good the Wall; and yet this would have been but a weak supply, and not able long to have resisted the assailants, if the Lords of the Council themselves (not failing in what concerned their own safety) armed with more courage then could be expected from Gown-men, had not run with their servants to re-inforce the Guards; so that the Dukes soldiers, wet, tired, and by rain in great part deprived of the use of their Muskets, not being able to get up to the top of the Walls, which they thought they should have found slenderly guarded; but on the contrary, many of their Ladders falling, and being broken, they were beaten off by the defendants, and retired without fruit, the assault proving in the end much fuller of noise then blood. Yet did not the Duke lose courage for this; but knowing that part of the Kings Swisses were quartered at Hudan, he halted with the same celerity the day after to fall upon them, but without effect; for having found them excellently fortified and entrenched, he was forced likewise to march from thence without having obtained any thing; much praise being due, either unto the vigilancy or good fortune of the Kings soldiers, that had frustrated the Dukes prudence and celerity.

But the danger of Mante had been so great in the opinion of discreet men, that *Giovanni Mocenigo*, the Venetian Ambassador, shewed it was a great temerity to stay for another of the Dukes attempts in that weak place so poorly manned; and perswaded the Council, and the other Lords that were there, to retire to Chartres, where besides the greatness and commodiousness of the City, they might stay with more decency, and also be much more secure, in regard of the strength of the place, and quality of the Garison that kept it. The King approved

approved of this determination, which (as all things are not remembred by all men) he had not thought of before; and being come to Compeigne, began to make ready his Army, that he might advance to receive his foreign Forces: But because he had not yet had intelligence of their setting forward, he resolved in the mean time (that he might not spend it unprofitably) to lay siege to Noyon, a Town upon the confines of Champagne and Picardy, which, because it was much better provided of Horse then Foot, molested all the ways round about, and did incommode those places that held for him in those parts. The reason that perswaded him to ease himself of it, did also render it less difficult to be taken, being full of Horse, whereby the siege became more easie, and ill-provided of Foot, and those other things that were requisit for the defence of it, and particularly of Ammunition: Wherefore having drawn all his Army together, upon the Five and twentieth of July he caused the Mareschal de Biron to take up his quarter within a mile of the Fauxbourgs of the Town; and the same day the Sieur de Rieux perceiving the Kings intention, departed from Pierrefont with Threescore Horse, and as many Foot mounted behinde them, each having a bag of powder at his Saddle-bow, and passing secretly thorow the Woods, got into the City, and gave great relief to the Defendants.

Noyon is seated between a Mountain and a Fenn, having on the South side, the Fen caused by the overflows of the River Oyse in that place; and on the North the Mountain, steep, and not very accessible; behind it thick spacious Woods distend themselves for many miles; and no other way lies open save onely before, thorow a little Plain that comes to the Gate of St. Eloy, and to the rich Abby, situate near the Fauxbourg. The Town was encompassed with old Walls, and great Towers from place to place; but both the Towers and the Curtine very well lined with Earth. The Mareschal de Biron having viewed the situation, encamped before the City at a little distance from the River, with a thought to assault the Fauxbourg and Abby that were in the Plain, and out of the Fen, and by that means to make himself a way to the Moat, which of a great breadth encompasseth the Town on that side. Monsieur de Ville, Governor of the Town, on the other side, knowing the weaknes of the Garison, and the want

The situation of Noyon, besieged by the King.

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1591

of many things, had not ceased some few days before the siege, nor did yet cease, after the Army appeared, to sollicite relief, redoubling Letters and Messages both to the Viscount de Tavannes, and the Duke of Aumale, Governor of the Province, who no less solicitous then he, dispatched first the Sieur de Griboval with an hundred Foot, and about twenty Horse, and then the Sieur de Tremblecourt with his Regiment, though reduced to a small number of men, to try if thorow the Woods they could get by stealth into the Town; but both of them charged by the Garisons of Chauny, Corby, and Catelet, were defeated by the way; so that Griboval scarce entred with sixteen of his Foot, and Tremblecourt could not come, no not within many miles of Noyon. The loss of these necessitated the Viscount de Tavannes to put himself in hazard by attempting to get in; and therefore being departed from Roye, upon the first of August, in the evening, with Five hundred Firelocks, and Three hundred Horse to convoy them, under favor of the night, he drew near the Guards of the Army an hour before day, with great hope to pass between guard and guard, before the Camp should have put themselves in order to oppose them; but the Sieur d'Arges, who by order from Biron had been out the same night with a party of sixty Light-horse scouring the ways, chanced suddenly to meet him, and not losing courage, though he had so few men with him, but valiantly making ready their arms, and beginning the skirmish with hot vollicies of shot, was the cause that all the other parties which were abroad made haste to the same place: Wherefore they of the League seeing themselves discovered, and not knowing well in the dark by what number of enemies they were so bravely charged (as the errors of the night are commonly pernicious without blood) they both routed themselves without opposition, and in a very great fear took flight several ways; onely the Viscount de Tavannes, whilst with his sword in his hand he endeavored to stop his Soldiers, being wounded in the arm, and in the thigh, was at last taken prisoner by the Sieur d'Arges himself.

The Viscount
de Tavannes
going to put
relief into
Noyon, is de-
feated and
taken prison-
er.

The Duke of Aumale, upon whose Government the affairs of that Province did depend, was much troubled at the ill fortune of his Officers, and resolved to attempt the relief himself, being most certain, that if Foot and Ammunition were

were not put into the Town, it must of necessity be lost within a few days: wherefore marching from *Han* upon the seventh of August in the evening with six hundred Horse and nine hundred Foot, to the end that his men might be ready, and not lose courage in the dark, as the others had done, he determined to beat up one of the King's Quarters by break a day, and (whilst they sounded the Alarm there, and were fighting) endeavour to put in relief openly by day, rather than put himself in danger of being disordered by night. With this intention coming up to the Plain along the great high-way which leads directly to the gate, he suddenly fell upon one of the quarters of the King's Light-horse that lay without the Trenches, under cover of some scattered houses upon the same way. The assault was fierce, and the defence no less, with which the late *Sieur d'Arges* (a young Gentleman of high courage) and his other companions sustained it. But the Duke of Aumale still redoubling his fury with fresh Horse, and Colonel *Berangere* being come up with the Foot that followed, the Light-horse, though they fought valiantly, would have lost their quarter, and left the way free to the relief, if *Biron* had not come in to help them with three hundred Guirassiers, and two hundred Reiters; at whose arrival the Duke being furiously charged in the flank, and even the Light-horse recovering vigour, who before gave back, the enemies advance was stopped, until such time as new supplies coming up one after another, and the Infantry of the Camp already all in Arms, being fallen into their ranks to defend their posts, the Duke of Aumale was constrained (though still fighting) to retire; in which Retreat, with the loss of sixty of his men, and the death of *Sieur de Longchamp*, a Souldier of great experience, and of *Francisco Guewarra*, a Captain of Spanish Light-horse, he was followed to the very walls of *Han*, not having been able to give any relief at all to the besieged.

The Duke of Aumale going to relieve Noyon, after a sharp fight retreat.

But the Duke of Mayenne being advertised of the siege of *Noyon*, had diligently sent for the *Sieur de Rosne* with the Forces that were in Champagne, and for the Prince of *Ascoli*, sent by the Duke of Parma, with eight hundred Horse and three thousand Foot; and being joyned with them at *la Fere*, came up to *Han* upon the tenth of August; and having quartered his Army upon the way towards *Noyon*, but with the River between, he thought his presence would give sufficient courage

The Duke of Mayenne having heard of the siege of Noyon, marches with his Army to Han, to give courage to the besieged.

1591

to the defendants. But the King having settled his quarters in the most convenient places, and having made his approaches so far, had begun already to batter the Abbey that stood without the Fauxbourg; which was obstinately defended by the besieged, to keep the enemy as far as possible they could from the wall. The King having caused five Pieces of Cannon to be planted against this Abby, had so beaten it down, that being assaulted by the Foot, upon the eighth day they took it, killing thirty of the defendants, and taking above fifty others of them; which did so much the more weaken the Garrison, that of it self was too weak to defend the circuit of the Town. But it was necessary to suspend the progress of the siege, by reason of the Duke of Mayenne's coming: for his strength being ten thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, it was thought, that not being able to relieve the place any other way, rather than lose it, he would joyn battel with the King.

Yet the opinions in his Camp were very different: for the Prince of Ascoli thought not the loss of that place of so great concernment, that, to divert it, it was fit to incur the uncertainty of a Battel, with the hazard of those onely Forces that were in being to resist the enemy; and considered that the Pope's and Catholick King's supplies which had already passed the mountains, being expected, it would be a very strange rashness to put that now in the power of Fortune, which within a few dayes might be made more certain, and more secure. The Duke of Anmale, on the other side, thorowly vext at his late misfortune, and longing to piece it up again, argued that the loss of that place was of great moment to the affairs of the Province, for that in those quarters there remained no other important Town of their party; but that their reputation was of much greater importance, which would be much diminished, if being come up to the very face of the enemy with Forces in number not inferiour to theirs, they should let that place be taken from them without stirring, or disputing it with the sword. The Duke of Mayenne assented to the more secure advice, partly because he was of a nature not much inclined to dangerous resolutions, partly because with the Prince of Ascoli and the Spaniards he did more by intreaty then command; and he saw them very resolute in not consenting by any means to the hazard of a Battel.

The Duke of Mayenne resolves not to hazard a Battel with the King.

But the King, desirous to finde out what the enemy intended

ed, having no quicker way to make himself certain of it, caused the *Mareschal de Bron* to pass the River with the greater part of his Horse, to see if the Duke would move to fight, or keep fast in his quarters. But as soon as the *Mareschal* was advanced within sight of *Han*, and of the Army of the League, which was encamped in the midst of the great highway, he found the Country clear and free; nor did any stir out of their quarters to skirmish in the plain field: which having come to pass, not one day alone, but three together successively, the King apprehending that the Duke thought to defend *Noyon* with nothing but the reputation of his being near it, took heart, and caused the *Courtine* of *St Eloy* to be battered upon the fifteenth day; and having beaten down the Works on each side, on the sixteenth day in the morning, being resolved to give the assault, he made his Cavalry pass over the River, as he was wont to do, that they might be in readiness if the enemy should stir; and having drawn his Foot into their divisions, gave the *Baron de Bron* order to advance and assault the Town. *Monsieur de Ville* having as long as possibly he could, expected relief in vain, and seeing himself now in such a condition, that he was not able to resist that fierce assault which was preparing against him, caused a signe to be given that he would parley, and in a few hours concluded to surrender, if within two days the Duke of Mayenne did not either fight, or put at least five hundred men into the Town: which being agreed upon, and Hostages given on both sides, he dispatched a Gentleman to the Duke of Mayenne, to let him know the Agreement; who having consulted again with his Commanders, and concluded as they before had determined, drew off to the walls of *Han* the same evening; and the *Sieur de Ville* sincerely performing the Agreement, delivered up *Noyon* upon the eighteenth day into the hands of *Monsieur d'Espre* for the King.

The *Sieur de Ville* Governor of *Noyon* seeing the King's Forces ready to give the assault, parleys, and concludes to surrender the place, if it were not relieved within two dayes; which is performed.

After the taking of *Noyon*, mens mindes on both sides were taken up with the expectation of the forraign Forces, which with equal fortune delayed to appear: for the Germans, who to the number of eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse had been raised by the *Viscount de Turenne*, by the help of the Protestant Princes, moved with great difficulty for want of money, and expected that for the drawing together and maintenance of them, a great sum should be furnished from England;

1591

land; which the Queen being to raise upon her people, who had promised to pay it upon certain conditions, matters were not so soon ordered, nor did the conditions prove of mutual satisfaction: for the English, continuing desirous to recover footing in France, and particularly in Normandy, a Province in former times long possessed by them, had promised the Queen three hundred thousand Ducats to be spent in the affairs of France, provided she got some convenient Sea-port to be given her, not onely for security of their money, but also for a landing-place of Commerce, and that they might more commodiously traffique in the Kingdom of France: which being at first demanded, and now again, under pretence of the earnest importunity of her Subjects, effectually urged by the Queen, no less then liberty of conscience for the Hugonots, kept the King in a great deal of trouble, not being willing to deprive himself of *Diepe*, the place where he had tried and sustained the first encounters of his fortune; much less of *Calais*, upon which the English had too strong pretensions; and the other places were in possession of the League: wherefore he at last propounded, and (by sending the *Sieur de Salmer*, a Hugonot Gentleman) gave firm promise to the Queen that he would lay siege to the City of *Rouen*; towards the taking whereof, if the English would help with men and money, he would give thee some reasonable jurisdiction in it, to the end that they might freely and securely traffique; and then if he could take *Caudebec* and *Harfleur*, Towns near that City, he would consign unto them one of those Ports, which might serve for a free open retreat for their shipping. To which Conditions while the English unwillingly consented, and while they were treated of on both sides with usual caution, the coming of the Germans was protracted; nor could they ever be got to move, till the first one hundred thousand Ducats were paid down, and assignments given for the other two hundred thousand.

The Duke of Savoy obtains that the Popes Forces marching towards France, should stay some time in his State, to strengthen his designs against the *Sieur Les Dignieres*.

On the other side, the Duke of *Monte-Marciano*, and the Forces which from *Milan* marched towards *Flanders*, at the Duke of Savoy's urgent importunities had received orders to stay for some days within his State, to the end that with their countenance and assistance he might recover some places which had been taken from him, and repress the Forces of *Monsieur Les Dignieres*, who fiercely bestirred himself, sometimes in

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Dauphine, sometimes in Provence. The Duke was troubled that the Kings party had taken some places, though of no great importance; but he was much more troubled at a Fort which *Les Dignieres* had begun to raise over against Montmeillan: Wherefore having obtained that the Italian Army, and likewise Four thousand Swisses raised by the Pope, should stay some time with him, he spurred up *Don Amadeo* for the recovery of that Fort, called *Morestello* from the place where it was built, and he with other Forces entred into Dauphine another way, while Count *Francesco Martinengo* with the greatest strength of his Army, besieged and streightned the Town of Barre in Provence. Monsieur *Les Dignieres* who was forced sometimes to assist in the affairs of Dauphine, sometimes to help Monsieur *de la Valette* in Provence, was now set forward to raise the siege of Barre, while *la Valette* besieged and battered Gravion; but being arrived so late, that the Defendants had already articted to surrender it, after some flight encounters, he was returned with exceeding great celerity to relieve Fort *Morestello*, and with Four hundred Horse and Three thousand Foot was advanced as far as *Ponte Chiarra*, a place near and proper for his intention; which being known to the Savoyards, who were strengthened with part of the Popes Forces, they rose silently from the siege, which they had continued already many days, and leaving the Fort behinde them, encamped themselves upon the same way, by which they saw the French Army would advance. But *Les Dignieres* having himself viewed and discovered the Camp, and number of the Enemy, and making no great account of the raw men that were in that Army, in comparison of his old Soldiers, resolved to fight, thinking with a fierce boldness easily to strike a terror in them. Wherefore both the Armies being between the Mountain and the River *Isare*, in a narrow place, which favored the small number of his Forces, he parted his Infantry into two Bodies, one of which he sent up by the steep of the Hill, and the other along the bank of the River; and he, keeping the Plain with his Cavalry divided into four Squadrons, with some Muskettiers mixed and placed among the Horse, advanced resolutely to attack the Enemy. The Savoyards having drawn up the Army in very good order, advanced likewise, and received the encounter in the Front very couragiously; but while they fought

The Duke of Savoy besiegeth the Fort of Morestello.

1591

The Savoy-
ards are rout-
ed and de-
feated by the
French.

fought, and in fighting, had their eyes and mindes wholly taken up with the Enemy that was before them, they were suddenly charged in the Flank, by the Foot that were come about by the way of the Hill, which they had not taken care to make good: Wherefore being staggered at that unexpected accident, they broke their ranks, and without making much resistance easily took flight. But being come into the Plain that was behinde them, recovering courage, they fell to rally again, and once more to face about; and so much the rather, because their being stronger in Horse, and having a very spacious open field, gave them very great advantage in renewing the Battel; yet nevertheless, the Conquerors following up with wonderful speed and fury, they were terrified in such manner, that being dispersed, they were pursued to the very Walls of Montmeillan, with the loss of Fifteen hundred men, two Cornets, eighteen Foot-colours, and great store of spoil and baggage. But this unhappy accident, which cut off all hopes of making any further progress at that time, and the importunities of the Dukes of Mayenne and Lorain, to have the Popish and Spanish forces march to hinder the passage of the Germans, were the causes that Savoy being left, they advanced thorow the County of Bourgongne directly towards Lorain.

President Je-
annin returns
from Spain;
but brings no
resolution to
the Duke of
Mayenne.

The Duke of Mayenne, since the taking of Noyon, to put in order and increase his Army, had staid still at Han (whilest the King victoriously advancing, over-ran the whole Country) in which place President *Jeannin*, being returned from the Court of Spain, found him, but brought back no pleasing answer to any of those things he had negotiated with the Catholick King. The Duke of Mayenne had been of opinion, that the artificial reserved proceedings of the Spaniards had sprung from the nature and will of the Ministers ill-affected to his person, or desirous to do more then what was given them in charge by the Royal Council; he thought that the Duke of Parma, a very wary prudent Soldier, would unwillingly hazard his reputation against the King, followed by almost an invincible Nobility, and in his actions prompt, fearless and resolute; he believed that *Diego d' Ivarr*, and *Mendoza* (who for many particular accidents were ill-disposed towards him) either to make him lose his credit, or out of covetousness, did convert those moneys that were sent to other uses, and often disposed of them without his pri-
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vacy at their own pleasures, and did assuredly think that as soon as the Catholick King was once fully informed of the affairs of France, of the interests of every one, and of his pains, endeavors, and authority, he would soon resolve in favor of him, give him sufficient assistance to make an end of the War, and permit him to negotiate the getting of the Crown for himself: For this cause he had deprived himself of the help and counsel of President *Jeannin*, sending him to the Court as one privy to all his most secret thoughts, well informed of all particulars, full of wary prudence, and for experience and eloquence, able to undergo the weight of so difficult a business. But both he and the President found themselves much deceived in their opinion; for (whether that had been the aim of the Spaniards from the beginning, or that the counsel given and imprinted by the Ministers that resided in France had caused that resolution) they in Spain desired the War should be drawn out in length with a slow progress; that the Duke of Mayenne should not rise so high in credit and authority with his party, as to be able to dispose of things by himself, and that by degrees the way might be facilitated, either to the union of the Crowns, or to the election of the *Infanta Isabella*, which could not without long time and much patience be obtained; and at least (if nothing else could be done) they would make themselves sure, that so many expences and troubles should redound to the profit and augmentation of their Monarchy: Wherefore, when *Jeannin* was come thither, he in his first audience found that King *Philip* was fully informed in all things, and very far from that inclination which the Duke of Mayenne at so great a distance, had fancied to himself; yet did he with all possible arts labor in his following audiences to take away those impressions, which he thought contrary to the Dukes interests, and to perswade the King to concur with him in his own ends; but all was in vain, nor could he see, that he advanced or profited any thing; for treating about money, he not only found the King indisposed to allow a greater sum then he was wont; but even those very moneys which before were given to the D. of Mayenne, he had now determined should pass thorough the hands of his Ministers (though with the Dukes participation) alledging, that he had seen but very smal fruits of so many expences, that he would not have his supplies to be secret, but that every one should see & know from whence they came,

The King of Spains answers to President *Jeannin*.

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1591

and should be obliged for them to the principal Author. Then concerning the Armies, he said, his will was they should advance into France to help against the danger of Religion, and to establish a Catholick King that might be generally liked of; but that the Duke of Parma could not so soon leave Flanders, the States of Holland having taken Zutphen in Friesland, and other places in Brabant, and that it was needful not to proceed longer by chance, without knowing what was to be done; and that therefore it was necessary to assemble the States to resolve upon the election of a King, to the end, that they might go on with order and deliberation to a certain determinate end. Finally, as for the paying of the Duke of Mayennes French Forces raised and commanded by him, he said he was ready to do it, when the principal resolution was once taken; wherefore he concluded, that he would send a new Ambassador into France to declare his intention to the States, and to cause that to be determined of which was necessary for the perfecting of the enterprise; and that in the mean time, he would give order to the Duke of Parma to return into France as soon as the affairs of Flanders would permit; but that time was not to be lost, and that the Assembly of States ought to be appointed and called; till the end of which, he was not disposed to make any more powerful expedition of men or moneys. This was the last conclusion; nor could Jeannin, by urging the state of affairs, the diffidences of the French, the interests of that party, the merits of the house of Lorain, the pains and authority of the Duke of Mayenne, obtain any thing more: And with this resolution he was returned to give the Duke an account thereof, who more perplexed then ever he had been, and having lost the confidence that his arts should overcome those of the Spaniards, was also overtaken with new trouble, at the liberty of his Nephew Charles, Duke of Guise.

That Prince, since the death of his Father, had always been kept prisoner; nor, though his freedom had been much treated of, had any attempt ever succeeded; and the King had always stiffly denied to change him for any body, alledging, That he was not a prisoner of War, but of Justice: Nor (though his Mother made great complaints and exclamations) had the Duke of Mayenne ever cared much to get his liberty; foreseeing that his freedom would endanger the division of his party,

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by reason of the dependance that many would have upon him, in respect of the memory of his father, and of benefits received from him; and that the common people would willingly concur to exalt him: so that if he would not acknowledge his superiority, but should attempt to put himself in the place long held by his Father and Grandfather, the League was without doubt like to be divided and disunited: wherefore he designed not to apply himself in good earnest to procure his freedom, till things were reduced to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to disturb them if he were at liberty: But now, whether the King (as some believed) foreseeing the same, had underhand given way to his enlargement, or that the *Sieur de la Chastre*, an old servant and dependant of his father's, who had the near Government of *Berry*, had prosperously procured it; certain it is, that having plotted and agreed with a Lackey and a *Valet de Chambre* with a very swift horse, sent by *la Chastre*, should stay for him in the fields under the Castle of *Tours*, in which he was kept prisoner, he upon the fifteenth day of August, being risen from table about noon, and having stowed himself up in his chamber to take his rest, while the Guards that kept him, and his other servants entertained themselves merrily eating and drinking, he having locked them all externally into the room where they were at dinner, went up to the top of a Tower that stood toward the field, and with a ladder of silk, which had been secretly sent him in a Pie, let himself down the wall, with exceeding great danger; and being come safe to the ground, ran along the side of the River *Loire* towards the fields, where he found the horse and those that expected him; and with infinite speed galloped to finde the *Baron de la Maison* son to the *Sieur de la Chastre*, who stayed for him some few miles off beyond the River *Cher*, with three hundred Horse; whereupon being conveyed into *Berry*, he was received with infinite shewes of joy in the City of *Bourges*. *Monsieur de Savray* Governour of *Tours*, and *Monsieur de Guille* (who since the wound received in his left arm in those *Enterprizes*, had ever stayed in that Town) having heard news that *la Chastre's* Horse were roving about those parts, and doubting some intelligence in the City, had for some days kept the Gates shut, and looked more strictly to their Guards than they were wont: but being suddenly advertised by Captain *Rumour* Governour of the Castle of the Duke's flight, they

Charles Duke of Guise having been long kept prisoner at *Tours*, escapes at noonday, and flees to *Bourges*.

1591

entered, or feigned to enter into a much greater suspicion, and caused the Gates to be opened with so much caution (because they would first draw all the Souldiers into Arms, and make a diligent discovery without) that the Duke having had the advantage of above an hour and half, could not afterward be overtaken by those that followed him; which confirmed the jealousie some had that the King had secretly commanded he should be permitted to escape, since that all those dayes, Letters and Messages were without restraint suffered to come to him, and Presents to be sent, among which was the Pie with the silk ladder in it, without which his escape could not have been effected.

The Duke of Mayenne inwardly afflicted for the Duke of Guise's escape, strives to shew signes of joy, and treats underhand with the Cardinal of Bourbon and the other Lords that endeavour to set a third party on foot.

This news being brought to the Heads of the two parties, as it did not displease the King, who hoped some good would grow out of that evil; so did it pierce the Duke of Mayenne to the quick, especially in that present conjuncture of time, where in he was diffident of the Spaniards, and of many French of the party, who were ill-satisfied with him: yet dissembling this affliction, and not losing courage, having expressed fitting joy for the freedom of his Nephew, he exhorted him as soon as he could to come unto him, thinking that not being well informed of matters, nor known to many, as soon as he should be with him, he would yield to his age, prudence, and the possession wherein he was of governing all things: and having recourse to art, to bridle the arts of the other Confederates, he presently by the means of Monsieur de Villeroy, caused a Treaty of Intelligence to be begun with the Cardinal of Bourbon and the other Princes of the blood, whom he knew (by the relation of the Sieur des Portes) to be discontented with the King, and to try to set on foot a third and different party; judging, that he should by that means beget a jealousie in the Spaniards, and necessitate them to consent, if not to all, at least to many of his demands. Nor was Villeroy (being alwayes desirous that the War should end in an Accommodation) slack, by the means of his brother the Abbot de Chesy, to promote that Treaty, which with hopes and imaginary Conditions was artificially kept alive.

But the King (who had got an inkling of the busines) standing between the machinations of these, which did necessitate him to his conversion, & the earnest desires of the English, & of the Princes of Germany (who urged him to give them places in his

his Kingdom, and securities for the liberty of Religion, where-
in they pretended that he must still persevere, if he would
have their assistance) was no less afflicted then the Duke of
Mayenne: which affliction increased much, after he was arrived
at Sedan: for the moneys of England were not yet disbursed,
and the Germans had therefore delayed their coming so long,
that it was thought the Popish and the Spanish Forces would get
into Lorain before them: and to his other troubles was ad-
ded, that *Charlotte de la Mark* Heiress of that Dutchy, being
kept in that City, of an age ripe and marriageable, he was forced
to take a resolution of matching her, lest the Duke of Lo-
rain preventing him (as he had a most earnest desire) should
give her to wife to one of his sons. As the importance of that
Dutchy, and particularly of the City of Sedan, did necessitate
the King to provide that it might not fall to the Duke of Lo-
rain; so did it keep him in great doubt to whom he should give
that Lady in Marriage, who carried with her the possession of
a State of so great consequence. *Carlo Gonzaga* son to the
Duke of Nevers, aspired to this Match, confining with her
lands by the Dutchy of *Retelois*, whereof he bore the title;
but her being of the Hugonot Religion, as likewise the peo-
ple and Gentry of those places, was the cause the King would
not resolve to satisfy him, lest he should alienate that party
from him, and discontent those whom he laboured to keep with
so much pains and industry. On the other side, he doubted
lest the Duke of Nevers (of a nature apt to take disquits)
should be offended, if he should propose any other Match of
inferiour quality to his son: Which contrary considerations,
after they had held him some days in suspence, it being necessa-
ry to resolve, at last he concluded to marry her to the Vis-
count *de Turenne*, as well because of the confidence he had in
him, as because he was of the same Religion; and much
more to reward him for his excellent service done in raising
and bringing in the forreign Army: but it presently produ-
ced that effect which the King had before apprehended: for
the Duke of Nevers was incensed to such a height, that he be-
gan to incline to those that pressed his conversion, and to hold
secret intelligence with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Duke of
Longueville his son-in-law, and with the rest of the new par-
ty, who made shew to move principally for Religion, which
they said was trampled under foot, and themselves deceived,
while

Charlotte de la Mark Heir to the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, is given in Marriage to *Henry de la Tour Viscount de Turenne* at which the Duke of Nevers is disquitted.

1591

while notwithstanding all promises, those were advanced in strength and power, who openly professed to live and die Hugonots. Nor was there any other remedy for this mischief, save to be incessantly in action, and not to suffer idleness to give nourishment to those thoughts, but to let victorious enterprises put to silence and quiet those spirits which were yet kept hidden in the breasts of men: for which cause, he laboured so much in soliciting the march of the German Army, and in sending them those sums by little and little, which with infinite diligence he had been able to get together from several parts, that in the end he joyned with them, before the Popish and Spanish Armies were come up to cross that union, as the Duke of Mayenne had ever striven and endeavoured to do: so great an error, that it rendered vain all those so vast expences made, and so many labours undergone, for the gathering together and bringing in of those Forces: for they having inconsiderately spent their time in Savoy, to attend businesses that did no ways advance the sum of the War, arrived not soon enough to hinder the King's joyning with the Germans, upon which depended the principal point of the War of this year.

The King being joyned with the German Army, takes Attigny, whither all the wealth of the neighbouring people had been brought in, and grants the pillage of it to the Germans.

Now the King united, without opposition, with the Viscount de Turenne, and having taken many Castles about Metz and Sedan, at last assaulted Attigny a great Town, into which all the riches, goods and cattel of the neighbouring places were reduced, and having very prosperously taken it, he gave all the pillage (which was very great) unto the Germans, who being ill provided of money, were refreshed and quieted for some time: after which booty, the King (always ready to embrace valiant counsels) thought good to try whether the Commanders of the League had the heart to come to a Battle: wherefore having known that the Forces of the Pope, the Duke of Lorain, and the Duke of Mayenne, were all at last joyned together at Verdun, he would needs draw up to them, and provoke them by his presence, and all other possible means to put it to a day, judging the Italian Forces to be yet raw, and the Duke of Lorain's not well assured, and therefore no way to be compared to his.

Wherefore being departed from Attigny upon the first of October, he quartered that night with his Vanguard at Grandpre, upon which day Monsieur d'Amblise, who commanded

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part of the Lorain Forces, having marched from Montfaulcon, joyned with the Army of the League. The next day about noon the King arrived with his Army within sight of Verdun, spreading his Squadrons largely imbattelled along the Plain. On the other side, they of the League who were encamped without the City, drew themselves up in Battalia under the Walls; the Italians having the Right Wing, the Duke of Lorain the Battel, and the Duke of Mayennes French the Left; yet the Duke himself commanding and ordering the whole Camp as he pleased. At the first arrival, there began so great and so hot a skirmish between the two Armies, that many of the Commanders themselves thought it would be a battel; for the Sieurs de Praslin, de la Cuvée, d' Arges, and the Baron de Ginry with the Kings Light-horse, in four Divisions advanced to the very face of the Enemy to skirmish, being seconded on the right hand, and on the left, by the Count de Brienne, and the Sieur de Marivaut, with two hundred Cuirassiers; and on the other side, Cavalier Avolio, Ottavio Cesis, and Ascanio della Cornia were likewise advanced with the Popes Light-horse, and the Sieur d' Amblise seconded them with a Body of Lorain Lances. But though the skirmish was very fierce in the beginning, the Sieur de Praslins horse being killed under him, and the Sieur de la Cuvée thrown to the ground with the shock of a Lance, the Italians behaving themselves very gallantly every-where; yet were the Dukes of Lorain and Mayenne resolved not to fight, because the Catholick Kings forces that were come out of Italy (following their wonted counsels) had denied to follow them, and were marched streight to joyn with the Duke of Parma, and the Popes Swisses were not above three thousand: Wherefore not thinking themselves strong enough to deal with the Kings Army in so open a place, as is the Plain that lies before Verdun, the skirmish by their order cooled by little and little, and they drawing back their men under the Walls (yet without shew of fear) the King took up his quarters, and entrenched himself within sight of the Town, and of their Army.

The King reinforced by the German supplies brought by the Viscount de Turenne, offers battel to the Duke of Mayenne in the Plain of Verdun.

All sorts of provisions came in plentifully to the Camp of the League, and the City furnished them with many conveniences, not onely for victual, but for lodging under cover; whereas the King in the midst of an enemies Country, and the weather being very rainy, suffered both for want of victual, and

1591

and conveniency, nor could his Soldiers (accustomed to another kinde of Discipline) endure the hardship and incommo-
dities of lying in the field in so contrary a season. To other things was added a most cruel storm that night, with thunders, whirlwinds, and infinite rain, which spoiling all the Soldiers Huts, and overflowing all the Plain, put the whole Army in wonderful confusion: Wherefore next day, the King, after he had stood firm in Battalia for many hours, and none of the enemies appearing in the field, faced about with his Army, and marched back to quarter again at Grandpre. There the Germans were like to have mutinied, not being paid the money that had been promised them: Wherefore the King, who could now do no less then perform his promises to the Queen of England, that he might receive the other Two hundred thousand ducats, having made provision at Sedan (with the Jewels and credit of the Princess *Charlotte*) of a certain sum of money to quiet his Germans, took without delay the way towards Normandy, to besiege at last the City of Rouen.

The Duke of Mayenne, contrary to whose expectation the Popes forces had so long delaid their coming, and who had also seen the King of Spains march straight towards Lorain, without making any stay, presently dispatched the Count *de Brissac* to the Duke of Parma, to protest unto him, that if he entred not into the Kingdom, or sent not such Supplies as should be sufficient to oppose the King, the affairs of the League, and the state of Religion would be very much endangered, and that he should not be able to hinder many from making their peace, as (seeing the slowness and ill counsels of the Confederates) they daily threatned. The Duke made this protestation more at large to *Diego d' Ivara*, who was there present, shewing him the wonderful ill effect which the delays and secret practices of the Spaniards did produce; for if all the Catholick Kings expences and forces which he had granted severally, to this man, and to that, in Bretagne, Provence, Savoy, and Languedoc, had been put into one Body, and all imployed to the root of the business, and to the Spring-head of affairs, the victory over the King would thence have ensued, and also the suppression of their enemies in all places; but whilst the division of the League was endeavored, whilst his counsels were not believed, and whilst the Duke of Parma would not advance, the King had found opportunity to receive

receive his Foreign forces ; and now being grown powerful, he over-ran all France at his pleasure, to the admiration and grief of all good men. But these Protestations and Reasons not availing with *Diego d' Ivarra*, who had received another impression ; and was otherwise inclined ; and the cause from whence this hardness proceeded, being clearly seen by the relation of President *Jeannin*, the Dukes of Lorain and Mayenne not being able any other way to hinder it, agreed together (though secretly) in this general, to keep close and united together, and not to suffer that any should be admitted to the Crown, not onely who was a stranger, but who was not of their own Family ; and, that if they were constrained to yield to any other persons, a Prince of the Blood of the Catholick Religion should be chosen, and never to consent, either to the alienation or division of the Kingdom. With this firme resolution, confirmed also by a Writing which they signed, the Duke of Mayenne set himself in order to prosecute the War, and being departed from Verdun, with the Popes Army and his own, and with the Supplies he had obtained from the Duke of Lorain (who gave way that the Count *de Vandemont*, the Count *de Chaligny*, and the Sieur *de Bassompierre* should follow him) he took the way toward Champagne, that he might not go too far from the Confines, till he heard the determinations of Flanders.

The Dukes of Lorain and Mayenne agree secretly not to condescend to the election of any to be K. of France, not onely that was a stranger, but also that was not of their Family, or at least a Prince of the Blood of the Catholick Religion.

When the Duke was arrived at Retel in Champagne, the Duke of Guise came up to him, accompanied with Six hundred horse, all Gentlemen, who upon the fame of his being at liberty, were come in to him ; and though at his arrival, their greetings and outward actions shewed kindness and confidence in one another ; yet did not their secret discourses correspond, either to that kindness or confidence : For just as the Duke of Mayenne had suspected, all those that were unsatisfied with him, turned their eyes upon this young Prince, full of high spirits, of an handsom presence, courteous and affable in his behavior, and which imported more then all, heir to his Fathers name, and to that love which all the people of France had profusely born him. The Parisians, and particularly the Council of Sixteen, who could not endure to be kept under by the Duke of Mayenne, and that he should dispose of the Offices of the City as he pleased, without confiding in any of their number, did openly call upon the name, and desire

The Duke of Mayenne being at Retel, the Duke of Guise comes to him well accompanied, and is receiv'd with outward shews of love, but in their secret conferences, their confidence is not correspondent.

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1591

the exaltation of this Prince; and even the Spaniards applying themselves to do him all possible honors, set him as a counterpoise against the Duke of Mayenne, with whom they had no good intelligence, because they saw him little inclined to favor their designs. The *Sieur de la Chastre*, the *Sieur de Vins*, and Colonel *St. Paul* followed him particularly, as in the general all those that had been obliged by, or had depended upon his Father; and he, though new come into play, and little informed of affairs, was not in any way failing unto himself: Wherefore being by the Duke of Mayenne and the *Sieur de Bassompierre*, made acquainted what they had agreed upon with the Duke of Lorain, *viz.* Not to suffer any to rise to the Crown that was not of their Family; and in case they were forced otherwise, to name a Prince of the Blood; he at first excused himself, that he had not yet any information of businesses, and afterwards demanded time to confer with the Dutches his Mother; and finally concluded, that he would not alienate himself from the Spaniards, but would first hear the Duke of Parma's opinions, and after dispatch men expressly to that Court, to treat of his affairs with the Catholick King: Nevertheless, the Duke of Mayenne full of moderation, and accustomed to overcome all encounters with patience, commending his Nephews resolution, and making shew that he would favor his advancement, labored to keep him near himself, not to give him means or conveniency to think or treat of new designs.

At the news of the death of Pope Gregory the Fourteenth, the Duke of Montemarciano interposes delays, and declares that he will depend upon the will of the Duke of Parma.

Whilest they passed the time here in these businesses, expecting the Count of *Brissac's* return, and the answer from Flanders, the news of the Popes death arrived, which bred new difficulties in all things; for the Duke of Montemarciano, not knowing what the Cardinals would determine during the vacancy, nor what the Pope that should be chosen would do, began to interpose delays, and to say he would not stir from what the Duke of Parma should resolve, and *Monsignore Matteucci*, Archbishop of Ragusa, Commissary of the Camp, having but little money, proposed the dismissing of the Swisses, till new orders (which were to be expected from Rome) should come; which things, while they detain the Duke of Mayenne in the same place, a new troublesome accident had like to have turned all the affairs of the League upside down.

The Parisian Council of *Sixteen*, most nearly united with the

the Preachers, and with the Colledge of Sorbonne, having from the very beginning been the basis and foundation of the League, had always pretended to rule matters their own way; wherein carrying themselves with those passions and affections that are proper to factious persons, without any regard to the conservation of the members of the Crown, or to the decency and reputation of the French Nation, they onely laboured for those things that might suppress the King, whom they perfectly hated, extinguish the name and party of the Hugonots, and put the reins of Government into the hands of persons that might rule according to their desire and appetite. But the Duke of Mayenne, though he owed to these the beginning of his exaltation, the maintenance of the League, the support of the War, and the late defence of Paris, was not yet inclined to follow their wayes, but rather (wholly intent upon keeping the Kingdom entire) strove to bridle and moderate their turbulent spirit; wherefore he had from the beginning instituted the Council of State, contradiunct from this, where were many prudent moderate men, who did counterbalance and restrain the course of things: among these, the Archbishop of Lyons, the Sieur de Villeroy, President Jeannin, the Bishop of Meaux, and the Sieur de Villeroy, who were all averse from the Spanish attempts, and from the inconsiderate zeal of the Preachers. The Duke had also ever endeavoured to maintain the authority of the Parliament in credit and vigour, referring many important businesses unto it, and bearing great respect to the Decrees which in divers matters were made by those Counsellours: and though the fidelity of the first President Briffon, and many others had been suspected, as if they would have laboured to make the City revolt unto the King's party; yet he dissembling the matter, was not sorry that one Council should counterpoise the other, and was always displeased when the *Sixteen* accused him and many others of the Council, of treachery: for though he saw that some of them were inclined to the King, and managed businesses in favour of him, he did not believe they could do much hurt, but rather help exceedingly to restrain the impetuous determinations of the *Sixteen*, by which he feared to be turned about, if the Parliament should sink in credit and authority. This secret emulation between the Parliament, and the Council of State on the one side, and the Council of *Sixteen* on the

The Council of 16 falls into an emulation with the Parliament of Paris, and with the Council of State chosen by the Duke of Mayenne.

1591

other, discovered it self by little and little, and proceeded so far, that as these were partial to the greatness and authority of the Duke of Mayenne, so the others made themselves favourers of the Spanish demands, and in many things contrary to the Duke. These were those who in the siege precipitately made many of the Citizens to be executed, that were suspected to be for the King: these, fomented by the Duke of *Nemours*, contradicted the election which the Duke had made of the Officers of the City; and these were the very same that were authors and introducers of the Spanish Garrison: and they did often labour that the Catholick King might have the *Marks of Justice*, and be acknowledged as Patron of the League, and Protector of the Crown of France. But now, these passion of the men still increasing, being unsatisfied with the Duke of Mayenne, whom they taxed of fear and meanness of spirit; and being mad against the Parliament, whose gravity they saw withstood their power, they were grown bold and presumptuous since the Duke of *Guise* was at liberty, and since the Spaniards (having discovered the agreement between the Dukes of Mayenne and Lorain) began openly to try to pull it down, and to draw unto themselves the Forces of the party, the strength whereof consisted in the City of Paris. These had the common people at their devotion, not only by reason of their natural dependence as fellow-Citizens, but also because they were weary of Contributions, which the greedy nature of the Duke of Mayenne did often multiply beyond what was fit; the disburſing of them afterwards not excusing the weight of those burdens with his honour and equity. Wherefore some of the chief of the *Sixteen*, that were most affectionate to the party (whom they called *Zealots*) began to contrive the way to abase the authority of the Parliament, that they might be able more easily to dispose of the affairs of the City, and put it either under the Duke of *Guise*, or the immediate protection of King *Philip*. The Spanish Ministers assented to, or rather concurred in this attempt; and no less then they, the Bishop of *Piacenza*, who since the Pope's death was wholly turned to favour Spain; and the principal men were the *Sieur de Bussy* Governour of the *Bastille*, the *Sieur de Cromay* Counsellor of the Great Council, Commissary *Louchart*, *Ameline* an Advocate, *Olivier* a Treasurer, *Boucher* a Divine, Father *Commolet* a Jesuite, and divers others of the same condition. After many consultations

ons and debates among them, by advice of the Bishop of *Piacenza*, they chose four of the *Sixteen*, who should go to the Duke of Mayenne to carry their complaints, and to demand that the Council of State might be replenished with sufficient faithful men, and such as the City might confide in; That that Council might alwayes reside in Paris; That the Treasurers Accounts might be overlooked, and especially of one *Ribes*, that kept the Duke of Mayenne's particular coffers; That this might be done by select persons approved of by the Council of the *Union*; That the *Gabelles* might be taken away, which were newly imposed by the Governour *Belin*, and the *Prevost des Marchands*; That the City-Garrison might be payed and increased for their security: and finally, That President *Brisson* (against whom they carried a whole heap of complaints) and some other principal men of the Parliament, might be put out of their Offices, and severely and exemplarily punished and rooted out, as Traitors and Rebels.

These four Deputies came to *Rheims* at the time when the Duke of Mayenne was gone into Lorain; and having waited for him many days, they at last found him at *Retel*; where having been heard by him, they were at first sharply reprehended as men that demanded too much, and aspired unto an absolute power: but afterward, not to exasperate them utterly, he used them more favourably in their other audiences, shewing them, that whilst he was busied with the enemy, he had not leasure to attend those matters: that in due time and place, he would come personally to Paris, to give them all possible satisfaction; and that in the interim they should abstain from meddling with new designs, which put all things in confusion, and doing themselves harm, did wonderfully advantage the enemy. But these men being returned to Paris, not much edified by the Duke's Answer, and particularly offended at his first reprehension of them, in stead of moderating, increased the boldness of the rest, exclaiming afresh against the Duke, and saying it was necessary to take some resolution, for that they had found him wholly averse from their intentions: wherefore all of them boiling with anger, thinking themselves undervalued by the Duke, & at last being resolved either to abase, or absolutely to change the Parliament, that they might govern the City their own way, they began to stir up the people, perswading them that Religion was betrayed, and that the Parliament endeavoured to put the City into the hands of the *Navarrois*. It

1591

Brigard, who had been imprisoned upon suspicion of Plots against the League, being escaped, the Judges that made his process are by the people in Arms tumultuously put in prison, and by the Council of 16 are caused to be strangled, as accomplices in his flight.

It happened that *Brigard*, one of the first fomenters of the League of Paris, having been accused, as if (having changed his minde) he held intelligence, and plotted secretly in favour of the King, was by the instigation of the *Sixteen* violently cast in prison: but in the mean time, while they proceeded slowly against him with due proofs, he found means, either by money, or his own industry, to escape out of the place where he was kept, and also to get secretly out of the City, and out of the hands of his enemies: which thing seemed very foul to the Council of *Sixteen*, and thinking he had been maliciously let go, by the Judges themselves who made his Process, being raised to the height of their fury, and with this incentive fomented by the Spanish Ministers, and by the Garison which depended on them, they put the people in Arms upon the fifteenth of November in the morning, and, without further consideration, being led by the *Sieur de Buffe* and *Commissary Louchart*, having taken and blocked up all the ways that led to the Palace of Justice, they took prisoners the first President *Briffon*, *Claude l'Archer*, and *Jehan Tardif*, one Councellour of the Chasteler, and the other of the Court, who were the same men that had made the Process of *Brigard*; these being brought fast bound to the Chasteler, the same day, without any lawfull form of Process, but some precipitate information taken by the *Sieur de Cromay*, were strangled in prison, and the next morning ignominiously hanged up in publick upon the gallows. Then, as if they had obtained some signal Victory, running up and down the City with the common people armed and furious, they set their Guards in many places, and threatned to take the same course against many others. The Governour desiring to put some stop to these proceedings, being also advised to it by the *Duchesses of Nemours* and *Montpensier*, began to try whether the strangers of the Garison would obey him: but having found them all disposed to favour the Council of *Sixteen*, and their present actions; and *Alessandro de Monti* having freely said, that he would not stir against those who sincerely managed the Cause of God and of all good men; he thought it a better way to go out unarmed to parly with them, and to endeavour to appease the people, and in part remedy those mischiefs that were like to follow: But neither did this succeed: for they valued him but little, and the *Prevost des Merchants* much less, desiring ardently to put

put them both out. All the sixteenth day was spent in this tumult; and on the seventeenth in the morning, their Council being met in the house of a Divine, named *Pellettier*, Curate of *St. Jacques de la Boucherie*, they resolved to put themselves freely under the King of Spains protection, and in the mean time to present some Articles to the Council of State, for the Government of the City; which by all means they would have accepted and put in execution. The Articles contained, That a Court of Justice should be formed of men of their party, which should proceed against Hereticks and favorers of the *Navarrois*; thinking with the Judgments and Executions of this, to destroy and annihilate the Parliament: That all Commerce with those of *St. Denis* should be broken; which the Duke of Mayenne had established, to facilitate the concourse of victuals: That the Imposts upon Wine should be taken away; and that the Account of all those should be overlooked, who had managed the moneys raised by the Contributions and *Gabelles* of the City: That the moneys that came in by the ordinary Imposts, should not be spent but in the payment of the Garison, which should be increased with foreigners, either *Walloons*, *Italians*, or *Spaniards*: That the Council of State should be filled up to a certain number; and the men that should be chosen of it, were named by them: That likewise a Council of War might be framed, whereof some Colonels of the City were to be, and the chief Commanders of the *Foreign Militia*; without the consent of which Council, the Governor should not be able to resolve any thing: And finally, That the Seals of the Crown, which the Duke of Mayenne carried about wheresoever he was himself, should remain constantly in the City, and not be removed to any other place. This being resolved on, they presently dispatched Father *Claudio Mattei* with Letters to King *Philip*, in which they prayed him to take upon him their protection and government: And having with cries and clamors made the Council of State to be assembled, they propounded the Articles, to the end they might be confirmed and executed. The Governor and *Prevost des Marchands*, with some of the gravest *Eschevins*, endeavored to get the benefit of time, alledging, that the day was too far spent, and hoping that by delay, the ardor of the people would be cooled: But the Council, according to their advice, having determined to stay till the next day,

The Council of Sixteen resolves to put it self under the protection of the Catholick King.

The Contents of certain Articles made by the Council of Sixteen.

1591

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the Duke of
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of the
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day, the *Sixteen* with the people in arms stopt *Madam de Nemours* as she was going out from the Council, and would by all means have the Articles confirmed; which the Council having chosen to do, as the lesser evil, the Dutches her self carrying forth the Decree that was made about it, praid them with gentle words to forbear the execution of it till her Son, the Duke of Mayenne, had given his consent, without whose knowledge it was not fit things of so great importance should be done; that the delay was but for a few days, that the Council, and she her self would dispatch the *Sieur de Bourg* to the Duke to carry him the Decree, and bring back his confirmation of it, and she assured them they should remain fully contented and satisfied. The fury of the people being in part appeased with this grant, they began to lay down their arms, and to be quiet again, expecting the resolution of the Duke; who from *Retel*, being gone to *Laon*, to meet with the Dutches, Mother to the Duke of Guise, upon the Twentieth day in the evening, received the news of what had happened in Paris.

He was wonderfully moved at so dangerous an accident, which was about to strike directly at his authority, but yet would not shew any trouble of minde, lest the Duke of Guise who was present, should take notice of his anger against his dependants, but only said, that he would expect the *Sieur du Bourg* (who the Governor wrote him word, was immediately to depart) to be better informed of the business, and that it was good to remedy popular commotions with gentleness, and not to be incensed against them, to avoid greater scandals and more pernicious errors; for the people drawn by a good zeal, do ordinarily move without consideration. These words setled the minde of the Duke of Guise, who was afraid lest he should prove cruel against his dependants, and the discourses of the next day quieted him much more; so that though the Duke of Mayenne said he would go to Paris to prevent those mischiefs that might happen by the divisions of mens mindes; yet he let himself be perswaded to stay, because he had the command of the Army, and was to meet with the Duke of Parma; who being come to *Valenciennes*, was in the end of the moneth to be at Guise, that they might resolve together of the time and manner of his coming. The *Sieur du Bourg* arrived the day following, from whom the Duke had the

the whole narration of the businesse, and of the Decree that had been made in the Council of State to appease the people; whereupon being resolved to depart, and determining with himself to establish his own power and authority by this occasion, he dispatched Monsieur de Rosne to the Duke of Parma, to excuse him if he could not be at the place appointed upon the prefixed day, and left the charge of the Army; and of meeting with the Duke of Parma to the Duke of Guise; but with such caution, that to the end he might not be able to do any thing in arms, he gave secret orders to Rosne and Tavannes, who were Marshalls of the field, that they should neither draw forth Artillery nor Ammunition, which were all at La Fere; and he gave the Duke of Guise no information of all of the particulars that were to be treated of with the Duke of Parma, to the end he might not be able to conclude any thing of moment; and having obtained of the Duke of Montemarcano and of Commissary Matteucci, that the Swiss might not be dismissed at that time, and that all the Forces should stay till his return, shewing haste and want of time, he took with him the Counts of Vandemont, Chaligny, and Bissac, the Sieurs de Bassompierre and Villeroy, with seven hundred of his best Horse, part French, part Lorainers, and departed upon the 24th in the morning towards Paris; leaving President Jeannin with the Duke of Guise, to moderate his Counsels and to observe his carriage.

The same night Don Diego d'Alvarra went the same journey (though the Duke had desired him to stay) not being willing to let himself be deceived as the Duke of Guise had been, but being by all means resolved with his help and counsell to assist against the danger of the Spanish adherents. The Duke making speed in his journey, would yet nevertheless take with him two Regiments of Foot that were at Saissy, and having received the Sieur de Vitry with two hundred other Horse at Meaux, he arrived neer the City of Paris upon the twenty eighth day in the evening. The Sixteen, with the Preachers, and the Colledge of Sorbonne, seeing the Duke come armed, and knowing that the Governour and the Prouost des Marchands, with the dependants of the Council of State and Parliament would be powerfull in the Citie (though Buffy kept the Bastille for them) being much affrighted, propounded to appease him with words and demonstra-

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tions, and sent four of the chief of them, with many of the Citizens to meet him, to the end they might endeavour to divert the anger which they imagined he came withall. These met him at the Abby of *S^t Anthoyne* without the walls, and with a discourse full of submission strove to perswade him, that all had been done to an extreme good end, for the safety of the City, the conservation of Religion, the maintenance of his own authority, and to satisfie the people, that were desperate because there was no shew at all made against those Rebels and disturbers of the publick Peace: that this had been chosen as the least evill, to the end that the people enrag'd might not make some bloody tumult: that those who had been executed were manifestly guilty, as he might see by the proofs, which though they were not accompanied with the wonted forms of justice, were at least true, reall, and manifest: that the Articles propounded to the Councillors of State, were by them accounted reasonable; yet that neverthelesse they submitted them to his censure: and finally, they put him in mind how much they had done and suffered for the greatnesse of his House, and for his own exaltation, and besought him to make himself be known for an indulgent loving Father, and not for a punctuall severe Prince. The Duke, who desired not to receive any obstacle at his entring into Paris, but to be let in with his Forces without resistance, excellently dissembling the injury he had received, and the anger that was kindled in him, welcomed them all severally, and answered them in general, that he came to the Citie for no other end, and with no other intention but to secure it, as he that knew well, the sustentation of Religion, and his own hopes were all founded and placed in that people, and in the Councell of *Sixteen* the first authours and framers of his party: with which words and outward shows, having in great part assured their minds, he entered that night into the City when it was late, and being conducted to his *Hofel*, he held the same discourse with many, knowing that by proceeding so, if he should finde opposition, he might attribute the pardon to his own will; and if he could execute his intentions, those outward demonstrations could not hurt or prejudice him in any manner. A while after him arrived *Diego d'Iwarra*, who being come to him with the other Spanish Ministers, they strove together to perswade him not to shew any resentment of what was

was past, but to give satisfaction to the people for the time to come; since the things that had happened, though they were done without due orders and forms of Justice, were yet good in themselves, and profitable for the conservation of Religion; and that in the distractions of Civil Wars, the ordinary rules of good Government cannot be so well observed, but many things are done to a good end in the heat of dangers, which in quiet peacefull times would in no wise be suffered; That he himself had proceeded in that manner at *la Fere*, without forming any Process against the Marquess *de Menelay*, whom he had caused to be killed; for otherwise that place could not have been kept; That therefore it was better to quiet all things by approving what was fallen out, then by going about to punish any one, to kindle new discords, and more dangerous tumults. The Duke answered with the same moderation, and so parted with the Spaniards: but having taken information of the Forces that were in the City, and having been told by the Governor, and the *Prevost des Merchands*, that the greater and better part of the people would be at his devotion, he caused the Colonels of the City to guard their several Quarters that night; and in the morning, having put in Arms the Foot and Horse he brought with him, he went up the *rue St Anthoine*, and sent to command the *Sieur de Buffy* at that very instant to deliver up the *Bastille* into his hands: he excusing himself, interposing delays, and demanding security that he should be harmless; the Duke caused the Artillery to be taken out of the *Arcenal*, and began to make them be drawn that way: whereat the Governour of the *Bastille* affrighted (being a man more accustomed to any thing then the exercise of Arms) and not seeing that any in the City stirred in favour of him; for the Governor and *Prevost* had possessed and blocked up all the wayes; he at last, after many Treaties, agreed to leave the *Bastille*, receiving a promise not onely from the Duke, but from many others, that his life should be given him; and yet being come home to his house, he was assaulted the same evening, and was necessitated to save himself, by getting over the tops of houses, with much ado, and with very great danger; and after some few days (the Duke winking at it) he fled secretly from the City, and went to live in another place. *Buffy* being out of the *Bastille*, the Duke chose the *Sieur du Bourg* (a man va-

1591

The Duke of Mayenne being come to Paris to appease the Insurrection, takes the Bastille, kept by the Sieur de Buffs; and having set strong guards in the several quarters of the City, causes four of the chief of the Council of 16 which were most guilty to be strangled.

liant and trusty) Governour of it, and put such a Garrison into it, as secured it from all danger that might happen: which done, he the next morning sent the Sieur de Vitry with his Horse, (the streets being still blocked up, and the Militia in Arms) and caused to be taken prisoners at their own houses, Commissary Louchart, Captain Emmonot, Barthelemy Anronx Colonel of the Quarter of the Carmelites, and Ameline the Advocate, Cromay the Counsellour being stolen away, and secretly fled: for being hid by the Spaniards, he continued many days in the habit of a Souldier, among those of the Garrison, and went afterwards into Flanders, where he lived in great necessity. These four, judged to be the most faulty of the Sixteen, were the next day strangled by the Hang-man in a chamber of the *Louvre*, and after publickly hanged upon the gallows; the example sufficing the Duke to recover his authority and reputation, without shewing cruelty in the blood of so many others that were guilty of the same crime. This severity did wonderfully terrifie the Preachers, and the Colledge of *Sorbonne*: but the Duke, not willing to lose them, nor to put himself upon an enterprize that might be sinisterly interpreted, nor yet to make so great a confusion as might cause some division in his party, went personally to the Church of the *Sorbonne*, and there with grave and moderate words assured them of his favour and protection: and said, That in consideration of their former vertue and constancy, he pardoned the present disobedience and conspiracy; and, making shew to do it for their sake, he caused an Edict to be published, wherein declaring that he had satisfied Justice by the punishment of four seditious persons, he granted pardon to all the rest, imposing silence and oblivion to what was past. Out of this Pardon he excepted the Counsellour Cromay, Adrian Cocher, and the * *Greffier* that wrote the Sentence against Brisson; who afterwards perished diversly by divers wayes. At the same time he also decreed, that experience having shewn how pernicious those Meetings and Conventicles were which were made secretly without the presence of the publick Magistrate, none should upon pain of death any more assemble any other Councils within the City or without, save the ordinary Council of the *Union*, with the assistance or presence of the lawfull Magistrates. These Decrees, registred with full consent of the Parliament, put an end to the power of

* Or, *Notary*.

of the *Sixteen*, and did something slacken and retard the designs and machinations of the Spanish Ministers.

But as soon as the Duke of *Parma* knew distinctly the things that had passed in Paris, he shewed himself infinitely ill satisfied at all that had been done, publicly blamed the little consideration of the other Ministers, who, to get a vain dependance of the basest dregs of the people, disgusted and alienated the Duke of *Mayenne*, in whose hand the Arms and strength of the party were, and without whom, it was not to be thought that any good could be brought to a conclusion: he testified to the *Sieur de Rosne*, that those things were done without his privity; praised the Duke of *Mayenne* for punishing the delinquents, and for his prudent moderation: and when the Duke of *Guise* came to him to *Valenciennes*, though he honoured him with all possible demonstrations, yet he refused to treat with him about any thing without his Uncle's presence and consent. He saw that all the rest of the party were ill grounded; That there was no sure foundation to be made upon the people; That the Nobility depended upon the Duke, and the strong places were held by men that he confided in; That he alone, with his prudence and valour, was fit to manage all the rest: wherefore he assented not to the counsel of exasperating him, and putting him in despair, from whence he knew the resolution taken with the Duke of *Lorain* had proceeded; being certain, that when he should once see himself unable to keep up his dignity, and the Place which he held, he would presently make an Agreement with the King: nor did he doubt but all other French-men, except some few, would follow his counsel and authority. Wherefore he saw clearly, that having a desire to prosecute the designe that was begun, it was necessary to proceed slowly and cunningly, and not to put all things in confusion, and the minds of the French in terror and suspicion, by a precipice of furious resolutions.

To this effect he wrote into Spain, and gave the same advertisement to the Ministers of State that were in France; though in both places they were of another minde, and particularly, in the Council of Spain they thought that by sending small supplies into several Provinces, they should gain themselves many dependants, alienating them from the Duke of *Mayenne*, and that so the War would be nourished and prolonged, with less expence

The Duke of Parma declares that he had not been privy to the commotion of the Parisians, praises the Duke of Mayenne for having punished the delinquents; and having met with the Duke of Guise at Valenciennes, refuses to treat with him without the presence of the Duke of Mayenne.

1591

The Spaniards grant small supplies to divers French Heads of the League, to alienate them from the Duke of Mayenne, and divide them from the body of the League.

The Duke of Mercœur with the Spaniards, and the Prince of Dombes with the English, face one another in Bretagne.

expence and more advantage: to this purpose they had granted assistance of men to the Duke of Joyeuse in Guascogne, to the end that he might sustain the War on that side near the *Pirenean* mountains: for this purpose they had sent the Duke of Savoy three thousand Foot, and three hundred thousand Ducats, that he might maintain the War in Provence and Dauphine; and for the same effect they had sent *Aquila's Tertia* into Bretagne, to gain the Duke of Mercœur; who with that assistance advancing his own affairs, this year in the beginning of the Spring had almost driven the Prince of Dombes out of the confines of that Province: but the English being come, who landed at *Brest* without any hinderances, busineses were equally balanced; so that after many petty encounters, which imported not much to the sum of affairs, the Armies at last came to face one another.

The Duke of Mercœur was strong in Light-horse led by the Marquis *de Belle-Isle*, son to the Marechal *de Retz*, and powerfull in Foot by vertue of the Spanish *Tertia*, who were no less expert in Manufactures then in the matters of the War. On the other side, the Prince was accompanied with great store of Gentry, and therefore had a good Body of Horse, though in Foot, by reason the English were raw men; and the French all Muskietiers, he was not to be compared to the Army of the League: For this cause, though they were within half a mile of one another, the Duke kept himself intrenched and encamped in mountainous woody places, advantageous for Foot; and the Prince was drawn out into the field, where the squadrons of Cavalry might spread and enlarge themselves as they pleased: and neither of them being willing to stir from their advantage, (after three days of obstinate continuance in that manner, in which time there happened many encounters) they both took a resolution to retire, and went to besiege several places.

But the King having about this time sent the *Sieur de la Noue* with eight hundred Germans to assist the Prince as his Lieutenant in the managing of the War, they resolved, being thus strengthened in Foot, to turn again toward the enemy, and try some opportunity to get the better of him: but it was hard for them to meet; for the Duke of Mercœur, a discreet wary Souldier, would not put all he possessed in the Province (which was a great deal) into the power of Fortune; but

but having the assistance and money of Spain, endeavoured to tire out the Enemy; and on the other side, *la Noüe* moderating the Prince's forwardnesse with wise provident counsels would not suffer him to incur the danger of a battell without manifest advantage. Wherefore after divers encounters and various attempts on both sides, to bring the Enemy under, the Duke at last went to assault *S^t Maximin*, and the Prince marched to besiege *Lambale*, which having battered, and with his Artillery made a convenient breach in the wall, while the *Sieur de la Noüe*, went personally to view it and the works of the Town, he received a musket-shot in the head, of which he died within a few dayes after, having in an inconsiderable action (as it often happens) unexpectedly met death, which he had not feared in so many difficult and glorious enterprises.

The *Sieur de la Noüe* going to view the breach and the works at *Lambale*, is killed with a Musket-shot in the head.

He being dead, the King commanded the *Sieur de Lawardin* to go into *Bretagne* to supply his place, who proceeding with the same counsels, though military encounters were most frequent thorow the whole Province with variety of fortune; yet did they never come to the hazard of fighting with all their Forces; but it satisfied the Prince in so vast a Province, where his Forces were inferiour to the Enemies, to keep his name alive, and the affairs of his party in being.

The King's affairs in *Dauphiné* were much more prosperous, though the Duke of Savoy, of an unwearied minde and body, used his endeavours in those parts, with many of his own Forces, and with strong supplies from Spain; but the greatest strength of the Province being on the King's side, under a vigilant, resolute, diligent, and valiant Commander, who often obtained by policy what could not so easily be compassed with force, was the cause that after the defeat of *Ponte-Chiarra* the League was almost excluded out of *Dauphiné*, and the seat of the War began to be in the Duke of Savoy's own Country.

On the other side, the fortune of the Savoyards was more successful in *Provence*; for having *Marseilles* (if not wholly subject to the Duke, yet at least most partiall to the League) the Cities of *Aix*, *Arles*, and many other of the chiefeſt at their devotion; *Berre* being taken, they had made themselves terrible to the Province, in which Monsieur *de la Vallerie* with a small force could not equall their power; so that Count *Francesco Martinengo*, after the taking of many Towns and

1591

Count Fran-
cesco Martinengo
is defeated by
Monsieur de la
Valette, and the
siege of Vinon
is raised.

The Sieur de
Sancy who was
at Basil to raise
men in that
Canton, ha-
ving heard of
100000 ducats
that were car-
rying from Mi-
lan toward
Germany to
leave Forces
there, places
himself in am-
bush in a wood,
assaults the
convoy, and
with much ease
takes the mo-
ney.

and Castles, did without much opposition over-run that part that extends it self along the Sea-shore. But having at last laid siege to *Vinon*, whilst he battered it with exceeding great fury, Monsieur de la *Valette* being resolved to shew more courage then he had strength, and rather to trust the affairs of the Province to the arbitrement of fortune, then to waste himself with retreating continually in all places, advanced that way with seven hundred Horse, and not more then one thousand and two hundred Foot, and having divided his men into four Battalions, whereof one was put in the Rere for a reserve and re-inforcement to the rest, commanded by the Viscount de *Gouvernet*, he marched streight without other advantage to assault the Enemy, who being risen from the siege, and having past a rivulet that was between them, came resolutely to meet him. Nor was the conflict unlike the valour of the Commanders; for it was obstinately fought on both sides with equall courage for the space of many hours, till the Viscount entering fresh into the Battell with the last Squadron of Horse, reserved for their utmost hope in so great need, the Savoyards already wearied with long fighting, began to give ground to the Enemy, who was fresh and eager; whereupon *la Valette's* other Squadrons also recovering vigour, charged them so home, that they made them return full speed over the water, and had pursued them with a great execution, if the mutuall losses they received had not perswaded them to end the businesse; which while it was in the greatest heat, the souldiers that were in *Vinon* sallying gallantly out of their works, assaulted them that guarded the Savoyards Artillery, and having routed them, nailed some great pieces, fired a great deal of Ammunition, and did them many other mischiefs. This defeat curb'd the Duke's proceedings, and did for some time secure the King's affairs in *Provence*.

Nor was the War lesse hot in the Territories of *Geneva*; for the Sieur de *Sancy*, who being retired to *Basil*, to obtain some number of Swisses in that Canton, having had intelligence that a hundred thousand Ducats were on the way from *Milan* to make Leavies in Germany, and that they were conducted by a few men, without any considerable Convoy, he laid an ambush for them in the Forrest of *Basil* with so good successe, that he took the money, and being come with it to *Geneva*, had in a few days hired a Regiment of Swisses of the Canton

Canton of Berne, where there being also arrived Three hundred Horse raised in the State of Venice by Monsieur de Metz the Kings Ambassador to that Republick, and commanded by Count *Mutio Porto*, and *Pausania Brazzoduro* Vicentines, and Captain *Nicolo Nasi* a Florentine, he had in a short time recovered the Territory of Geneva, and was advanced to assault the places that were held by the Savoyards; during the siege of one of which, named Boringes, some Companies of Neapolitans and Milanese belonging to the Catholick King, and that were there to assist the Duke of Savoy, marched up to disturb them; but being fiercely charged by the Italian Cavalry, desirous to make themselves remarkable in gallant actions, they were routed and dispersed, and Boringes surrendered itself to the discretion of the enemy.

In this interim *Don Amadeo* having rallied his Forces, advanced to stop the Enemies incursions, and being come near unto their army, they sent back their great Cannon to Geneva, and encamped themselves in an advantageous place, keeping the top of an Hill with the Body of their Army, and with their Van-guard a Wood that was at the bottom of it. There *Don Amadeo* having discovered how the enemy was quartered, commanded forth his Van-guard to make themselves Masters of the Wood, where they of the Kings party making small resistance, retired little less then routed to the rest of the Army, which stood in Battalia upon the ways of the Hill: But the Italian Cavalry going down into the plain field, violently charged, and repulsed the enemies Van-guard with the death of many; so that they also retired in like manner half defeated to their main Body. But the Duke of Savoy knowing that in the strength of narrow places, which fill the whole Territories of Geneva, his men could make but small progress, with the hazard of receiving much damage; while these Forces employed themselves with those of Geneva, commanded *Don Amadeo* to retire, and onely to defend his own, till the Supplies should either be dissolved, or be sent for away to other places. Nor was he deceived in his hopes; for the *Sieur de Ginty* who commanded the French forces, and the Italian Cavalry seeing the Savoyards retreated to defend their own, resolved to go and assist the *Mareschal d'Aumont* in Bourbonnois, where he had much ado to resist the Duke of Nemours, a Prince that with his fierceness and courage kept all those

* The French
says Vitry.

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1591

places which confined upon his forces in very great terror. But the progress of the War was also weak on that side; for the Marechal having attempted to besiege Autun, a Town, which because it was strong, and well manned, molested all the Country round about; after many assaults and divers attempts, he was by the Duke of Nemours forced to retire with no ordinary loss.

* *Quercy.*

About the same time that the Duke of Mayenne was troubled in the business of the Parisians, there was a Battel in the * Country of Cahors, where the Marquess *de Villars*, who governed the party of the League, and the Duke of Vantadour who held for the King, encountred one another, with much Gentry on both sides, and with a very great number of Foot; in which action, after a valiant fight of two long hours, at last they of the Kings party had the better, and having slain six hundred of the Enemy, among which were many Gentlemen of great renown, remained Masters of the field, and of the carriages; and afterwards took Cadenet, an exceeding strong place, and many other lesser Towns; in which businesses the courage of the *Sieur de Temines*, and Captain *Vivans* appeared most clearly, the greatest merit of the victory, and the progress of so fair achievements being attributed to their valor.

While they labor thus with various success, in the other parts of the Kingdom, the King marched with his whole Army toward Normandy, being resolved to besiege Rouen, as well because of the promises wherewith he had engaged himself to the Queen of England, either to give her some jurisdiction in that City, or to assign her some other place upon the Seaside; as out of a design to reduce all that large and exceeding rich Province to his party; for except Rouen and Havre-de-Grace, there was no place of moment that held not for him; and by reducing it to his devotion, besides the very considerable profit which he should gain by the Imposts and Revenues thereof, He absolutely made himself Master of a large Country, full of great Towns, and a great many Castles, abounding in Gentry, numerous in people, plentiful in victual, and so situate, that on the one side it was open to the Ocean, convenient for the near Supplies of England; and on the other, it extended it self near the City of Paris, cutting off from it the passage of the River Seine, which was most important

portant for its present conservation ; wherefore being intent with his utmost endeavours upon this enterprife, he had given charge to the Marechal de Biron (who when he went into Lorraine, stayed behinde with part of the Army in those parts) to seek to possess himself of all the places about it, and to make the greatest provisions he could of victual, ammunition, and other things necessary for that siege. Biron, after the taking of Louviers, where he had found wonderfull great store of corn, which he caused to be very carefully kept, had assaulted and taken Gomrney ; and then passing further into the Country of Caux, had likewise taken Candebec, seated upon the River Seine, between Havre de Grace and Roüen, and possessed himself of the Castle of En, which stands upon the great highway of Picardy ; after which successes, being already absolute Master of the field, he set himself diligently to make provisions, storing up corn, some at Enreux, some at Pontean de Mer, and most of all at Pont de l' Arche, because it was the neereft place to Roüen. At Caen he caused great store of Tents to be made, and other clothes for the souldiers use. At Diep he gathered together plenty of Ammunition, and of those Iron-instruments that were fit for the intended siege ; and in all places busineses went on with infinite diligence and order, but without any noise or apparent stir.

And yet there was not any of the contrary party, who perceived not that things were setting in order to besiege Roüen ; & the Duke of Mayenne being confident that that was the King's intention, did with no less diligence busie himself in making those provisions that were fit for the defence of it ; and to give it reputation, he had sent his son Henry thither, to give such orders as were needfull, to confirm the people, and to give them assurance that they should not remain without relief. The Military affairs, and the weight of the defence, he laid wholly upon the Sieur de Villars, a Cavalier not onely of high spirit and courage, but absolutely depending upon his name and authority ; who going first to Havre de Grace, a Fortrefs abundantly furnished by former Kings, and leaving the Government of it to the Sieur de Guion, who likewise was a Provençal by birth, returned to Roüen with two and thirty pieces of Cannon of several fizes, and with every thing necessary to make use of them ; all which he caused to be carried in great Boats up the River ; and brought thither six hundred Horse of that

The course taken by the Sieur de Villars in ordering, disposing, and preparing things to receive the siege, which was going to be laid to Roüen by the Kings Army.

1591

Country, and one thousand and two hundred of those Provençal Foot which had long followed the War under his command in those parts: and as a man to whom Learning (which he was adorned withal) suggested generous spirits, and the experience of many years, supplied with wary prudent counsels, knowing how much good, order is wont to produce in Military affairs, and desiring therefore that all things might proceed with a due disposal, under their proper Heads, and that every one might know and execute his own Charge; he called all the Heads of the Clergie, the principal men of the Parliament, the chief of the people, and the Officers of the Souldiery, and distributed to every one his part of those labours that were to be undergone in their future defence. He destined the *Sieur de la Londe* (an old Souldier, well known in the City by having lived there many years) to the Office of Serjeant Major; to the defence of *St Catherines Mount*, wherein the sum of the business consisted; he chose the *Chevalier Piccard* with his Regiment, and two hundred other Musketers commanded by the *Sieur de Jéssan*. The old Palace standing between the *Porte de Chaux*, and the River *Seine* on the North-side, he gave to the *Sieur de Bauquemare*, first President of the Parliament, with one hundred Swisssers, and three hundred French: the old Castle, with the part adjoining towards * *Maistre*, he assigned to his brother the *Chevalier d'Oyse*, to whom he gave the Regiments of Colonel *Baniface*, and of *Commendatory Grillon*; and the West-side toward the *Fauxbourg de St Sever* beyond the River, he gave to Captain *Giucopo Argenti* of Ferrara, with his Regiment: *Carlo Siginolfi*, a Neapolitan Engineer of great experience, commanded the Artillery; Captain *Basin* the Fire-works, which were made in very great abundance: and at every Gate, one of the ancientest Presidents, and one of the Counsellors of the Parliament assisted, as well for security as reputation. The Citizens were divided into ten Companies, under ten Commanders chosen by them; whereof eight were to guard eight Bulwarks or great Towers lined with earth, which were in the Circuit of the City; and the other two had the Main-guard in the great Market-place; and in the Palace of Justice were lodged two hundred Swisssers, and as many French Fire-locks, to be ready to help where need should require. The Governour also caused some little Barks to be furnished with small Pieces of

* The French
says towards
the East.

Artil-

Artillery, and manned with twenty Souldiers to each of them, as well on the upper as on the lower part of the *Seine*, which under the command of their Admiral the *Sieur d'Angoulême*, were to run up and down the River, to make Prize of such Vessels as should stir, and to take Cattel and other provisions along the banks of it, to keep the City in more plenty of Victual. Two Counsellours of the Parliament, and two Deputies of the City, were employed in the distributing of bread; and the old *Sieur de Coursey* had the care of delivering out the Ammunition. With this order, very well contrived, and exceeding well executed, by the diligence of the Governour, and the experience of those to whom it was intrusted, things went on so quietly and so happily, that during all the time of the siege, there neither happened any disorder, nor did any body suffer for want of Victual, the price of provisions not much differing from the ordinary rate.

Against these provisions, the *Mareschal de Byron*, after he had received three thousand English Foot that had landed at *Boulogne*, and were led by the *Earl of Essex*, had under his Colours between nine and ten thousand Foot, and one thousand and eight hundred Horse, and to give a beginning to the siege, he came and lay within sight of the City at a place called *Darnetal*, upon the eleventh of November; which day the Cavalry of the Camp over-ran all the Plain, to the very walls of the City, and of *St Cathbertine*. Captain *Borsey*, a souldier of great valour, with two hundred Horse, and Colonel *Boni* face with five hundred Foot sallied out at the *Porte Cam-choise*, and charging first the Cavalry, and then the Regiment of English, skirmished fiercely for many hours, though at last being weary on both sides, they retired willingly without advantage; yet the besieged vaunted of a happy beginning, by reason of the death of a Nephew of the *Earl of Essex*, who his courage having drawn him into the most dangerous place of the fight, was slain by *Borsey* with a Pistol shot in the throat. On the other side, Captain *Perdriel* with two hundred other Horse, and Captain *Basinh* with four hundred Foot sallied at the *Porte de Martinville*, and having skirmished long with the French Light-horse, led by *Francisco Orsino*, *Sieur de la Chappelle*, they were forced to retire, though they received not much harm, because they were defended in their retreat by the Artillery of the nearest Bulwark.

1591

The *Mareschal de Byron* lays siege to *Rouen* Nov. 11. 1591. In the first skirmish before *Rouen*, the *Earl of Essex* his Nephew is slain by *Borsey*. The Author is a little mistaken in this particular for it was the *Earl of Essex* his Brother Sir *Walter d'Evreux*.

But

1591

A double practice is discovered, which vanishes without effect.

The Earl of Essex challenges the Sieur de Villars to a duel, who refuses it not; but refers it to another time, and so nothing is done.

But the Marechal, as soon as he had entrenched Darnetal, to the end his Army might lie secure from the sprightly forwardness which he saw in those of the Town, set himself for some dayes following (without advancing towards the City) to divert the course of the *Robec*, which little rivulet running thorow the field, and entering into the Town, drove eleven Mills near the *Porte St Hillaire*, to the great conveniency of those within; nor was it very difficult to turn it another way; which would have much incommoded the Town, and made them suffer exceedingly, if *Villars*, fore-seeing the diversion of the water, had not provided against it before, by having caused a great many hand-mills to be made, which were continually kept going by the Country-men, who, to fly the Enemy, were in great numbers gotten within the walls. While they wrought to divert the water, the Marechal no less intent upon art, then he was upon force of arms, held a treaty with Captain *Graveron*, who was in the City, to get into his hands the *Porte de Beauvais*, which he was appointed to guard; and this was managed by a kinsman of his, who was one of the Marechals servants, and who before the siege had often gone disguised into the City for that purpose. But *Graveron* having revealed the treaty to the Governour, and received orders to draw the Enemy by night into an Ambush, he could not faine so well, but that the art was discovered; whereupon this treaty vanished with little damage on either side. But the next day the *Chevalier Piccard* sallying out from *St Catherine's* to skirmish, and the Earl of *Essex* with the English coming out of the wood of *Turinge*, they contended with words no less then deeds: for *Piccard* upbraided the English, that not having courage enough to revenge the death of the Earl's Nephew, they sought to advance their designs by treachery; they came to ill language, and to give the Lye, for which, as soon as the skirmish was ended, there came an English Trumpet from the Earl of *Essex*, to challenge the Governour; which the *Chevalier Piccard* (who had spoke the words) having answered, it came not to a duell; for the Earl refused to fight with any other then the Governor; and the Governor, though he refused him not, yet he referr'd the duel til another time, when he should be free of the charge of that present defence, to which, as a publick cause, he was both first and more deeply engaged.

All

All the Moneth of November was spent in continual skirmishes, and hourly encounters, the Mareschal in the mean time being imployed in fortifying his quarters, drawing Artillery and Ammunition, and causing provisions to be brought in; expecting the Kings coming up to the siege with the rest of the Army; who being come into the Camp upon the third of December, sent an Herald to summon the City; but being very stoutly answered by those within, the next day they broke ground to make their approaches to the Wall. The King lay at Darnetal with the Mareschal de Biron, and the greatest part of the Nobility that followed him, having the Swissers flanked with the Regiment of his Guards, for the defence of his own quarters. The Viscount de Turenne (whom in the right of his wife, we will begin to call the Duke of Bouillon) was quartered on the right hand, with the Cavalry, and the German Infantry, spreading themselves a great way in the Neighboring Villages, upon the way that leads toward Diepe. The French Infantry (having lost the Sieur de Chastillon, who was wont to command it, he being dead a while before of a natural death) was led by divers Colonels of renowned fame, and lay close by the Germans; but on the right hand of the Kings Quarters, towards the Porte Cau-choise, and the Porte de Beauvais. The English Foot lay on the left hand of the King, and the Swissers entrenched under the Wood of Turinge, against the Porte St. Hilaire, and the Mount of St. Catherine. The Baron de Gjiry, and the Sieur de la Chappelle with the Light-horses, spread themselves on the left hand of these, upon the way that leads to Pont de l'Arche, and thence towards Paris. And the Count de Soissons with Captain Ranlet, beyond the River Seine (over which there was a passage made by a bridge upon Boats) were quartered right over against the Faubourg of St. Severe.

When the whole Town was thus girt ground, there being neither the hinderance, nor the conveniency of Suburbs (for the Governor at the arrival of the Army had caused them to be burnt) the King commanded Colonel St. Denis to take up his Post in the Church of St. Andre, which was the onely building that (because it was built of stone) remained yet standing, though they had endeavored to demolish it: but he soon perceived that Villars had foreseen the mischief which he might receive from thence, and provided a very convenient remedy

The King with the rest of the Army comes up to the siege of Rouen, he sends a Herald to summon the Town, but is refused.

1591

* A Mount raised on purpose to plant Cannon on. Some call it a Cat.

* Orillons are the round shoulders at the ends of the faces of Bastions next the Flanks, which cover the covered Flanks; little used in Holland, but much in Italy and France.

remedy: For two exceeding great Culverins were discovered upon a * Cavalier raised within, which did so batter that place, that the French had scarcely possessed themselves of it, when they were forced to quit it. This attempt having proved ineffectual, the King began to cause two trenches to be cast up, one to approach St. Catherines Mount, which (being drawn from the Wood of Tuinge) was wrought at by the English; and the other to end just against the Porte St. Hilaire, at which the French Infantry wrought by turns. But the *Sieur de Villars* (besides the other works which were thrown up day and night, by a great abundance of Laborers, who within a short space had dammed up the Porte de St. Hilaire with Earth) having raised a very high Cavalier close by it, filled the Moat with *Gasamats*, and fortified the Counterescarp with little Ravelines, had also before the Forts of St. Catherine (where the utmost force of the siege was applied) drawn a Brest-work of eighteen or twenty foot thick, flanked with two Ravelines onely for the use of Muskettiers, having neither Shoulders, * Orillons, nor Retreats; and before this a Moat of thirty foot wide, and ten foot deep; which was a very fit obstacle to hinder, and keep in play the first fury of the assailants: But besides these Fortifications, finding the City strongly and fully manned, (for besides the Townsmen most ready upon service, there were in it Five thousand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horse) he resolved with frequent Sallies to trouble the enemy, so that their works should go on but slowly; that manner of defence seeming to him very profitable, by reason of the hinderance it gave to the enemies approaches; and very generous, by reason of the fame and honor which (if they succeeded prosperously) he should gain thereby: Wherefore the two trenches were scarcely begun, when five Companies of Foot, seconded by *Boresey* with 120 Horse, sallied out at the Porte Cauchoise; and on the other side Three hundred Provençals armed with Corslets and Halberds, or Partisans, flanked with a hundred French Firelocks, came down from St. Catherines, and with infinite violence assaulted those that were at work making the Redouts. On the one side the English ran to oppose this Sally; and on the other, Colonel *St. Dennis*, *la Luferne*, and *Parabere*; and the fight grew so hot on both sides, that it lasted above three hours with great execution, till the Baron *de Biron* being come up with a Body of Four thousand

thousand Germans, and two great Troops of Horse, sent back those of the Town, whereof (with the *Sieur de St. Sulpice*) there were slain above forty; but on the Kings party above two hundred.

The Pioneers were terrified with this assault, to which the crofnes of the weather being added (which first with excessive rains, then with very deep snow and hard frosts, hindered all manner of working) the approaches went on but slowly; and yet the besieged, who with ease and conveniency lay under cover, did not for the same difficulties slacken the works they had begun; but every day, Casamats, Trenches, Ravelines, and Cavaliers, were seen to rise, and their sallies were so fierce, and made to so good a purpose, that they kept all the besiegers almost continually in arms. Herein appeared most clearly the prudence and valor of the *Sieur de Villars*, who, though he could not stir up and down without difficulty, being lame of one foot, would yet himself in person (sometimes upon a pad-nag, sometimes upon a gallant horse) be in all encounters, surveying himself, and ordering and governing the actions of his men by his own presence. And amongst the most courageous Salliers (at last known also to all the Kings Army) were Captain *Boresey*, Captain *Basin*, and one *Goville* a Priest; who much fitter for the exercise of arms, then his Ecclesiastical Function, being bold beyond measure, and a despiser of the greatest dangers, was ever the first in all sallies, and as often as he chanced to encounter any one, man to man, he always got the victory, with infinite applause of his own party.

One *Goville* a Priest, one of the stoutest defendants, noted both by the Kings party and his own, as often as he fights single, still gets the victory.

At last the approaches that were making at St. Catherines, were brought to perfection, though they proved very streight, and had onely three Redouts; but they were favored on the right hand by a long battery of fourteen pieces of Cannon, and on the left with seven more; but planted so far off, that the Commissaries that had them in charge, did not care to fill their Gabions; yet under favor of their shot, the works were advanced so forward, that they were brought to the Counter-scarp of the Fortification that was newly made, which being something high, and the Trench of the besiegers very streight at that end (all defects of the English Engineer) a great number of men were slain by the incessant storm of Musket-shot, which was poured from those that were behinde the

T t t t t

Parapet,

1591

Parapet of the same Counterscarp: Wherefore it being necessary to beat them away, and that not being to be done by day, in regard of the defence which they received from the Curtine, from whence the Muskettiers of the Fort with very good order shot perpetually, the King coming personally into the Trench with three hundred Gentlemen, accompanied by four hundred gallant Firelocks, gave a fierce assault to that place in the greatest darkness of the night, which it not being possible for the defendants to sustain, they quitted the Counterscarp, and (as Soldiers say) filing off to the right and left hand, under favor of their Fortifications, they retired into the Moat: Sir Roger Williams, a valiant Colonel, entred presently with eight hundred English, and gabions being brought with wonderful speed, he covered himself, working all night upon the edge of the very Moat; but the night following, the *Sieur de Villars* (having placed a thousand Muskettiers upon the Curtine, who without intermission, shot even in the dark against the angle of the Counterscarp) sent forth the *Chevalier Piccard*, and *Captain Basin*, with four hundred Provençals, and at the head of them compleatly armed sixty Gentlemen defended with Targets, who falling on the same way by which they had retired the night before, valiantly regained that Post, beating the English from thence, who being hailed upon with a thick shower of Musket-bullets, durst not stand up to handle their Pikes; but being terribly vext at the affront they had received, prepared themselves the two days following, and on the third at night assaulted the Counterscarp so precipitately in the Kings presence, that the defendants being driven out, they lodged themselves there, and with infinite speed and diligence fortified and covered themselves more then sufficiently.

The end of the Trench was thrown open into the Moat upon the twenty ninth of December, and upon New-years Eve two Batteries were raised; one of Fourteen Cannon, which battered the old Fort, and the other of seven, planted against the new. These, though they thundered all the day, and continued all the night following, not to give the Enemies leasure to repair their works; yet did they make but little progress, the Forts being all of good Earth, and newly turfed, and the Artillery being lower then the Forts, battered more weakly, and made much less impression. Wherefore upon the

the second day of the year 1592. they began to make a platform in the midst between the two Batteries, that they might play more strongly against the Forts. The besieged would not pass that night in idleness, but coming down between the Hill and the City, assaulted the Trenches that were at the Counterscarp of the old Fort; and having put the Guards in confusion, killed above sixty of them, carried away many of their materials, and would have thrown down all their Work, if *Or digging tools.* Sir Roger Williams making opposition himself, with a few to second him at the Gorge of the first Redout, had not long sustained the violence of the Enemy; for laying hold of a Pike, and with him two Captains, an Ensign, and a Serjeant doing the same, he so bravely stood the fury of the assailants, that a few other Souldiers working a little behind made a gap in the Redout, and fresh men still coming up, who at the noise of the fight ran to assist their fellows, the heat of the assault was first sustained, and then other Squadrons of the Army coming one after another, they of the City were at last forced to give over the enterprise, and retreat, though with much gallantry and reputation: Nor did the fight end because they were retired; for with their Artillery, *Harquebuzes a Croc*, throwing Fire-works, and a thousand other wayes, they ceased not to molest and hinder the progress of the Battery.

At the other Trench which was cast up against the *Porte de St Hilaire*, and finished the third day of *January*, there was a Battery raised of four pieces of Cannon and two Culverins, which having found the Gate damm'd up with earth, and making no progress that was considerable, it was propounded to leave that place, and go to work against the *Porte de Beauvais* that stood lower; which proposition was favoured by the French Colonels, because the place was more convenient for them, and near the quarters where they were lodged. But in the mean time, while the Commanders are deliberating, and that the consultation, by reason of the contrary opinions, proves long, the *Chevalier d'Oyse* falling at the *Porte Cauchoise*, assaults that very Trench, and in the mouth of it makes a great slaughter of the Souldiers of *St Denis*, not being upheld by his wonted conduct and courage, because it being then in debate whether or no the Post should be quitted, he was gone to the Consultation, and to receive the Marechal

1592

de Biron's Orders. The next day the Work was removed from thence something lower, and the French (out of emulation to the English Foot, whom they saw upon the Counter-scarp of *St. Cathelines*) with infinite diligence in a few dayes brought the Trench to perfection; which after it was ended, and the Gate battered with seven pieces of Cannon, Colonel *St Denis*, without staying till the breach were made very large, presented himself valiantly to assault it; and at the same time Colonel *Piles* with his Regiment falling out of the same Trench, set up many scaling ladders against the Curtain which joyned to the same Gate. The assault was fierce, and no less fierce the defence: But the breach in the Wall being high and narrow, and a thick cloud of fire-works, stones, and scalding water pouring from the Curtain, the assailants were constrained to retire, leaving above seventy of their Souldiers dead upon the place. This business happened upon the fourteenth of *January*. Whilest their Arms are courageously imployed on this side, they that were on the other side of the River, at the *Fauxbourg St Severe*, having no other Commission but to hinder the entrance of Men or Victual into the Town, made weaker and less bloody skirmishes; in which the besiegers having taken one *Landon*, a Lieutenant of *Commendatory Grillon's* Regiment, they laboured to corrupt him, and bring him to give them a promise, that as soon as he should have the guard, he would let them into the Fort of the Bridge which was upon the *Seine*; *Landon* dissembling a consent unto it, because he had formerly served under Captain *Raulet*, and had received some courtesies from him, was set at liberty; and faining to keep his promise, upon the eighteenth of *January* at night, he having the Guard, gave the sign that was agreed upon, which being understood by those without, Captain *Raulet* on foot compleatly arm'd with twenty Gentlemen, and thirty fire-locks, drew near to the Fort to be received in, the Count *de Soissons* standing in Arms with the rest of his Forces, intent to follow him upon all occasions: But *Landon* having discovered all to the Governor, at the first appearance of the Kings Souldiers, sallied out of the Fort with sixty good men, and fell so fiercely on the Enemy, that the rest running away frightened at that unexpected encounter, Captain *Raulet* who stood to it, was taken prisoner by him; and the Count

Lieutenant *Landon* being taken prisoner by the Kings party, promises to let them in at a gate of the City: but being set at liberty, he discovers the business to the Governour, who on the night appointed takes Captain *Raulet* and others that came for that purpose.

de Seiffons advancing to disingage him, could not come time enough to effect it. But about this time there was another

intelligence, which was not fained, held with the *Sieur la Fontaine*; which being discovered and revealed by one *Mauclore*, an Advocate, who was conversant in the same place, all the accomplices were taken and condemned to the gallows.

1592
Another practice, but not a fained one, is discovered, and those that are guilty condemned to the gallows.

They wrought now more diligently in many places then they were wont; for the Souldiers had already (for their own honour) taken an affection to the enterprize, and the emulation between the Nations made the Work go forward with greater speed: To increase the which, the King having taken a new Post between *St Catherines* and *Martinville*, quartered three thousand German Foot there, who laboured no less then the rest to make their approach with the Trench to the Counterscarp of the Moat. On the other side, the besieged, encouraged by the prosperous success of their Sallies, agreeing among themselves in all things belonging to the defence, moved by the Governours example, who putting his hand to all employments, was present at all things; and solicited by *le Londe*, who with unwearied vigilancy went about, and provided against all wants in all places; laboured continually, sometimes to make up their Works which the Artillery had beaten down, sometimes in raising new Forts, and making new Casamats, sometimes to put in order warlick instruments and fire-works; but above all things, they were diligent and forward upon Sallies, to which not onely the Souldiers ran with infinite readines, but many times even the Companies of the Townsmen also: So that upon the one and twentieth day, sallying out of the *Porte Canchoise* on the one side, and out at the *Porte de Martinville* on the other, they made an hot and furious conflict: But the King having caused some Field-pieces to be secretly planted on the flank of his Post, they were driven back by the violence of them with great loss, leaving slain the Lieutenant of the Governours Guards, two of the City Captains, and above thirty Souldiers. Much more dangerous was the encounter that happened on the three and twentieth day, when three hundred Horse and a thousand Foot sallying out at the same Gate, divided themselves into several places; for the Cavalry went toward the field which leads straight to *Darnetal*, to attaque the Regiments

There sally out of Roien 1000 Foot, & 300 Horse.

1593

ments of Guards in their Quarter, and the Foot to march more covertly, entered into the dry channel of the *Robec*, and came to the wood of *Turinge* to the English. The fight began about noon, weak at the first, because *Grillon* Colonel of the Guards was scarce able to get an hundred of his men together, and the English shooting coldly at a distance, did not close up resolutely with the Enemy; but afterwards by the coming up of the Commanders, the action rose to such a height, that at last it proved to be like a Battel: For the *Baron de Biron* and *François de Montmorancy Sieur du Hallot*, with two Squadrons of valiant Gentlemen assisted in both places, and the *Baron de Ginry*, and *la Chappelle* with the Light-horse ran to reinforce their party: And on the other side, *Villars* seeing the danger of his men, who were advanced very far, came forth himself to fetch them off, with *Boresey's* and *Perdriel's* Horse, and the *Sieur de la Londe* followed him with the Regiment of *Giocopo Argent*, and three Companies of the Townsmen, wherefore fighting in every place as in a pitch field, the service grew very dangerous and bloody, fresh numerous supplies coming up on all sides to those that fought. But the King who being at that side towards the Battery of *Martinville*, was advanced with a few Horse, passing with great danger over a little bank that was wont to stop the course of the *Robec*, to the place where the fight was, having heard that the *Sieur du Hallot*, wounded with a Musquet-shot in the thigh, was carried to the next Quarter, and that the *Baron de Biron* hurt (though but slightly) in the face, was in great danger of being slain, he presently sent forth the Duke of *Bouillon* with a Squadron of *Reiters* to relieve his Forces, by whose fury *Villars* his Horse being killed under him, he himself hurt slightly in one of his hands, and many of those that were about him knocked down, he had wonderfull much ado to retire under the Artillery of the Walls. In this action were killed Captain *Laurier*, the *Sieur de Phmetant* a Gentleman of the Country of *Caux*, *Bois-Pulein* a Captain of Horse, the Governours Captain of his Guard, the *Sieur de Molart*, and *Brebion*, with above an hundred Souldiers: And on the Kings side were slain above an hundred and fifty, and many more wounded; among which *Grillon* the Colonel of the Guards having received a dangerous shot with a brace of bullets under the elbow, remained a long time disabled for service.

The Baron de Biron wounded.

The skirmish increased almost to a Battel; many Commanders are either killed or wounded, and the *Sieur de Villars* also being hurt, hath much ado to retire to the Walls under the protection of his own Cannon.

The

30 The same night the Chevalier de Varnerville, of the Order of Jerusalem, died in the City of his wounds formerly received; and the Chevalier Riscard, being shot with a Cannon-bullet in the thigh, departed this life within a few days after. This loss was increased by the death of Captain Basin, that with much honor had engaged himself in all occasions, who looking out at a Skyt-gate to discover the Enemies works, was hit with a Musket-bullet on the forehead, and lay dead a good while before any body took notice of it. Coville the Priest was likewise slain in a skirmish the next day; for having strained his foot in getting up a work, and being thereby necessitated to retire softly, he was overtaken by many, and after having long defended himself, lost his life by a Musket-shot in the throat. The number of the defendants being very much decreased by the death of these, they slackned their fallies, and therefore the approaches of the Army still advancing, the assailants were in many places fortified upon the Counter-scarps, and at the old Fort of St. Catherine, and under the Curtine of Martinville, having also passed the Moats, they were working Mines under the Walls; and at the Porte de Beaumont they had already sprung a Mine, though with but little effect. Which Works being diligently hastned by the Marechal de Biron, the Soldiers labored with so much ardor, that by the sap they brought themselves under the Bulwark of the old Fort; and having reduced it all upon props, the Commanders believed that without powder it would all fall of it self, as soon as the props should fail; wherefore having drawn up two Squadrons in a readiness to go on to the assault, the props were set on fire; but the Earth, which was admirably good, and well beaten, sunk down so gently, that without opening it self or falling in pieces, it onely sunk down upon the ground, the Bulwark remaining lower, but not broken, nor discomposed on any side, which was the cause that without any further attempt the Foot returned all into their Trenches. They then began to make a Mine in the same place, to do that effect which could not be done with the props, and in the mean time the Germans also wrought under the Curtine of Martinville; in which place *la Fontaine-Martel*, and *Agneville*, a young Gentleman of that Country, drawn by the emulation that was between them, sallied out at one of the Skyt-gates of the next Bulwark, each with ten Fire-locks and

* A Skyt-gate is that gap in the Parapet where the mouth of the Cannon lies out, called in French l' Embraieure, or Canoniere. Coville the valiant Priest is killed with a Musket-shot.

1592

twenty Corlets, and gallantly assaulted the principal Avenue of the Trench; but being exceeded by so much a greater number, and there being no means to help them from the Walls, because the Works were beaten down, after a long and gallant fight, wherein almost all their men were slain, they had much ado to get themselves drawn up at the same Skye-gate. The Mine at the old Fort was already perfected, and was to be sprung the next morning, when Colonel Boniface going the Round to visit his Guards in the still silence of midnight, heard the noise of the working in that place, and having caused many Fire-works to be cast into the Moat, to discover what the enemy did, those fires running up and down, and scattering themselves into many places, by chance found the mouth of the Mine, and gave fire to it before the time, in such manner, that the blast striking backward, and carrying part of the Bulwark with it, burned and overwhelmed with Earth all the out-guard, and hurt many of those that were preparing themselves against morning, to give the assault; yet the ruine was so large, and the Earth so overturned at the point of the Bulwark, that it might easily have been assaulted; if that sudden accident, and the death of the chiefs of them, had not terrified the assailants; so that the Baron de Bi-rou, who was to give the sign for the assault, not being in the Trench, and the Foot that were to make it not being drawn up in readiness, the Earl of Essex and Sir Roger Williams standing firm upon their Guards, sent away in haste to receive Orders what to do, and in the mean time the defendants with sacks full of Earth, and brush Faggots, repaired the breach in a short space.

But the siege of Rouen, by reason of the importance of it, had from the beginning bred great anxiety in the Duke of Mayenne, who being departed from Paris, and returned to the Army, had dispatched the *Sieur de Rosne* to Landrecy, where the Duke of Parma then was, to sollicite his coming, or at least to know his resolution. The Duke of Montemarcano and Commissary *Mattenczi*, had also dispatched *Antonio Maria Pallavicino* to him, to let him know, that if he by the midst of December were not entred with his Army upon the Confinnes of France, they had a Commission from Rome to disband their forces; and likewise *Diego d' Ivarra* was gone thither, as well to inform him of the business that had fallen out in Paris

Paris, as to represent unto him the importance and danger of the siege, already laid before Rouen. The Duke governing himself according to his Commissions, and his own design never to let the Kings party have so much the better, that the League should be suppressed by it; and seeing that he could no longer delay to assist the Duke of Mayenne, he resolved to do it, but still persevering in his determination, not to shew any interested end, but simply a desire to succor and sustain Religion, that he might not put things in disorder, and beget an unseasonable jealousy in the French. *Diego d' Ivarra* was of another minde; who by his own opinion, and that of the other Ministers who were in France, perswaded, that upon occasion of the present necessity, which was most urgent, the Duke of Mayenne, and the other French Lords should be constrained to assemble the States, and cause the *Infanta Isabella* to be declared Queen, who should afterward, with the consent of the Confederate Princes, take such an Husband as should be resolved on; which coming to pass, he thought best to spend with a free hand, and with all their forces to assault the King, and never to draw off their Army from him till he was absolutely suppressed and overcome. But the Duke, though he knew this to be the last intention of the Catholick King, and of the Spanish Council, did not judge the present time seasonable for that business, as well because the French Lords (holding themselves deceived, and that upon occasion of their present exigency, they meant to bring their necks into a noose) would in despair cast themselves into the Kings mercy, who with many inticements sought to make them his friends; as also because there was not time to manage that design with that patience and dexterity it required, while Rouen was already besieged, and the necessity of relieving it admitted no delay. The Spaniards, and particularly *Diego d' Ivarra* (a man of a most fiery wit, and naturally of a stinging tongue) added, that the Duke of Parma being an Italian; (for his own interest, and that of the other Italian Princes) did not desire the so great growth of the Spanish Monarchy, and that therefore he went interposing doubts and delays, no less then the French Lords did: But the effects of after-times have clearly shown, how prudent and profitable the Duke of Parma's opinion was; who being resolved to help in the so great need of the Confederates, was come to Guise, where he

The Duke of Parma is of opinion to succor the League without shewing any other end save that of Religion, and *Diego d' Ivarra* thinks it better (the League being in a strait) to force them to call an Assembly of the States, and to declare the *Infanta Isabella*, Queen of France.

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met

1592

met with the Dukes of Mayenne and Montemarçiano, and having left Count *Mansfelt* in the Government of the Low-Countries, gave order to his Son, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other Commanders, to draw together, and lead the Army toward the Confines.

The Duke could do no less, then give the Duke of Mayenne and the rest, a touch of what *K. Philip* had with his own mouth, spoken to President *Jeamin*: That it was thenceforth necessary not to do things by chance, and without a determinate end, but to assemble the States; who (having understood the Catholick Kings intentions, which he would cause to be made known unto them by new Ambassadors) should resolve upon future things, which could not always go on in the present uncertainty: And when he saw that the Duke of Mayenne answered him very coldly to that particular, he caused it afterward to be spoken of to him by President *Riccardotto*, one of his Counsellors; but the Duke not refusing the Convocation of the States, said it was necessary to refer it till another time, and that first it should be treated on with the Dukes of *Lorain*, *Nemours*, and *Mercœur*, and that the ends to which they should unanimously tend should be agreed upon, lest they should proceed indeed by chance, and cause some division among the Confederates: Which reasons being very conformable to the sense and opinion of the Duke of Parma, and having observed, that at this proposition, all the French Lords were put in suspence, and no less then they, *Madam de Guise*, who was then present, he seemed to remain satisfied, and imposed silence to that point; but fell onely to demand *la Fere* for his retreat, whither he might bring all the Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage of his Army, it not being fit that they should remain open to the Enemies incursions; and that he, advancing into the bowels of an enemies Country, should not have one place whither he might retire at his pleasure. There was enough to do to obtain this point; for the Duke of Mayenne refused to alienate any place from the Crown: But having discovered that the *Vice-Senechal de Montelimar*, Governor of that Fortrefe held intelligence with the Spaniard, doubting, that they howsoever would get it against his will, he was at last contented that the Duke should bring in his Arms and Artillery thither, and that he should leave a Garison there of Five hundred Walloons, paid by the Catholick

Catholick King; but still under the same protection of the Crown, the same French Magistrates residing to administer justice; and not satisfied with that, he would also have a bill of the Duke of Parma's hand, to leave it free to him again whensoever he should draw forth his Artillery.

The Duke of Parma about that time gave great satisfaction to the Confederates by a very prudent and generous action; for certain Deputies being come to him from the City of Orleans, to let him know that their Citizens (not having wherewithal to pay the souldiers of the Garrison, who were many months behinde, and seeing that the Duke of Mayenne had no great care of their interests) were desirous to put themselves under the Catholick King's protection, being ready to receive what Garrison he should think fit: he reprehending them for seeking to swerve from the obedience of the Lieutenant of the Crown, refused to accept of them, though *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and *Diego d' Ivarra* were of a contrary opinion, to whom he answered, that if they thought to get possession of the Crown of France by reducing the Cities one by one, the world would be at an end before they had absolutely gain'd it, and that it was necessary to strike at the root, and not busie themselves in pruning off the boughs.

Matters being set right with the French Lords, it was necessary to set them right also with the Ministers of Rome; for after the death of *Gregory the XIVth*, *Giovanni Antonio Fachinetto* Cardinal of *Santi Quattro* being chosen Pope, who took the name of *Innocent the IXth*, the affairs of the League seemed not to be hearkened to by him with the same inclination wherewith his Predecessors had imbraced them; for he told both the French Agents and Spanish Ministers freely, that he would not stir to give any relief to France, till a free Catholick King (but such a one as was generally liked of) were chosen; whereby he seemed to point at a Prince of the Blood-Royal; for *Scipio Balban* had communicated the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* designe to many, and their mindes were much entangled with it; nor was the Pope himself much averse from this new thought: whereupon, being earnestly solicited to assist the so urgent necessities of the League, and not to forsake the cause of Religion; he answered, that he could not make the print of the foot longer then the foot it self, and that the expences made by his Predecessor exceeded the abilities of the

Pope Gregory the 14th dies: Giovanni Antonio Fachinetto Cardinal of Santi Quattro succeeds with the name of Innocent the 9th. His inclinations concerning the affairs of France.

1592

Apostolick See, and that he would contribute fifteen thousand Ducats a month till busineses were settled, after which settlement he would strain himself to do the most that the strength of the Treasury should be able to bear; which things written into France by many, did not onely disturb the mindes of the French Lords, but also made the Duke of *Monte-Marciano* and Commissary *Mattenucci* doubtfull which way they should carry themselves. Nevertheless, he created the Bishop of *Piacenza* Cardinal, and appointed him Legate in France, as a man experienced, and who already had the management in his hands, it being commonly said, that new Ministers do maim busineses, before they have time to understand and apprehend them. The Legate being chosen, he wrote, that if the Duke of Parma came into the Kingdom by the fifteenth of December at the farthest, then the Forces of the Apostolick See should follow his Camp; but if he entred not within the said term, they should certainly be disbanded: which did not much please the Spanish Ministers, who saw the Pope little inclined to follow their ends; but much less the Duke of *Mayenne*, who saw that he could not hope for those Aids that were fit for his design. But his death, which happened in the second moneth of his Popedom, did so confound the mindes of the Legate and the rest, that the Duke of Parma was necessitated with his entreaties and authority to constrain them to follow him in the present need, and to promise the Swislers to pay them with his own money, if they were not satisfied by the next Pope.

The death of
Pope Innocent
the Ninth.

All things being thus settled, and the Forces drawn from all parts, the Armies joyned, and advanced with easie marches towards *Nesle*; where being arrived upon the fourth of January, the Duke of Parma would needs make a general *Rendezvous* of his Forces, which he mustered, and caused to be paid a weeks pay; and likewise the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Count *de Vaudemont*, and the Duke of *Monte-Marciano* reviewed their Forces; and for that purpose, and to stay for the Artillery and Amunition, which moved more slowly, they lay twelve days in the same Quarters. They set forward upon the sixteenth in the morning, and by the way of *Amiens* (though the longer, yet the better, and more abundant in provisions) marched directly toward *Rowen*. When they had passed *Amiens*, and left behinde them the River *Somme*, the Duke

Upon the 4 of
January 1592,
the Duke of
Parma being
come into
France, and
joynd with
the Popes and
the French
Forces, must-
ers his Army.
Upon the 16
day the Con-
federates
march to re-
lieve Rowen
with 24000
Foot and
6000 Horse.

Duke of Parma would needs distribute the parts of his Army, and march continually in battalia, since they entred into an Enemies Country, full of uneven places, Woods and little Rivers; for which cause he would not expose himself to the danger of being assaulted unawares by the King's readiness and celerity, which by past experience was exceedingly well known unto him. There were in the Army about six thousand Horse; eight hundred *Reiters* commanded by the Baron of *Swarzenbourg*, two thousand Light-horse (in the absence of the Duke of *Pastrana*) commanded by *Georgio Basti* Commissary of the Cavalry, four hundred Flemish Lances under the Prince of *Chimais*, an hundred Italian Lances of the General of the Church, led by his Lieutenant *Lodovico Melzi*; seven hundred *Lorain* Lances and *Cuirassiers* commanded by the Count *Vaudemont*; and two thousand Horse of the French Gentry, that followed the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Guise*, and the other Princes and Lords of that party. The Infantry amounted to the number of 24000, whereof two thousand *Swissers*; to so small a number were they reduced that were raised by the Church; three Spanish *Tertia's* under *Antonio Zuniga*, *Lodovico Velasco*, and *Alonzo Idiaques*; two of Germans, under the conduct of the Counts of *Barlemont* and *Arembergh*; four of Walloons, under Monsieur *du Vert*, Count *Octavio Mansfelt*, the Count *de Bossu*, and Colonel *Claude de la Berlotte*; two *Tertia's* of Italians, that of *Camillo Capizucchi's*, and a part of that which formerly was *Pietro Gaetano's*, led by his Serjeant Major, and four thousand French, under the Sieurs *de Bois-Dauphine* and *Balagny*, and Colonel *St Paul*. This Army was divided into three Battalions; the *Van-guard* led by the Duke of *Guise*, accompanied by the Sieurs *de Vitry*, and *de la Chastre*; the *Batel*, in which were the Dukes of *Parma*, and *Mayenne*, the Count *Vaudemont*, and the Duke of *Montemarciano*; and the *Rere-guard*, commanded by the Duke of *Annale*, and the Count *de Chaligny* with many other Lords. The first flying Squadron of Foot was led by *Camillo Capizucchi*, wherein were all the Italians; the *Swissers* guarded the Artillery, which were under the command of the Sieurs *de la Morte* and *Bassompierre*; *Georgio Basti* with a good Body of Carabines and Light-horse marched before the whole Army, to scowr and secure the ways; and the Sieur *de Rosne* had the charge of Serjeant-Major-General.

The description of the Confederates Army.

The

1592

The Kings
Army before
Rouen a-
mounts to
10000 Horfe,
and above
27000 Foot.

The King having heard the news of the coming of the Army of the League, consulted maturely what was to be done; and having the example of Paris before him, resolved to leave the *Marschal de Biron* with all the Infantry, and part of the Cavalry before *Rouen* to continue the siege, and to go himself with a good strength of Horfe to meet the Enemy; not to fight with them in the open field, but to hinder them upon passes, to retard and interrupt their march, and to lay hold of those opportunities which the quality of situations, and the motions of the Confederates should afford. He was perswaded to this resolution by finding himself so strong and powerfull in Horfe: for the Duke of *Nevers*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count de *St Paul*, and many other Lords being newly arrived at the Army, there were in all above ten thousand Horfe, and in the Camp between seven and eight and twenty thousand Foot; wherefore the King putting confidence in this number, left the major part of the German Cavalry, hard to be governed, and also some number of the French in the Camp before *Rouen*; and he himself with 2000 Cuirassiers, five hundred light-horfe, a thousand *Reiters* commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and 2000 Harquebuziers on horse-back, departed upon the nine and twentieth of January to march up toward the Enemy.

The King at
Folleville ha-
ving intelli-
gence that the
Army of the
League was
marching
near, advan-
ced with some
Horfe to view
it, and being
met with two
troops of the
Enemy, skir-
mishes, and re-
tires with all
his men to
Berreville.

At his arrival at *Folleville*, a little Town at the entring into Picardy, he received intelligence, that at that very time the Enemies Army keeping the right way toward *Rouen*, was passing a little lower, toward the field that encompasses the passage of the great highway: Wherefore having sent the *Sieur de Rambures* before with fifteen Light-horfe to make discovery, he drew out the *Grand Esquire* with forty Gentlemen upon the right hand, and the *Sieur de Lavardin* with thirty upon the left, and he himself in the midst with sixscore Horfe advanced, that he might conveniently view what order the Army of the League kept in marching; when they had advanced in this manner little less then a league, *Lavardin* discovered some Spanish Foot, who resting themselves under a tree, had set up their Pikes round about it; and being about to draw near to fall upon them, they on the right hand perceived two strong Troops of Horfe (which had been upon the guard at the end of a high-way) were already moving towards them; wherefore crying out that the fruit of the tree was not ripe,

ripe, they were the cause that *Lavardin* taking notice of the Enemy, turned courageously about, and at the head of his men, most valiantly charged them; who having in the first encounter killed his horse under him, made a brisk Onset on both sides upon him; but the fight was short; for the King being come up with his Troop, the Horse of the League retired to their main Body. Then saw they the whole Army as it lay still; but the Guards being diligently placed thorow all the field, the King found that he could not draw nearer them, and therefore being joyned with the rest of his men, he retired that night to *Berteville*.

From thence following his design, he came upon the fourth of February to *Aumale*, a Castle seated upon a River which divides the Confines of *Picardy* from upper *Normandy*, where he quartered all his men in the Suburb; and the next morning, being desirous himself to see the order, and view the Camp of the Enemy, he advanced in person with the Archers of his Guard, two hundred other Light-horse, and three hundred chosen Gentlemen, upon the way which the Army of the League marched, leaving the care of the rest that were in *Aumale* unto the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Longueville*. But as it often hapned to that Prince, (that being led on by his courage, and the curiosity of making discovery with his own eye, in the first ranks of his soldiers, he was suddenly entangled in wonderful great dangers,) so it fell out that day; for having past a field exceeding full of Vineyards, which spreads it self from *Aumale* beyond the River, to the bottom of a Hill, and being gone up the steep thereof to the top, where there is a spacious Plain, he fell unexpectedly among the *Avant-Coureurs* of the League, which he thought had been yet above the League from thence. The encounter was so sudden (because the Hill being between them, had hindered each party from discovering the other) that having neither time to retire, nor draw up in order, it was necessary to handle their arms, and fall in pell-mell without any consideration. There were at the head of the French, the King himself, the Baron de *Biron*, the Count de *St. Paul*, the Sieurs de *Marivant*, de *Chaseron*, de *Praslin*, d' *Aubigny*, de *Rambures*, and de *Champlévant*, with many other valiant soldiers; so that there was no doubt but the *Avant-Coureurs* of the League, being both in number and courage much inferior, must give place to their fury and valor;

The King going from *Aumale* with a few Lords to discover the enemy, is forced to fight upon the sudden in disorder; yet notwithstanding after a short resistance, puts them to flight.

1592

valor; and indeed, after a short resistance, they betook themselves openly to flight.

Then appeared the Duke of Parma's Army, which being drawn into Battalia, with Military order, marched on its way along the same Plain. The whole form of their Battel was four square, and had an open Interval in the Front; thorow which the Squadrons in the middle might draw forth to fight; and, at the Angles of the Rere, there were likewise two Intervals; that of the Front being shut up by the flying Squadron, and those in the Rere, by two Bodies of Horse, which were to advance first into the Battel. The Flanks were defended by the wonted carriages, which in admirable order went on without straggling: And by the side of them were the Foot of all the severall Nations drawn up in Divisions. Without the Body of the Army, and of the four square form, the Light-horse and Carabines in very great numbers, being divided into many Squadrons, filled up the extent of the Plain on every side; and in the midst of the whole Camp, the Duke, carried in an open Chair, went himself, observing what was anife, And setting all things in order. But the King had hardly made a stand upon the Plain to take an hasty view of this excellent order, when *Georgio Basta* (advertised by the *Avant-Gardeurs*) coming up with the Carabines and Light-horse of the Army, he found himself entangled by two great clouds of Harquebusiers on Horse-back, who hailing upon them on both sides, forced him, though very late, to think of the means of retiring. Almost all the Gentlemen that followed him were without their head-pieces, because in such an unexpected accident they had not had time to take them; and fought confusedly in disorder, because haste had not suffered them to draw themselves up into a Body; so that onely courage, and sense of honor, and the Kings presence restrained them from flight, which was necessary, if they would save their lives. But a great number falling dead on every side (since even the best of their arms was not proof against the violence of those Bullets that flew from the extraordinary wide bore of the Carabines) and the first flying Squadron of Foot already appearing, which having heard the beginning of the fight, came up a great pace to fall in amongst them, the King commanding his men to wheel about, but not to charge, went on at a round trot toward the descent, to meet with his Light-horse and Harque-

busiers

busiers on horse-back, which being led by the Baron de Giury, and the Sieur de Lavardin, followed him not very far off. The Enemy with no less readiness was at his back, and on all sides the Captains of the Light-horse made haste to cut off his retreat; for being known by his countenance, plume, and habit, every one crying out to his companions, that it was the King of Navar, and mutually exhorting each other to follow him, they put all their utmost endeavors to get him into their hands. The fury of their retreat downward (making many horses stumble and fall) did so much hinder their speed and order, that it was necessary the King himself, with evident danger, should stay among the last, to sustain the violence of the Enemy, and be in the greatest storm of shot, one of which striking at last through the cantle of his Saddle, wounded him (though without danger) under the reins. As the Kings hurt necessitated him to fly full speed to save himself, so did it utterly rout his men, who being come into the field below, were detained by the impediment of the stakes, and branches of the Vines, and by the abundance of the hedges; so that men and horses fell at every step, and were exposed to the fury of the Enemies, who made such a slaughter with their Carabines, that besides the great number of Gentlemen which were slain, the Archers of the Kings guard were almost all left dead upon the place. But the light-Horse who were already come up into the midst of the Plain, which being but short, spread it self between the Town and the place where the fight was, being met by those who fled away, carrying news that the King was wounded, and almost dead, disordered themselves without fighting; and facing about, fled back for company to Anne; only the Baron de Giury, who was at the head of them with their Captains, advancing with thirty in his company to assist the Kings so manifest danger, covered him with his own Cloak, which he threw about his shoulders, and upheld him for a while, till he saved himself from the fury of his Enemies. At the same time the Sieur de Lavardin advanced with threescore of his Harquebusiers on horse-back, for the rest had also taken flight, and placing himself behinde the bank of a ditch that was by the way-side, endeavoured to stop the pursuit of the Enemy; but he being wounded at the first volley, Giury's horse killed under him, which in falling hurt his left legg and knee very dangerously, Aubigny unhorsed,

While the King views the Enemies Army, their Cavalry come up to him, and he being in wonderful great danger, comes off wounded.

X x x x x

Chaseron

1592

The Duke of
Nevers re-
lieves the
Kings Caval-
ry that was
retiring to
Aumale, and
makes good
their Retreat.

The Duke of
Nevers having
fetcht off the
Kings Caval-
ry, follows the
King, who
had saved
himself in a
Wood.

Chaseron wounded, *Rambures* bruised and bloody, not one of them would have been saved, if the Duke of Nevers with a great Squadron of Cavalry (wherein were the Counts of Torigny and Montgomery, the *Sieur de Montigny*, and the *Grand Esquier*) had not advanced to disengage them. The Duke, after he had heard of the beginning of the skirmish, and that the King was put to the worst; had wonderful discreetly disposed that part of the Harquebusiers on Horse-back which had remained with him, along the Bank of the River, to make good the Ford, and favour the passage of those that fled; and himself with the main Body of the Cavalry, all armed, and in excellent good order, had past the River to relieve and sustain his men, which he saw afar off were overpowred and oppressed by the violence of the Enemy; and his coming was very seasonable; for, if he had staid longer, both the King himself, and all the rest that were in the Plain, would certainly have been either killed or taken. The Duke went on till he came to a place where (by reason that the River was overflowed) he was faine to pass along a narrow Bank, and there, not onely seeing the Spanish Carabines (encouraged by the beginning of the victory) furious in a close pursuit, but also the *Sieur de Vitry*, the *Baron de la Chastre*, and the Count de *Chaligny*, who leaving the Body of the Army behinde them, were run to reinforce the fight, he took a resolution to retire without passing any farther, lest he should lose the Gentry that were with him, if with so great disadvantage and to no purpose he should have exposed them to the Enemies whole Army, which was like to charge them every minute; wherefore having fetcht them off, who (their Horses being lost) retired with much difficulty, having recovered *Ginry* and *Lavardin*, both very sore hurt, and having gathered up many Gentlemen that were scattered about the field, he returned wheeling off, and facing often about till he came to the River of Aumale, where being sustained by the Harquebusiers that lay along the Bank, he passed it again without any disorder, and drawing up quickly, followed the Kings steps, who with very great speed had taken towards a Wood to retire the more securely.

It is most certain, that if the Army of the League had advanced quickly (with the same fury as did the Carabines) on the right hand, and on the left, (for in all that Country they might

might have marched freely as far as the bank) the King surrounded and encompassed on all sides before the Duke of Nevers had arrived, would with all his men have remained in their power, since that notwithstanding they did not, he had both much ado, and exceeding great fortune to save himself; but at the same time the news being confusedly brought, that the Enemy was present, that the King himself was there in person, that they were fighting, and that they fled; the Duke of Parma, not suffering himself to be carried away with common reports, and not thinking it possible that the King without some secret stratagem, would have adventured himself inconsiderately among the *Avant Coureurs*, doubting lest in a Country where he was not well acquainted, some ambuscado might be laid for him; therefore, causing his Army to make a halt, and having stopt the flying Squadron that was already upon its march, before he advanced, he would make himself sure that he would not be caught in a trap; which prudent wariness nevertheless gave the King conveniency to save himself; for though the Duke of Mayenne (who in vain had urged that the whole Army might advance) set forward with a Body of Horse at a large trot to follow him, yet it being already night when they entered into Aumale, he was out of hope to do any good, and therefore resolved to stay and pass no further.

The King caused himself to be hastily dressed in a wood about half a league from Aumale, and having found that the wound was not very deep, (for the bullet being deaded by passing thorow the saddle, stuck but in the flesh) prosecuted his journey with very great speed, and stopt not till he came within the walls of *Neuf-Chastel*; where the Duke of Nevers having done the part of a prudent and valiant souldier, arrived also, though many hours after, with all his men perfectly safe. It was feared lest the next day the Duke of Parma should follow on his voyage speedily, and hasting directly to *Rouen*, where the report of the King's being routed and wounded might have bred a fright and a confusion in the Army, with very great danger of being defeated and scattered; nor did there appear any other remedy to retard his march, save to defend *Neuf-Chastel*; which place standing upon the Road, they did not believe he would leave at his back, especially if it were strongly Garrisoned, lest it should obstruct the way, and

The King cat-
ses his wound
to be dress'd in
the woods
which found
not dangerous
he goes pre-
sently to
Neuf-Chastel.

1592

The King
leaves the Ba-
ron de Guiry
at Neuf Cha-
stel, he having
undertaken to
defend it, and
goes to Diepe
to be cured of
his wound.

hinder the bringing in of provisions, which were all of necessity to pass thorow those parts. But the Town being weak, and the exigency requiring a speedy resolution, the Baron *de Guiry*, though his foot was very sorely hurt, proffered himself to stay, and to defend it so long, that the Enemy might not come unexpectedly to *Rouen*; but that the King's Army, the present terrour being overpast, might have time to settle it self again, and that the King himself being grown better of his wound (which they hoped he would be within a few days) were able again to set on horse-back, and with his presence put courage into the actions of his souldiers, which was the onely means to sustain himself. So three hundred Cuirassiers, and four hundred Harquebussiers on horse-back being left at *Neuf-Chastel* with *Guiry*, the King with the Baron *de Biron* went to *Diepe*, that they might be the better cured, and the Duke of *Nevers* with the remainder of his men returned to *Rouen* to re-inforce the Army.

The Duke of
Parma's an-
swer to the
French Lords.

The Duke of Parma quartered the next day at *Aumale*, and the French Lords murmuring, that if he had advanced that day, the War might easily have been made an end of; he answered, That if he were to do it again, he would take the same resolution, because it was dictated by reason, having till then believed that he had had to do with a Captain Generall of an Army, and not with a Captain of Light-Horse, which he now knew the King of Navar to be: but this business bred a discontent among the Commanders of the League; for the Spaniards and Italians commended the Duke of Parma's wariness, and his secure way of managing the War, and the French praised the forward humour of their Nation, and would have had him proceed in the same manner which they saw the King hold in the promptness of his resolutions: but the condition of the one was very different from that of the other; for the King being General of a voluntary Army, and having no other hope, nor any other security but himself, was necessitated to venture his own person upon all occasions, making way with his danger for those that followed him: but the Duke of Parma coming onely to succour the Confederates, would not hazard at once the hopes of France, and the possession of Flanders, without expectation of some fruit by his Victory that might countervail so great a loss; and therefore with art and prudence, as he had done at *Paris*, he pretended

tended not to conquer, but not to be conquered. However it were, it is most certain, that from hence there began to rise differences and discontents between him and the Duke of Mayenne, which afterwards encreased every day.

1592

The Army of the League advancing with commodious marches, laid siege to *Neuf-Chastel*, which by reason of its weakness, they believed would have made no resistance; but the Duke of Parma incensed at the boldness of the defenders, and at the impediment which he received thereby, caused his Artillery to be planted with as much speed as was possible, and with wonderfull fury to batter that part of the wall which stood toward his Camp, which being old, and not lined with earth, within a short space afforded a breach very convenient to be assaulted: which Monsieur *de Giury* seeing, began to capitulate; and though the Duke were at first highly incensed at his resistance, yet being appeased by the intercession of Monsieur *de la Chastre*, *Giury's* Father-in-law, and admiring the valour of that *Cavalier*, (who to give his party time to recover breath, had thrust himself into so great a danger) granted him honourable conditions: about the performance whereof there arose some dispute; for Monsieur *de Rebours* a Colonel of French Infantry, who had shut himself up in the Town with *Giury*, not having been particularly mentioned in the Capitulations, the Duke of Parma pretended that he not having been named, ought not to enjoy the benefit of the Articles, but to remain a prisoner; and Monsieur *de Giury* argued, that having made composition for himself and all his souldiers, though *Rebours* was not named with the other Officers, because he had not his men there, was yet comprehended, and ought to go free with all the rest; which after it had been a while disputed, the Duke of Parma generously remitted the difference to the King's own decision, who knew whether he had left *Rebours* with command or without command for the defence of the place. But the King having called a Council of War, and having heard every ones opinion, gave judgement that *Rebours* was to be understood as comprehended in the Capitulation.

The Duke of Parma besieges *Neuf-Chastel*, which though weak, is gallantly defended by *Giury*; but a breach being made, and the assailants ready to fall on, *Giury* capitulates. The Duke of Parma angry at his resistance, shews himself unwilling to treat; but being appeased, grants him honourable conditions.

But the obstacle of *Neuf-Chastel*, though it was but for four days, gave great help to the King's affairs; for that time was not onely very considerable, but in that interim part of the

1592

the victual being spent which was brought along with the Army of the League, it was necessary to stay to make new provisions; for the Country, destroyed in a siege of so many months, in the sterility of the Winter, did not afford any thing, and the victuals that were to be brought from Picardy were of necessity to be accompanied with strong Convoys, and backed by the Cavalry of the Army, because the King and the Baron *de Biron*, from Diepe and Arques where they lay, caused all the ways to be obstructed with their Horse. This stay was of ten days, to the great murmuring of the French; for the Duke would not engage himself in an Enemies Country, all ruin'd, and not well known to him, without such abundant provisions of victual as were necessary to feed the Camp, not being accustomed to remit the event of his counsels unto fortune. In these dayes there happened many valiant encounters; for the King being cured of his wound, suffered not the Enemy to repose without suspicion, nor without danger; but matters proceeded almost alike, the encounters being between the Cavalry, wherein the number of the Gentry on each side equalled the proceedings, with bold attempts, prompt resistance, and gallant resolutions.

It fell out that the King, being advanced upon a hill that lay on the right side of the great high-way by which all the Enemies Army marched, caused the *Sieur de Montigny* with a Squadron of Light-horse, and the *Sieur de Praslin* with another of Cuirassiers to fall suddenly into the Quarters of the Duke of Aumale (who brought up the Rere) just at the time when he newly entered into them; but after a short skirmish rather than fight, being in their retreat charged by the Count *de Chaligny*, and the *Sieur de Rosne*, there followed in the adjoyning Plain a great encounter, to which the *Sieur de Ferwaques*, and the Count *de Torigny* son to the Marechal *de Matignen* coming up with the Troops of Normandy, they fought above two hours with singular bravery; but when they of the League would have retired, they found themselves engaged by the Baron *de Biron*, who with another Troop fell in upon their Flank, so that to save themselves they were faine to turn their backs and run full speed; which the Count *de Chaligny* scorning to do, and gallantly fighting in the midst of his enemies, was taken prisoner by *Chicot* the King's Jester, but a notable sturdy lad, who in the taking

A skirmish
grown almost
to a Battel.

Chicot the
Kings Jester
takes the
Count *de*
Chaligny pri-
soner.

taking of him, received a wound from him in the head, where-
of he died not many days after. The Count being brought in-
to the Kings presence, and being much afflicted to have been
taken by a fellow of so base a profession, the King comforted
him, assuring him, that *Chicot* was a valiant fellow, and that he
ought rather to complain against himself for having engaged
himself so far; to which the Count answering, that the desire
of seeing and learning had made him so forward: The King
replied, that those of his party knew not how to teach him, and
that if he would learn the art of War, he ought to fight under
his Colours, and near his person. These were the ordinary say-
ings of the King, who gave the Counts ransom to the Dutchess
of Longueville and her Daughters, who having been taken at
Corby, after many moneths imprisonment were fain to buy
their liberty with 30000 Ducats.

The next day, just as the Army of the League came out of
their Quarters, the Baron *de Biron* in the Plain attacked the
first Divisions of them led by the *Sieurs de Vitry*, and *de la*
Chastre, where the skirmish with infinite courage on both
sides, began to grow exceeding hot; but the Army still march-
ing in Battalia that way, the Baron resolved to retire among the
Hills, which being very woody on all sides, gave the King con-
veniency to molest the enemy with his flying Army, and al-
so to make his retreat in time of need. By reason of these so
frequent and dangerous encounters, which ceased neither
day nor night, the Duke of Parma marching with his Army
always in order, advanced but slowly, not stirring, if the day
were not very clear; and if the Country were not well dis-
covered, and taking up his Quarters betimes in the evening,
that he might have leasure to fortifie and entrench his
Camp.

But he was now come near to Rouen, and it was necessary
to resolve upon some way either to raise the siege, or relieve
the place: *Georgio Basti* proffered himself with a certain num-
ber of Light-horse, and two Squadrons of Lances to march
away, and arriving by night, to pass thorow the midst of one
of the Kings quarters, and dispersing it, to enter into the Ci-
ty. The same did *Camillo Capizucchi* offer to do with his Ter-
tia, accompanied with a certain number of Horse; but the
Duke thought not these Propositions proportionable to the
present need of the City, which was not onely of necessity

The Duke of
Parma draws
near to
Rouen.

A generous
offer of *Geor-
gio Basti*, and
*Camillo Capi-
zucchi*.

1593

to be relieved, but totally freed; and besides that, it was dangerous to hazard a Body of good men, though small, against the preparations of a whole Royal Army. And therefore after mature deliberation, he resolved to relieve the City with all his Forces in this following manner. The King with the greater part of the Cavalry was moved into the midst of the way on the right hand, toward Diepe and the Country of Caux, to keep strong parties abroad, that he might obstruct the passage, and make it difficult to the Army of the League; and being drawn from *Rouen* the space of five or six leagues, had disposed his quarters in places separate from one another, yet near among themselves. The Baron *de Biron* lay at Diepe and Arques with the remainder of the Horse, to shut up the passage to the Army of the League, and by following them in the Rere, to hinder the bringing in of provisions. At *Rouen* there remained onely the Foot with the Mareschal *de Biron*. Things being thus disposed, the Duke of Parma resolved to move in the afternoon from the place where he was quartered, and taking the way upon the left hand, which leads straight to *Pont de l'Arche* (after he had gone round the wood of *Bellancoble*) to turn upon the right hand, and marching all the night, to arrive unexpectedly, at *Rouen* by break of day, and without delay to assault the Posts of the Mareschal *de Biron's* Infantry; which (the besieged sallying out of the City with their wonted valour) he doubted not but would be totally defeated and dissipated, before the King (who at the first intelligence of their moving would be uncertain of their extraordinary march) could have time or opportunity to assist it with the Cavalry.

With this intention (the weather being very fair for that season of the year) he moved suddenly upon the twenty sixth of February, taking upon the left hand toward *Bellancoble*. But upon the twenty fifth day the diligence and valour of the *Sieur de Villars* had already prevented his design: for he seeing the King was absent with all his Horse, and that the Foot of the Camp was divided at many several Posts, and not being willing to suffer another to have the glory of raising the siege, if he could do it by himself, he determined to try if by a bold sally he could put the Enemies affairs in disorder: and being advertised by an Irish-man who was run away from the Camp, that since the departure of the King with the principal

pal Lords, the guards were not so diligently kept, because the Marechal de Birou could not be in all places, and the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the High-Chancellour, with the Lords of the Council who were remaining at Dernetal had no experience in military matters, he set himself in order to sally in four several places, and assault all the Posts at once. He caused the Townsmen armed in their several Companies to guard the walls, under the command of the Sieur de la Londe, and he himself being resolved to go forth in Person, disposed business in this manner following: Colonel Boniface was to sally from St. Catharines with his Regiment of Foot, and two hundred Gentlemen and Officers at the head of it, being backed by the Chevalier d'Osse with two Troops of Horse that sallied from Martinville, and were to assault the Post of Tuinge. Pericard with his Regiment seconded by Captain Brosey and the Sieur de Quity, was to assault the Batteries planted against the old Fort. Captain Giacopo Argenti with his Infantry, followed by the Sieur de Canonville's Horse to reinforce them, sallied at the Porte Canchoise, was to march toward the Coyent of Carthusians, to make head against the main Body at Dernetal, in case they should move to succour their Trenches. The Governour himself with a select number of Souldiers and Gentlemen, seconded by Captain Perdriel, sallied at the Porte de Beauvais, was to assault the Battery newly raised by the French Regiments. All these things were in order at break of day, and the sign being given by a Cannon-shot, they sallied with singular gallantry, and with so much violence, that the passage to the Trenches being taken both before and behinde, and the Guards surrounded, they made a wonderful great slaughter in every place, took the Cannon, some of which they nailed, some they drew into the Moat; they spoiled the engines and instruments of War in all places, gave vent to the Mines, blew up the Ammunition, and filled every place with death and terrour; so that all the Foot making no further resistance, fled without stop toward Dernetal. The Alarm had been suddenly given, and the Marechal de Birou with four thousand Swissers and Germans, and with those Gentlemen that were remaining in the Camp, was coming a great pace to succour his Trenches; but Captain Perdriel, who sallied after the Governour at the Porte de Beauvais with three Troops of Horse, over-ran all the Plain,

Y y y y y

and

The History of the Civill Warres

and wheeling and skirmishing briskly, endeavoured to keep him in play; and the same did the *Chevalier d'Oyse*, with *Barosey*, *Quiry*, and *Cannonville*, till the Souldiers had done what they intended in the Trenches; which having fully performed, all those four Squadrons likewise advanced to receive the encounter of the *Mareschal de Biron*, and between the Trenches and Dernetall they made a bloody fight; in which, though the *Sieur de Larchant* a brave Cavalier, and Captain of the King's Guards was slain, and the *Mareschal* himself sorely hurt with a shot in the thigh; yet the other Squadrons of the Germans coming up, and the English and French Infantry rallying themselves together on all sides, they of the Town were beaten back, though with much ado, and driven to their very gates. But the Ammunition being blown up, the Artillery taken, and all things put into confusion, the loss was inestimable, and irreparable for a long time. There were slain on the King's side above eight hundred Souldiers in the Trenches, and amongst them two French Colonels, and fourteen Captains of several Nations; and of the Assailants not above fifty. The Governour presently dispatched the *Sieur de Franqueville* thorow the Woods to the Duke of Mayene, to give him notice of what had passed, and to let him know, that it was not necessary to precipitate any thing to relieve the City, for the Enemy was left in such a condition, that they would be able to hurt them but little for many dayes. This intelligence being received on the twenty sixth in the evening while the Army was marching their appointed way, they made an halt, and the Commanders were called to consult. The Duke of Parma was of opinion to prosecute the design, for that the Infantry being astonished by the misfortune of the day before, it would be much more easie to dissipate them, and make themselves Masters of their Quarters; freeing the City utterly from the siege, and effecting that for which they were advanced so far: but the Duke of Mayene considered that the business they intended to do was already done, the Mines and Trenches destroyed, the Artillery taken, and Ammunition blown up, that there remained nothing to do, save to beat the Infantry out of their Quarters at Dernetal, whither they were all reduced, which being excellently well fortified, was not an enterprize that could be so easily effected without disputes; so that it being necessary to spend many hours time about it, the

The Duke of Parma is of opinion to follow the enterprize of Rouen, and to prosecute the King's forces already terrified: The Duke of Mayene is of another mind, and his advice is followed.

the King in the interim would be come up, most powerfull in Horse, with whom they must of necessity fight, with their souldiers tired with marching, and wearied with the first encounter; and that the City not having need that things should be precipitated, it was better to proceed with that circumspection wherewith they had governed themselves till then. His opinion was followed, though many of the Spaniards believed he gave that counsel, because the Duke of Parma should not get the glory of having relieved *Rouen*; and so in the same order the Army faced about, and returned to the quarters from whence they came.

There they consulted what was to be done. The Duke of Mayenne's opinion, in which the other French Lords concurred, was, that the siege of *Rouen* could not be raised without coming to a Battel, which, by reason of the great abundance of Gentry that followed the King at that present, he judged very dangerous: wherupon his advice was (Rouen being in such a condition, that there was no danger it should be much straitned in many days, no nor in many weeks) that onely seven or eight hundred Foot should be sent into the City for a reinforcement, and to make up the number of the dead; and that the rest of the Army should bend another way, shewing that they were no longer in fear nor care about the siege, but that they should busie themselves about other enterprises: for the Gentry that followed the King, tired with the sufferings and expences of all that winter, seeing there was not like to be any occasion of fighting for a long while, and that the Army of the League was far off, would with their wonted haste retire to their own houses, and that many others would leave the King's Camp in the same manner; which as soon as they should see come to pass, they should speedily march back, and without losing time advance to *Rouen*; for that the King would certainly be forced to draw off; or if he fought, the Victory would be secure. The Spaniards and Italians, fearing lest others should enjoy the fruits and honours of their labours, inclined to go forward, firmly believing that the King would rise from the siege; rather then be caught between the City and their Army; and since so much was already done, they desired to perfect the enterprise: and this opinion was favoured by Prince *Ranuccio*, more desirous of glory then any other. But the Duke of Parma chose to follow the advice of the

1592

The Duke of
Parma sends
800 Horse in-
to Rouen, and
then goes to
besiege S. E-
sprit de Rue,
an exceeding
strong place.

French; and having sent to Rouen eight hundred Walloons of the Regiment of the Count *de Bossu* and *de la Bourlonne*, who arriving by night, entered without opposition, departed with the rest of his Army; and having passed the River *Somme*, he marched away as fast as he could, and went to besiege *St Esprit de Rue*, a wonderfull strong place standing toward the Confines.

The king re-
ceives supplies
by the Holland
Fleet, and ap-
plies himself
with his ut-
most endea-
vours to the
siege of Rouen

When the Army of the League was retired, the King, though the cause of the resolution of the Confederates was obscure to him, determined nevertheless to straiten the siege of Rouen more diligently then he had done before; and the men of War being arrived, which the States of Holland sent to his assistance, commanded by *Philip* one of the Counts of *Nassau* (aboard which were many Pieces of Cannon, great store of Ammunition, and above three thousand Foot) he caused the Cannon and Ammunition to be landed, whereof he had exceeding great need, by reason of the spoil made in the sally, and gave order that the Holland-ships should not onely scowr the River, to hinder the coming of Victual and other necessaries that were brought from *Havre de Grace* to *Rouen*, but also that they should come up close to the City, and battering the old Palace and other places near the River, increase the dangers and labours of the besieged. He also caused certain Barks to be manned in the upper parts of the River towards *Pont de l'Arche*, which under the command of *Monfieur de l'Hospital* High-Chancellour of Navar, scowred it also on that side, and blocked it up so much the more: which Barks, the first day they set forth, meeting with *Monfieur d'Anquetil*, made a very sharp fight, the end whereof was that one of the Town-ships being fired, and another sunk, though the King's did also receive much harm, yet those of the League retired under the protection of the walls. The Holland-ships drew near also on the lower side, and shot an infinite number of Cannon-shot into the Town, which nevertheless did but little hurt: but the Governor having caused three Culverines to be planted upon a *Cavalier* which had formerly been raised by the River side, after that one of their ships was boarded thorow and thorow with them, and the main-mast of another shot down, they drew off, to look to the blocking up of the River, and landed two thousand Foot more, to re-inforce the Army.

The King in the mean time set himself again to cast up
Trenches

Trenches, and make Redoubts on all sides; and hastening the Works with his own presence, the Princes and Lords assisting likewise in their turns, nor intermitting to work by night, they were brought to perfection in a few days. The first of them, drawn from the side of *Turinge*, was followed more eagerly than the rest, to recover the Canon which at the Sally had been drawn into the mote on that side: but the besieged perceiving this design, made an engine to raise and draw them up; and though the skirmishes were many, and that the Artillery and works did much mischief on all sides, yet they of the Town drew them up to the Bulwark of the old Fort; and having brought them into the City with great joy and triumph, set them in the Court of the Archbishop's Palace, where the Governour lay, because it stood in a place equally distant from those which the enemy battered at that time. They fought lustily in all places; and the Count *de Soissons* being again past over into the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Severe*, had begun already to raise a Battery on that side, to divide the Forces of the Defendants, and presse them on all sides: yet nevertheless he shew that he neither feared nor was straitned, caused his Cavaliers to go forth between the *Porte de Martinville*, that of *St. Hilaire*, and to make a Tournament, running at the Ring and *Faquin*, and making shew to be fully at ease, and unconcerned, among so great and so continual toils and dangers. But the King interpreted this action, not to vanity (which *Villars* was very far from) but to weakness, and he endeavoured with that cloak to palliate the extream necessity he was reduced to; and therefore with greater diligence showed his batteries and mines in every place. They continued their sallies, with various fortune; and now at last the effects of the number of the defendants slackened them; the Count *de Franqueville* having been slain in one of them, and the Major *La Londe*, with many other Officers wounded; yet they made so brisk an one on the side toward *St. Severe*, that the Count *de Soissons* ran himself into the Trench, exhorting and encouraging his Souldiers; yet they of the Town having seized upon a Redoubt, advanced into the plain, where encountering the Baron *de Ginry*, who was gone on that side with some Troops of Light-horse, the fight was very hot and bloody, *Ginry* himself being so sorely wounded in the shoulder, that he was given for dead; to the King's so great and so

1592

The Kings
souldiers at
Rough desire
to recover
their Cannon
which the be-
sieged had cast
into the moat:
their designs
are discovered
and the defen-
dants at last,
though after
many skirmi-
shes, draw
them up with
engines, and
bring them
into the Town
with great joy

*Or, Quintane.

1592

The *Sieur de Givry* is sorely wounded; for which the King much grieved, said, That if he should die, he had no body to whom he could command the charge of the *Light-horse*; which speech disgusted the *Sieur de Montigny* and *de la Chappelle*; the first of which spurred on by the Kings words, continues to serve him with more diligence; and the other in despair goes over to the League.

so manifest trouble, that having heard the news, he said with a deep sigh, that he had now no body to whom he could recommend the so important charge of the *Light-Horse*; which speech offended many, and particularly the *Sieurs de Montigny*, and *de la Chappelle*, who pretended to the place: but *Montigny* continuing to serve with singular valour, in process of time attained his desires; and on the other side *de la Chappelle* discontented and made desperate by the Kings words, within a while after went over to the Enemy; and yet *Givry's* wound was neither mortal nor dangerous, and they of the Town were beaten back with the loss of many men.

But that which did more harm, was, that upon the 24th of March a very great piece of the wall of about seventy paces fell of itself between the *Porte-Cauchoise* and the Monastery of *S. Dominique*; which while the besieged laboured to repair with earth, wood-packs, battens, and other instruments, the King having caused some small Pieces to be suddenly brought on that side, did them so great mischief, that in all the time of the siege they had not received greater: whereupon *Villars* strengthened on all sides, and having but a few souldiers left, not being longer able to resist so long and so obstinate a siege, was faine to write to the Duke of Mayene, that if he were not relieved by the twentieth of April at the furthest, he should be forced to capitulate. But in the interim that came to pass (which the Duke of Mayene had so confidently fore-told, for the Nobles tired out with the toils of the whole Winter, having spent their money, worn out their clothes, and quite harrassed their horses now that there was no more hope that the Armies should fight, had according to their wonted custom taken leave to see their own houses again; and the Army was thereby diminished, that of few less then 10000 there remained few more then 5000 Horse; and they, because the Country was utterly wasted round about, and destroyed by their long stay there, in a season when the old store was spent, and the new not yet grown up, were brought to a very weak estate; and to have wherewithal to subsist, they were forced to divide themselves and lie at large, scattered in many several quarters.

The *Mareschal de Biron*, and the *Duke de Bouillon* had foreseen that evil, and had laboured to perswade them all to 15 or 20 dayes patience longer, in which time the event of things might

might be totally seen; but so great was the necessity of many, and so precipitate the inclination of the Volunteers, that they would not be kept, there being many even of the Commanders, who constantly believed that the Duke of Parma had lost all hopes of relieving Rouen, and that he had set himself in good earnest upon the enterprise of St. Esprit de Rue, to try if diversion could work any effect, and that therefore his return was not to be feared; but that the Infantry with the new Supplies from Holland were sufficient to take in Rouen: Which opinion (as the French are ready enough to be vainly contented of themselves) to the contempt of the Duke of Parma and his Army, was grown so common, that it was also entered into the King himself; so that he little thought he should have any more need of the Cavalry. On the other side, the Foot (which had passed all the Winter in the Trenches, half drowned with the excessive rains that fell continually after a great abundance of snow, and consumed with perpetual watching and toying) were not in any better condition than the Horse, but had more need of rest, than to be employed in new and dangerous actions, besides the diseases, which (abounding as they are wont) were spread amongst the Germans, and much more amongst the English, had exceedingly lessened the number of those Forces; and the French Infantry not staying to feel the uttermost sufferings, ran away every hour; nor could the King (though he at last took notice of the decay and tiredness of his Army) use so great diligence as was sufficient (after above five months wasting of provisions) to keep his Camp plentifully furnished: Which things being known to the Duke of Parma, and much more particularly to the Duke of Mayene, having deferred till the very utmost time mentioned in the Governour of Rouen's Letters, to give the Enemies Army so much the longer time to consume it self, they arose suddenly from Rue, where they had rather made shew to employ themselves, then taken any care to get the place, and being well provided of Victual, passed the River Somme at a place called * *Blanguetaque*, where spreading it self at large, it is less rapid, and more shallow, and in six days march came very near to Rouen; having with this celerity made that journey in so short a space, which the time before they were no less about than thirty

1592

The Duke of Parma leaving the siege of Rue, draws near to Rouen to relieve it. * Which is between Cretey and St. Valery.

The

1592

The King musters his Forces, and finding himself much weaker resolves to raise his siege.

The King sending away his Carriages before, draws up his Army in battalia, and marches away from the siege of Rouen.

The King having heard of the Enemies sudden coming, presently made them who were in the *Fauxbourg* of *St. Sever* come back over the River to joyn with the rest of the Army, and with extream diligence recalled all his Cavalry to the Quarters at *Darnetal*, with an intention to oppose and meet the Enemy; but having made a strict muster of his Forces, and knowing them to be so diminished both in number and vigour, that they were no way equal to the numerous Army of the League, he resolved to raise the siege, and reserve matters till a better occasion; being certain that the greater part of the Nobility would within a few days be come back to him again. But lest the Army of the League drawing near apace, and without resistance, should disturb the order of his retreat, he sent forth the Duke of *Bouillon* with the German Horse, accompanied with a few French Light-horse and Cuirassiers upon the great road toward *Nenf-Chastel*, to hinder and fore-slow the Enemies march. The Country throw which the Army of the Confederates came was all plain, not troubled with either hills or woods, which was a great disadvantage to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who with a few men intended to make shew to be the whole Army; and yet he took his time so opportunely to assault the Duke of *Guise's* Van-guard when the rest of the Army was not yet moved out of their Quarters, that he put the first Troops of it into some disorder, and in the first fury of the charge took a Cornet; but *Rosne*, *Bassompierre*, and the whole Van-guard coming up, and within a while after the Duke of *Parma* with the Battel, the business was reduced to faint skirmishes upon advantage; for the Duke of *Parma* commanding out many Troops of Horse every way, endeavoured to discover his Wings and Rere, to finde whether or no the King's whole Army were there; and the Duke of *Bouillon* perceiving his design, made as many Fronts as the Enemy sent forth Troops, and extending his Battalion to the utmost, would not suffer them to effect their intents; with which arts the whole day was spent in petty incounters; and the King with his Commanders had time to raise his Camp from before *Rouen* without disorder. The Artillery were drawn off without delay, and while the Army was unbattelling, they were sent before with the Carriages to *Pont de l'Arche*, toward which place the King intended to retire; who

of France. The Twelfth Book.

1001
1091
1592

who after he had made a stand, about half an hour facing the City, left the siege and upon the twentieth day of April; and the Baron de Biron making good the retreat, marched commodiously the same way.

The Duke of Parma, with his Army in battel-array, arrived the same day at Roer, and having sent Giorgio Basti to follow the Rere of the King's Army, to observe which way he marched, entered with the Duke of Mayenne into the City, where having given infinite praises to the Sieur de Villars and the rest that had been with him in the siege, he retired the same night to quarter with his Army in the neighbouring Villages.

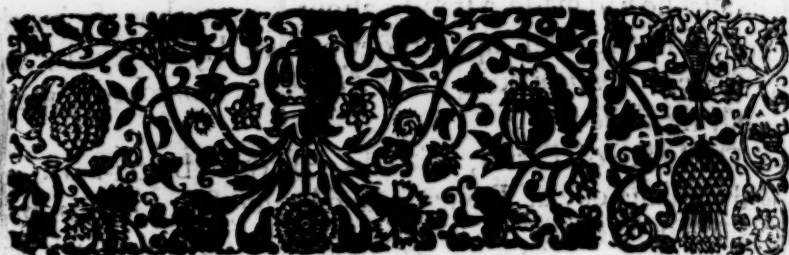
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1092

1592



THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
CIVILL WARRES
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The Thirteenth BOOK.

THE ARGUMENT.

IN this Book is set down the determination of the Confederates to besiege Candebec, thereby to open the passage of the River, and totally free the City of Rouen : they lay siege unto it ; the Duke of Parma in viewing the works receives a Musket-shot in the arm : the Town is taken ; but things go on so slowly, that the King hath time to get his Army together again, and taking all the Passes, to besiege the Army of the League in the Peninsula of Caux ; many actions of importance follow : The Duke of Parma troubled with his wound, and straightened with want of Provisions, thinks of passing the River Seine to disingage himself from that danger which he found he was run into : He manages that design with so much art, that he passes the River, and retires without receiuing any loss ; he draws off with long marches, repasses the River at St Cloud, returns into Flanders, and leaves Supplies (not very powerfull) under the Sienr de Rosne. The Duke of Mayenne being angry, goes not with him ; he takes Pontean de Mer, and falls into

into discord with the Pope's Commissary ; he enters into a treaty of Agreement with the King, who vexed at the unexpected passage of the confederate Army, lessens his own, and follows the Enemy with a flying Camp. He lays siege to Espernay in Champagne, which had been taken a while before by the Sieur de Rosne ; the Marechal de Biron is slain there with a Cannon-shot ; Espernay is taken, and other neighbouring Garrisons fall of themselves : The King raises a Fort upon the Seine to keep provisions from the City of Paris, the Duke of Mayenne attempts in vain to divert him : there arises on the King's side a third party of Princes of the Blood, and many machinations are set on foot. Pope Clement the Eighth is created, who applies himself with great moderation to the affairs of France. The Duke of Mayenne at the solicitation of the Pope and the King of Spain, resolves to call the States-General to elect a King ; upon this there follows divers artifices, and different Treaties ; King Philip sends new Ambassadors to declare his will unto the States. The Duke of Mayenne meets them, they disagree, but piece up again for their own private interests. The King attempts to dissolve the States ; He causes the Catholics of his Councell to hold a Conference with the Confederates, which with the Duke of Mayenne's consent is begun at Surenne ; he takes Noyon ; the King being necessitated to go speedily into Poictou cannot relieve it. The Catholick King's Ambassadors propose the Infanta of Spain to be elected Queen ; the Proposition is ill relished by the States, and there are divers practices about it. The King takes Dreux ; and being constrained by the importunities of his own Catholics, who threaten to forsake him, resolves to turn his Religion ; He removes to St Denis, and goes publickly to Masse. He appoints the Duke of Nevers his Ambassadors to the Pope to ask absolution ; the States of the League are troubled at it. The Duke of Mayenne seeing that he could not obtain the Kingdom for himself nor for his Posterity, consents that a Truce should be treated on ; the Deputies at Surenne conclude it till the end of October ; it is willingly accepted, and the States at Paris are dismissed.

1592



He relieving of Rouen effected with so much ease, and without blood, by the Duke of Parma's excellent dexterity in making use sometimes of slowness, sometimes of celerity, according as they were seasonable, filled his name with infinite honour, and did very much depress that height of prosperity to which the King's affairs seemed to be grown up; but the businesses which followed, though they much more clearly shewed the Duke's prudence and valour, did yet within a short time raise the King's affairs to their former condition.

The Councel of the League, after they saw the King's Camp was raised, began to debate what was fittest to be done. The Spanish and Italian Commanders were for following the Enemy; and now that he was so weak, and his men tired out with sufferings, advised to prosecute his suppression, while the occasion presented it self of hoping with reason to effect it: but the French Lords (to whom exceeding great belief was given, by reason of the knowledge they had of the Country, and of the situations of places) shewed, that he passing the Seine at *Pont de l'Arche*, and marching into lower Normandy, would not onely leave them in a necessity of returning to Rouen to pass the River, but also make it very difficult for them to follow him thorow a Country that was wholly the Enemies, far from supplies, retreates, and provisions; whereas he with the fervour of the Nobility, which would presently be run together to withstand his danger, encreasing in strength every hour, and refreshing his Forces in places so fertile and abundant, would quickly be able to look them in the face, and reduce them, being surrounded in his Country, to some strange encounter. Wherefore, that they might utterly free the City of Rouen, and open the River unto it, they thought it much better to assault *Candebec*, that alone hindered the passage of the Seine; which being taken, and the intention perfected for which they were come thither, they might afterward consider what enterprise would be most advantageous to their common interests. The Duke of Parma, who desired absolutely to free Rouen, and then following his wonted designs, to return to the Government of the affairs of *Flanders*, did willingly embrace the Counsel, not taking notice (by reason he was not acquainted with the Country) that
 shutting

shutting himself up in the Peninsula of *Caux*, environed on one side with the River *Seine*, and on the other two by the Ocean Sea, if the King with his Army should possess the passage out of it, which was but one, and that narrow one of a few miles, he would shut them up as in a net, and by reason of the littleness of the Country, would (onely by stopping provisions from him) conquer him very easily with hunger. But the French Commanders either did not believe that the King could so soon be in a condition to follow them, or else thought to take *Caudebec* in a few hours, and retire before he should be come up to them; and the Duke of Parma suffered himself to be led by those who knew the situations and quality of the Country better then he, out of the apparent reason of absolutely freeing the City of *Rouen*, which certainly without the taking of *Caudebec*, being deprived of the use of the River, would have remained little less then besieged: wherefore having thrown down the King's Forts and Trenches, the Army of the League came before *Caudebec* upon the 24th day of April.

The Army of the League with no very good advice go to besiege *Caudebec*, thereby utterly to free the City of *Rouen*

Caudebec lies behinde certain hills (not very high nor steep, but fertill and well wooded) in a large Plain, upon the bank of the River *Seine*, encompassed with very thick Walls, but not lined with earth, nor bettered with any kind of Fortification. There were to defend the Town Monsieur *de la Garde* a Colonel of French Infantry, and *Pausania Braccioduro*, who alone commanded the Italian Light-horse; for *Nicolo Nasi* was dead in the Camp of a natural death. These, not to fail in the duty of good souldiers, took a Post without the Town between two hills, in the passage that led from them into the Plain, intending to keep the siege as far as possibly they could from the Walls. The Walloons of the Count *de Bossu*, and Monsieur *de Vert*, were sent to drive them from thence; with whom though they skirmished a long while, and gained time, yet being exceeded by a greater number, they were fain to retire to the Town, and leave the passage free unto the Army of the League; but as it marched down into the Plain, the Holland Men-of-War, who were drawn close to the bank of the River, plaid upon it most furiously with their Cannon, and did a very great and unexpected mischief to the first Squadrons: wherefore the Duke having commanded the Army that was marching to make a stand, did with excellent order,

1592.

The Duke of
Parma view-
ing the situati-
on of Caude-
bec, receives a
Musket-shot
in the arm.

or, and no less expedition, cause his Artillery to be drawn to the side of a hill, and from thence to give fire with equal violence upon the ships, so that (the Cannon which were planted upon the land, shooting with more certainty then those that were upon the water) having almost sunk the Admiral, and shot many of their best ships thorow and thorow, the rest drew off from the shore, and with the stream of the River fell down to *Quillebeuf*, a place that stands something lower, but upon the same bank, and there for their security they began to draw a Line about the Town; which for the conveniency of it, in respect of Navagation, and of the passage of the River, being made a Fortrefs, was in after-times held in exceeding great consideration. But the ships being beaten off, and that trouble taken away, the Duke having quartered his Army, caused a Post to be taken under the walls, and the next day went in person with Prince *Ranuccio*, the *Sieur de la Motte*, and Count *Nicolo Cesis*, to view the place; and whilest he diligently surveyed all things, and because he would not trust to others, designed himself the manner of forming the Battery, he was hurt in the midst of the right arm with a Musket-bullet, which being shot from one of the great Towers of the wall, took him under the elbow, and passing between the two bones, went almost to his hand, where (being spent before) it flatted it self, and stayed, not having force enough to make its way out. He never changed his countenance, nor interrupted his discourse, nor spake of his being wounded; but it being discovered by the standers by, who saw the blood run down from under his cloke, he would nevertheless make an end of giving those orders which he had begun to design; and being brought home to his quarters, and visited by the Chirurgians, his hurt was not found any way mortal, but exceeding painfull; and so much the more, because they having been found to make three incisions in his arm, to finde the course of the wound, and to take out the bullet, he fell into a Fever within a while after; which continued upon him, he was constrained at last to keep his bed. After this accident, the chief command of the Army was left to the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the ordering of the Catholick King's Forces to Prince *Ranuccio*, who nevertheless did not dispose of any thing without his Father's consent. The Cannon were planted the next day, though but slowly; and having battered and beaten down a great space of the

the wall, Monsieur de la Garde (though against the opinion of Bracciaduro) began to treat of surrendring, and after some debate obtained the conditions he demanded; for the Duke of Parma being in no very good estate, every one desired that the progress of matters might be facilitated. So the next day the Town came into the power of the Confederates, who to give their Army rest, and to refresh it with plenty of victuall which they had gotten there, staid there three days after the taking of it.

1592
Monsieur de la Garde surrenders Caudebec to the Lords of the League.

In the mean time the Nobility of the neighbouring Provinces (which had been summoned from the very first notice of the Enemies return) were come unto the King; the Sieur d'Humieres with two hundred Horse from Picardy, the Sieur de Sourdis from Chartres with a hundred and fifty, the Sieur d'Hertré Governour of Alançon with two hundred, the Count de Montgomery, and the Sieur de Colombiere with three hundred, Monsieur de Canisi (Son-in-law to Matignon) with an hundred, Odet (Son to the late Sieur de la Noüe) with as many, and Colonel St Denis with six hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back. There arrived also Monsieur de Souvray and the Count de Lude with three hundred Gentlemen who had not been in the Camp before; and at last the Duke of Montpensier long expected, and the Sieur de la Verune Governour of Caen came with eight hundred Gentlemen, two hundred Light-Horse, and four hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back.

Upon notice of the enemies return, the Nobility return to the Kings Army with great Supplies.

The Duke of Montpensier's stay had been occasioned by his desire to obtain Auranches, a Town in lower Normandy, which was the onely one that in those parts towards the Confines of Bretagne held for the party of the League; for having besieged it at the latter end of the year before, with hope of taking it within a very few dayes, the business afterwards proved otherwise; for Monsieur de Vicq, an old souldier, and an undaunted Cavalier, who was come from Pont-Orson, having shut himself up into the Town, had gallantly made good the Suburbs for many dayes, till the Walls and Bastions of the City were made very defensible. But the Suburbs at last being taken, and the approaches being begun, there fell so great and so continuing a snow, as did not onely fill all the Trenches already made, but also hindered the work in such manner, that the Camp was fain to lie idle many dayes, being in the mean time tormented with such excessive cold weather, that had

1592

had it not been for the Suburbs (the houses whereof were pulled down, and the wood of them burned to warm the Soldiers) it had not been possible to have persisted in the enterprise. The snow being ceased, the yce continued so hard frozen, and the earth therefore so dry, and as it were turned into stone, that it could not be digged nor entered with a pick-axe without wonderfull difficulty; and yet having with great toil raised a Plat-form with two Batteries, they planted upon them the Artillery which was brought from *Caen* and *Falaise*, and particularly one Cannon of an unmeasurable greatness, which they called *le grande Robin*, with all which the walls being battered in two places, and also many houses beaten down by the shot that went into the Town, it was fiercely assaulted upon the second of February, and though stoutly maintained by those within, yet the heat of many of the defendants weakened the hope of holding out, in such manner, that the *Sieur de Vicq* was forced to capitulate, and surrender the Town into the Duke's power; who having set his Forces again in order, and gathered the Nobility together, was come unto the King, by whom he had been often very earnestly sent for.

The Kings Army returns, being near 18000 Foot, and 8000 Horse.

Now the King's Army being in a very few dayes increased, that in it there were between seven and eight thousand Horse, and between sixteen and eighteen thousand Foot, for besides the Hollanders of the Fleet, he had dreyned all the neyghburing Garrisons; and the error of the Confederates being manifestly known, who had unadvisedly engaged themselves in a nook, where they must suffer and labour very much before they could get out, resolved to cut off their retreat, and pressing them on all sides, to reduce them (without any danger to himself) unto extreme necessity of victual; for one part of the passage into the *Peninsula* towards the Sea being shut up by *En*, *Arques* and *Diepe*, which places being strongly garrisoned, did in great part obstruct the way, and the *Seine* being blocked up by the possession of *Quillebœuf* and by the Holland Fleet, there remained nothing but wholly to shut up the other part of the entrance toward the River *Somme*, which alone led from the *Peninsula* into the Provinces of Normandy and Picardy. The King therefore being departed with exceeding great celerity from the walls of *Pont de l'Arche*, and marching without stop, though with his Army in

in Battalia, came upon the last of April within sight of the Enemies Camp, which being gone from Caudebec the same day, had taken up quarters at Yverot, a great Town, which afforded much conveniency for lodging.

It was a remarkable thing, that the King also by not well heeding the situation of the place thorow which he marched, put himself in manifest danger of being defeated: For that Country being all inhabited by Lords, who possess many Towns there, it is for their pleasure and conveniency all full of large Parks, encompassed with great well-built Walls, as high as a man on horse-back, and some of these there are, that take up the space of three or four miles. Now the King advancing thorow this Countrey towards the Camp of the League, it was necessary, keeping the ordinary way, to pass between two very great Parks, one of which was on the right hand, and the other on the left, the High-way being in the midst: Wherefore the Cavalry and Infantry being fain to march but few in Front, the Kings Army was brought into such a condition, that the Van-guard was past the Parks, the Battel was shut up between the Walls of them, and the Rere was yet remaining on the hither side: So that if it had been assaulted, the Van-guard would have been fought withal, and defeated, and neither the Rere nor Battel would have been able to assist it. The Duke of Montpensier who led the Van, perceived it, when being come past the Parks, he discovered the enemies Army encamped upon the side of an Hill; but not being able to do any thing else, he drew his Squadrons still into order as they came, and by redoubled Messages hastned the Kings marching up with the Battel. The Enemy likewise perceived it, and Count *Alessandro Sforza*, a Cavalier of great fore-fight and experience, ran himself (as he hath often told me since) to give the Duke notice of it, showing with how much ease and facility the victory might be gotten by reason of the enemies error; but the Duke very ill of a Fever, in great pain with his wound, and lying in his bed, could not so soon take a resolution, and told Count *Alessandro*, That to fight with the King of Navar, live men were necessary, and not such bloodless carcasses as he was: Yet having cal'd the Duke of Mayenne, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other Commanders, he gave them order, if the occasion would bear it, to fall in upon the Enemy, and causing himself to be set

The King marching with his Army, between the walls of a Parks, puts himself in great danger, which he escapes by reason of the Duke of Parma's being in a Fever.

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in

1592

in a Chair, he made himself also to be carried to the place where the Kings Army was seen to appear advancing between the Parks: but at such time, when by the diligent care of the Duke of Montpensier, the Van-guard had already taken up their station, and the Battel was almost all past, and before the Camp of the League (which was come into quarters but a few hours before) could be drawn together in arms, the Kings whole Army was past, and settled again in its former order, so fair, and so evident an occasion being lost by reason of the Generals being hurt.

The Armies
quarter with
in a mile of
one another.

The Armies being quartered at less then a miles distance from one another, there remained a thick wood between them upon the right hand, which the days following, gave matter for many remarkable encounters; for they of the League, that night drew a Trench at the entry of it toward the enemy, to keep the possession of the Wood unto themselves, and placed there to guard it the Count de Bossu's Tertia, which was two thousand Walloons. There, upon the first day of May happened three hot skirmishes, whilst the King labored to view that Post: The first between the Baron de Biron, and the Duke of Guise, the second between the Duke of Bouillon, and the Sieur de Rosne, and the third (which lasted till night) between the Sieur de Montigny, and the Baron de la Chastre; yet was it not possible for the King to discover what works the enemy had made in the entry of the Wood; for besides the hindrance of the Cavalry, the hail of Musket-bullets which showered from thence with infinite fury, would not suffer any body to draw near it. But the next day the skirmish being begun again, the Baron de Biron (though many of his men were left dead upon the place) rushed on so far, that he discovered there was nothing but a single line, without any sign of Cannon, and without the defence of Flankers or Redouts; wherefore upon the third of May in the morning, the King having commanded out three Squadrons of Foot, one of Germans, another English, and the third French, sent them on at break of day to assault and make themselves Masters of the Trench, who having marched very fast over the little Plain that was between, fell unexpectedly upon the Walloons, and beat them away from their Post, (who for haste of retreating, left also their baggage behinde them) and without losing time, began to fortifie themselves in the Trench. But the Duke of Mayenne and

The Kings
Soldiers make
themselves
masters of the
Trench, made
by them of
the League
before the
Wood.

Prince

Prince Ramuccio, without giving them leasure to secure that place, having drawn forth a great number of Carabines and Light-horse upon the right and left hand, to obstruct the way, commanded Camillo Capizucchi with his Tertia, seconded by that of Alfonso Idiaques, to attempt the recovery of that Post.

Camillo, out of his own fierceness, and the emulation that was between the Italian and Walloon Infantry, rushing on boldly to assault the Trench, entered it with so much violence, that the King's Foot, after a short resistance, were constrained to quit the place, and in their retreat, being surrounded by the Carabines, would have had much a do to get back safe to the Camp, if the Duke of Montpensier, the Duke of Nevers, and the Count de St Paul with three several Squadrons of Gentlemen had not advanced to disengage them. The Italians wrought all that night, possessing all the passage of the highway, and having made a great Redoubt with Flankers and Trenches on all sides, they planted four pieces of Cannon there; so that the King was deprived of all hope of being able to beat them out any more; and so the Wood remained in the power of the Army of the League, which stood them in great stead for hurting, and for the security of their quarters; and also was of great use for cutting wood, and to feed the Carabines horses, that were accustomed to live upon what is daily found in the field.

Camillo Capizucchi with his Tertia, recovers the Trench again, and secures it with Fortifications.

But the King (though the passage out of the Peninsula was already made good) having a desire to straiten the enemies Camp more closely; that he might the sooner effect his enterprise, turned his quarters upon the right-hand by the wood-side, and possessed himself of a hill, from whence he could batter Toretot, in which Bourg the Duke of Guise lay with the Van-guard; and having planted seven pieces of Cannon behind a Trench, which was brought to perfection in a very few hours, he began to play upon the enemies in the flank, in such manner, that the Duke of Guise was forced to quit the Bourg, and retire into the quarter of the Battel. In his retreat, the Duke of Bouillon with the Reiters, and the Baron de Biran with a strong party of French Cavalry, followed him in the Rere; but he bringing up the last rank himself in person, and still valiantly facing about, retired with his Baggage safe and entire, and with his men in order, though in the skirmish some were taken prisoners, among which were the Barons de Coutenan

The Army of the League being in the Peninsula of Caux, the King strives to shut up their passage our, being but one, and that very narrow.

1592

The Kings
souldiers take
a Post from
those of the
League, which
after a long
dispute is re-
covered by
the Italian
and Walloons.

and *de la Maison*. But the King, not onely out of a desire the more to straiten the enemy, but to the end that continual action, and the hope of fighting, might from hour to hour keep the French Gentry from being weary, did not suffer so much as a minutes rest; and at last, upon the twelfth of May, would needs attempt to shut them up more closely, by possessing himself of an hill that lay more forward beyond the Fortifications of the Wood, and about the distance of Cannon-shot from the Camp of the League, which was guarded by three Companies of Walloons under *Octavio Mansfelt*, and three others of Spaniards under *Ludovico Velasco*. To that end, about break of day he sent forth Count *Philip* of Nassau with his Troops; who marching on secretly by the wood-side, and afterward having left it upon his right hand, assaulted that Guard so unexpectedly, that within half an hour the defendants were beaten from it, and the Count began to intrench himself, and to give sign that Cannon should be brought up thither: but they of the League considering the great inconvenience which they were like to receive from that Post, presently sent the Walloon and Italian Infantry to recover it; the Swisssers, with the French and Spanish Foot, standing in Battalia to keep the field; and likewise the Cavalry in Arms stood ready without the Trenches to back the Foot. The King on the other side had drawn up his whole Army out of their quarters, and caused his Light-horse to scowr the Plain, thereby to hinder the Hollanders (who had regained that Post) from being encompassed; for which purpose also the Duke of Montpensier with eight hundred Horse on the one side, and the Duke of Bouillon with one thousand *Reiters* on the other; being upon the wings of the Battel, stood ready to reinforce them. There was a sharp fight about the recovery of that Post, and they laboured at it with much blood, for the space of two hours; but at last the Italians overcoming all obstacles, regained the hill, and with great execution drove back the Hollanders; the Cavalry of both Armies running on each side, to suppress, and defend them, which made it generally thought that they should fight that day with all their Forces: but neither would the Duke of Mayenne hazard the whole sum of affairs without the presence and consent of the Duke of Parma, nor did the King desire to put it then to a Battel; being confident that within a few dayes he should overcome the enemy by want of Victual. Yet fought

fought they still, with great and redoubled encounters, for the space of ten hours; the Cannon thundred on all sides, and the Commanders engaged themselves more then once; particularly Prince *Ranuccio*, who (his horse being shot under him) was in great danger to remain a prisoner to the English; and the Duke of Parma causing himself to be taken out of his Bed, and to be set on horse-back, advanced to the Front of his Army, doubting, that either opportunity or necessity might draw the Army to a Battel. Night put an end to these encounters. But the next day the King, who could neither take nor give rest, having intelligence that the Light-horse of the League was lodged in a quarter very assaultable, and that might be beaten up before the rest of the Army could stir to relieve it (an error always pernicious in all occasions of War) fetching a great compass, went thither himself in person; and having found them in no very good order, by reason of *Basti's* absence, (who being sick of a Flux, was retired to Caudebec to recover his health) he put them in so great confusion, that having lost their quarter, two Captains, and their Carriages, they had much ado to get to the main Body of their Army, which though it was diligently making ready to give relief, yet the business having been very soon dispatched, the King had time, after he had beaten and driven away the enemy, to retire to his own quarters.

1592

The King
beats up the
quarters of
the Light-
horse of the
League.

But the Duke of Parma being so ill, that he was often troubled with long tedious swoonings, had great need to take some rest; and having already begun to think of the means of getting out of that dangerous place wherein he found himself, he judged it very fit to draw back his Army nearer the Walls of Caudebec, along the Bank of the River, whereby he might make use of the conveniency of the Town; and the Army changing quarters, might avoid the cause of diseases, and be more opportune for his design: Wherefore, upon the 16 of May, the weather being dark by reason of a thick mist, which afterward turned into a very great rain, he caused the Camp to rise in the morning by break of day, without noise of either Drum or Trumpet; and the Cannon and all the Baggage going before, he led the Army to quarter in a place half a league from the Town, between two Hills, before which there was a large Plain. Now to deceive the King, that he might not discover the moving of his Camp, (besides the advantage of the

1592

The Duke of
Parma sends
Prince Ranuccio
to assault
the Kings out-
guards; and
while they are
fighting there,
being favored
by a mist, he
removes his
Camp with-
out noise of
either Drum
or Trumpet.

the weather, and the silence and order wherewithal his souldiers marched) Prince *Ranuccio* advanced as far as the entrance of the Wood before any thing stirred, and fell upon the King's out-guards, making as if his design were to enlarge himself, and that to that end he would have beaten them from their Post; which whilst they of the King's party are intent upon with their utmost endeavours, whilst their mindes are wholly taken up there, and while thick volleys of shot rattle on all sides, there was no noise at all heard of the moving of the Camp; and the Prince, after a continued skirmish of three hours together, lessening his Forces by little and little, and sending off the Squadrons one by one to joyn with the Rereguard brought up by the Duke of Aumale, at last himself also, with onely two hundred Horse, followed the rest of the Camp at a round trot, leaving the King astonished, when after the air was grown clear, he saw what an artificial retreat the Army of the League had made. But the Prince being come to the place where the Army had been encamped, found three Pieces of Cannon left there, either by the negligence or fear of him that had the charge of drawing them off; wherefore, not to leave them, to the lessening of his reputation, in the enemies power, he was constrained to recal his fleeing squadron to disengage them, and to bring them off safe: which though it were done with great celerity, yet would it have spoiled and frustrated the admirable art of this retreat, if the King had been more ready to follow them: so subject oftentimes, in the affairs of War, are the greatest actions to miscarry by the least disorders.

But the King being come to quarter that night in the place which they of the League had quitted, advanced the next day to discover them; and having considered the situation of the Country with no less sagacity then they, marched to the opposite hills, and there prudently disposed his whole Army into quarters, persisting still to straiten and shut them up, as his design had been from the beginning. The Duke of Montpensier with the Vanguard very strong in Horse, lay upon the right hand, and spread himself so far toward Diepe, that the Garrison of those places which obstructed all the ways, met mutually with his parties that scowred the field. The King with the Battel, in which was the greatest strength of Infantry, lay encamped upon the foot of the hills upon the great road of Picardy. The Duke of Bouillon with the Rere, wherein were

were the *Rangers*, kept the left hand, possessing that passage which leads from the Country of *Caen* towards *Rouen*; so that all passages being stoppt, there was no part of the way that remained free. The Army being encamped in its several Posts, the King (contrary to his ordinary custom) strove to secure himself, that the Enemy might not force him to a Battle; and therefore he strengthened and fortified all his quarters, spoiled and blocked up all the hways, and laboured with all industry, that the Enemies Commanders by making some brisk attempt might not be able to force his Quarters.

The Camp of the League was already reduced to such want of Victual, that it could subsist no longer; for neither did the River (obstructed by the Holland Fleet) furnish it with Provisions, nor did the Country longer afford any convenience to feed it, that Corn being spent which was found at the taking of *Caudabec*, all the Country eaten up, and all that wasted which industry had been able to supply; and not only of other things, but even of water there was very great want; for that of the River being spoiled by the flowing of the sea, was not only very ill tasted, but also wonderfully unwholesome. To this was added the sufferings of their Horses, which besides the scarcity of forrage, being harried in the fields with continual rains, died every hour in great abundance; and the Foot being many payes behind, and without money to relieve themselves in their present necessity, was afflicted and consumed with the many tedious sufferings. On the other side, the King having *Drepe* and *St. Valery* near him, and behind the way open into the most fertile Provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*, though no better stored with money than the Enemy was, did yet abound in Provisions, and his Souldiers spreading themselves far abroad to forrage, supplied the want of their pay with plundering the Country.

Wherefore the Duke of Parma seeing himself reduced to so strait and so necessitous a condition, thought there was no other remedy for it but to pass over to the other side of the River *Seine*, and getting out of the *Peninsula*, to remove into the spacious Plain of lower *Normandy*, and so disengage himself from the King's designs, who already believed that he had him sure in the nett. But as this was the only wholesome resolution for the safety of his Army, so was it most difficult to be effected: for it was not to be doubted, but if the

The Army of the League shut up in the Peninsula, is reduced unto necessity of Victual, and is in a great strait.

by this time
the Army of
the League
was reduced
to such want
of victuals
that it could
not subsist
any longer
and the Duke
of Parma
was forced
to leave it
and to pass
over to the
other side
of the River
Seine

1592 the King were aware of it, he might easily destroy him in crossing the River, and they were so near Neighbors, that it could not in reason be hoped that passage could be concealed. He communicated his thought to the Duke of Mayenne, and the *Sieur de la Morle*; but it seemed to them not only dangerous, but impossible, knowing how hard it is to pass a little Ditch, when the opposition of the Enemy is near; much less was a good event to be hoped for in passing a mighty broad River, swelled in that place by the Salt-waters, with an entire Army, full of Baggage, hindred with Ammunition, and great store of Cannon, a fierce and powerful Enemy being at their back; yet necessity urged, and the safety of that Army could no other way be provided for. Wherefore the Duke being straitened within himself, resolved to try if by dexterity he could bring that thought to pass. To which purpose, having made Eight Ensigns of *Berlotte's* Regiment, by little and little, to cross the River in certain small Boats, he caused a Fort to be raised upon the other Bank, which in the form of a Star, had three spurs toward the River, to command and secure it; and made another to be raised over against that upon the Bank where the Army was, but with the Redout toward the River, and the Front opposite to the place from whence the Enemy might appear, and in it, besides the *Count de Basse* with a thousand Foot, whereof most were Muskettiers, he planted four pieces of Cannon that might command a great way off, and keep the passage of the field open. At the same time many great Boats were making ready at Rouen, with wonderful secrecy, whereof in that place there were a great number, which were wont to carry Merchandize upon the River, and they fastned pieces of Timber and Planks together, after the manner those Bridges are made whereby great Rivers are commonly wont to be passed. Other little Boats likewise were prepared with six Oars in each, to help and tow the greater with more facility, and some great Floating-Bridges like Rafts were made of exceeding thick Beams, sufficient to sustain and carry the Artillery. These Boats (which with the benefit of the stream of the River, and the ebbing of the Sea were come from Rouen in a few hours) being arrived (the evening before the One and twentieth of May) without losing a moment of time, the same night the weather being clear, the French Cavalry and Infantry passed over with the Duke of Aumale, then

The Duke of Parma, to free the Army, which was in a manner imprisoned in the Country of Caux resolves to pass the River Seine, and his attempt succeeds.

then the Artillery, and all the Baggage of the Army, after them the Swiss Infantry, and about peep of day, the Walloon, Spanish, and Italian Foot; Prince *Ranuccio* remaining on this side the River, with *Appio Conti*, who (the Duke of Montemarciano being gone for Italy) commanded the Forces of the Church, and with them a thousand Italian Foot of *Capizucchie*, and two hundred Horse; with which turning in arms towards the enemy, they made as if they would skirmish in the field.

The King seeing a small number of men upon the Hills, and that they stirred not, though his Light-horse ran up and down the Plain, began to suspect, that (as the time before) the Enemies were changing their quarters, but not at all that they were passing the River, which enlarged, by the flowing of the tide, is in that place more like a Sea than a River. To assure himself of the truth, he sent forth the *Baron de Biron* to discover what they were doing, who having got up to the top of a Hill, upon which no body appeared, returned galloping with great speed, and related how the Enemies were passing the River; at which news, the King, without further thought, hastened that way with all the Cavalry, and left the Foot to follow him. But the Cavalry could not hinder the Enemies passage, unless first the *Count de Bossu's* Fort were taken, which with Cannon and Musket-shot scoured the whole Plain on every side, and was a shelter to protect those that passed the River; which the King having at last taken notice of, and thinking that enterprise too difficult, and of too great delay, possessed himself of another Hill that commanded the River, and gave order, that with all possible speed, the Artillery should be brought thither, to play upon and sink the Boats that were passing. But while they were making ready and drawing thither in a confused haste, the whole Army was already past over; whereupon the King almost transported with despair, not being able to do any thing else, ran to charge Prince *Ranuccio*, who last of all, retiring by little and little, was gotten under the protection of the Fort. The King advanced precipitately within reach of the Cannon & Musket, further then was fitting, but he was quickly forced to retreat with some loss, but with no effect; so that the *Count de Bossu's* Regiment, and *Capizucchi's* thousand Foot did also pass the River one after another, and the Cannon that were in

The King perceiving the Enemies design (though too late) goes to hinder their passage over the River; but they were past already.

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1592

the Fort being drawn off, piece by piece, were put upon one of the great Floating-bridges; and last of all, Prince Ranuccio embarked with his Horse, at which time, the Kings Artillery were come up to the Hill, and began to fire upon the Boats that passed over, and likewise upon the Fort de la Berlotte; but the Cannon shooting under metal, did but little harm in all places.

Greater was the danger, in regard of the Kings Men of War, which at that very time appeared upon the River from Quillebœuf, and went to fall upon that Raft that carried the Artillery, which were taken last out of the Fort, for being but slenderly guarded, it was doubted, they might easily fall into the Enemies power; but Prince Ranuccio, who in this whole action gained infinite praises, not being able to suffer the loss of his Artillery before his eyes, in the safety of which, consisted the greatest reputation of that enterprise, getting out of the Boat, in which he was passing aboard a little Bark, made haste in person to relieve them, which the *Sieur de la Motte*, *Camillo Capistrarchi*, *Colonel St. Paul*, and many other Gentlemen and Officers, having likewise done with other little Barks, and the Fort de la Berlotte, playing with great violence cross the River, the Kings Ships defisted, and the Artillery coming at last safe to the shore, were landed in a moment by two Spanish *Tertias*, commanded to receive and accompany them, though the Kings Artillery, no less then the other thundred with infinite violence upon the place. The whole Army Cannon, and Carriages being past, without leaving any thing that was of moment, Prince Ranuccio would not stir from the River till all the Bridges and Boats were burned in every place, to the end they might not serve the King to pass over, and follow them, and having entirely perfected all he intended without any show of disturbance, he came up towards evening to the rest of the Army that was marched off from the River. But neither could the passage of the River (which had been effected with so much industry, and (which imported most of all) without having received any loss at all) quiet the minde of the Duke of Parma, doubting, that the King might pass over his Army at Pont de l'Arche, and resolve to follow him; which if it had come to pass in the condition he was in (the want of his forces being considered, and principally

cipally his not having money to maintain his Camp) he doubted he should incur very great dangers and troubles: wherefore having quartered at *Neubourg* (which place was sacked and burnt by his Army) he marched with so great speed toward Paris, that he came to *St Cloud* in four days; and not willing to pass thorow the City, lest he should give his Forces occasion to disband, he caused a Bridge of boats to be made, and having re-passed the *Seine*, never slackned his haste till he came to the walls of *Chasteau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, far from the enemy, and upon the way to return straight into *Flanders*.

In the mean time the King, who was unexpectedly fallen from a certain hope of suppressing his enemies, to a certain assurance that he had lost his pains, labours, and expences, and the blood shed from his own Person and his Subjects in the space of so many moneths, seeing the City of *Rouen* relieved, the Army of the League gotten away safe to another place, his Gentry wearied and wasted, the Germans diminished in number, and tired out with their late sufferings, after he had been two days, not onely afflicted in minde, but also perplexed and ambiguous in his thoughts, resolved to lessen his Army, as he had likewise done after the siege of *Paris*, and freeing himself and those of his party from trouble and expence, to expect, with a fleeing Army, what resolution the Commanders of the League would take. The Nobility departed, the Lords returned to their Governments, and the King having mustered the Germans, and reformed their Companies one into another, with three thousand Horse, and between five and six thousand Foot, marched after the enemy to the confines of *Champagne* and *Picardy*.

The King dissolves his Forces, and sends the Lords to their Governments, and with a quick fleeing Army follows the march of the enemy.

But the sufferings of all the winter past bred such grievous diseases among those that had been in the Camp, that a wonderfull great number of Gentlemen and valiant Commanders either died or lay long sick; among which, *François de Bourbon* Duke of *Montpensier*, being sick of a Fever, in his return to his Government of *Normandy*, was stayed at *Lisieux* by the violence of his disease, where he departed this life upon the third of June. A Prince of infinite high courage, and inestimable goodness, and for those qualities very worthy of the most eminent Command whatsoever, if nature had afforded him more vivacity, and a more perspicuous understanding. About the same time, not far from *Beauvais*, died Monsieur de

François de Bourbon Duke of *Montpensier*, as he was returning to his Government of *Normandy*, dies at *Lisieux* the third of June, 1592.

1592

Gintry, a man of exceeding great valour, and who, for prudence and experience, had lived in a singular reputation among the Hugonots, who, next to the Duke of Bouillon, had placed all their hopes in him and Monsieur *de la Noüe*.

The Duke of
Mayene mur-
murs against
the Duke of
Parma, ascri-
bing the glory
of all the ad-
ons ro himself.

At the departure of the Army of the League from the River Seine, the discords and discontents between the Generals were discovered to burn more then ever: for the Duke of Mayenne, who was not pleased with the drawing off so soon from the King, and leaving matters again to his discretion, did publickly attribute unto himself the honour of having relieved Rouen without striking a blow, and of having by patience and industry caused the King's Army to dissolve, without having remitted the sum of affairs to the uncertain event of a Battel: That likewise as the removing of the impediment of *Caudebec*, and the clearing of the passage of the Seine, was necessary, so it had been propounded and obtained by him: That if afterward the Duke of Parma, not trusting any body, would needs without occasion put his person in danger in a place and in an action that was not worth the cost, and if his wound had given the King time to recruit, and to shut them up in a corner (from whence quickly disingaging themselves, they had found conveniency to retire) it was no fault of his counsel, which was very good and wholesome, but a defect of the execution, which had not been remitted to him: That the industry of passing over the River, could not but be praised; but if it had been employed in making a Bridge to come and go freely over the River, the passage of Victuals would thereby have been opened on that side; whereupon the King, being without money, and his Army wearied and consumed, would have been constrained to march off with shame, and to leave the field open to them, to effect profitable and signal enterprises: but because the Spaniards would spend but sparingly, and because they would afford but petty supplies, and yet were obstinate to rule, command, and govern all things their own way, it was come to pass that now all the past toils and expences were thrown away, and the King recovering strength, would again make himself superiour, both in force and reputation.

On the other side, the Duke of Parma said publickly, that with the Arms of the Catholick King alone, he had two several times happily delivered the League, and redeemed the two principal Cities of France out of the enemies hands: That he

he had taken away the victory and reputation from the King of Navar, who oppressing the French in all places, had been opportunely bridled onely by the power of his Army: and that now also, though the Count de Vaudemont with the Forces of Lorain had left him, and though the chief French who were interessed had come but slowly to the Army, he would have made an end of suppressing the King, if they would have agreed to follow him; and if by imprudently thrusting themselves into a net shut up on all sides, they had not spoiled the fruits of the Victory, and lost the opportunity which presented itself of ending the War victoriously at the last: That the Catholick King poured out the gold and blood of his Kingdoms prodigally for their benefit; and they on the contrary, having no other aim but to grow rich in particular, cared but little for the publick good, and much less for the safety of the Kingdom: and finally, That he would not stay unprofitably and without fruit at Rouen, and suffer not onely the affairs of Flanders, but even also those of France, to go to ruin without remedy.

1592
The Duke of Parma shewing that he had twice delivered the League, attributes the cause unto the French why the King of Navar was not utterly suppressed.

From these words their actions were not different: for the Duke of Mayenne pretending a necessity to take physick, would needs stay at Rouen, and not follow the Army that marched away; and the Duke of Parma, vexed that he would not go with him, would not leave him any Forces at all; but on the other side, taking with him the Duke of Guise, gave out that he would leave the Command to him of those Spanish Forces that should stay in France; which more then any thing else nettled the Duke of Mayenne, who (the Cardinal-Legat departing also with the Army) remained alone and forsaken, being scarce able to obtain that the Pope's Swisssers and Commissary *Mattencchi* should stay with him at Rouen: and yet even this also was a stone of exceeding great scandal; for *Mattencchi*, a man of a harsh carriage, and most wilfull in his opinions, either having such orders from Rome, or because he had not money to pay them, would need dismiss the Swissses within a while after; neither was it possible by any kinde of reasons, perswasions, or threatnings, to alter his determination; but the Duke of Mayene having earnestly desired him to stay them yet a month longer, offering to pay them himself, if he would not keep them in his own pay, could not prevail any thing at all: whereat highly incensed, and grieved that he was ill dealt with

The Duke of Mayenne upon excuse of taking physick, stays at Rouen.

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1592

by them all, he gave order that *Mattencchi* should be seized upon; which though it were not effected, because he hid himself in the habit of a souldier, and departed with the same Swisses; and because the Duke, the first fury of his wrath being over, dissembled the business, and did not care to have his order put in execution; yet notwithstanding the Legat complained grievously about it, and the thing was very ill taken at Rome; whereupon, the Duke's discontents multiplied on all sides; which had so much power on him, that he began afresh to lend his ear to a Treaty of Peace, which Monsieur *de Villeroy* had never given over to manage, out of a desire to conclude an Agreement with the King, and by that means to free themselves from the mischief (as he said) of forraign Forces.

Monsieur *de Villeroy* had kept the Treaty alive, sometimes with one, sometimes with another of the King's party; and as either side had the better, so did the Treaty vary accordingly: for when the King felt himself much straitned by the enemy, he fell into a thought of satisfying the party of the League, and of freeing himself from danger and trouble; and when the Duke of Mayenne found himself either ill dealt withal, or slenderly assisted by the Confederates, he also inclined towards the hopes of an Accommodation: but the insuperable difficulty that was in the King's conversion, because he would not do it at the request of his enemies, and the Duke's not being willing to conclude the Treaty unless he were first a Catholick, had always cut off the practices, and put the business in a total desperation. But about this time, Monsieur *de Villeroy* having treated long and freely about it with Monsieur *de l'Ominie* one of the King's Secretaries of State, who had been taken prisoner, and was at *Pontoyse*; he, after he had his liberty, treated of it with the King, just at the time when, by reason of the Duke of Parma's drawing near, he was both in danger and trouble: wherefore he gave order to the *Sieur du Plessis Mornay*, who formerly had treated about it (being a man in whom, by reason of his wisdom and learning, he confided very much) that he should renew the discourse of it again with Monsieur *de Villeroy*, who having written several times to the Duke of Mayenne and to President *Jeannin* concerning it, at last, after much treating, the Duke, who had never been willing to condescend to any particular, had at this time declared himself by *Villeroy*, That if the King would

would give security of his conversion, and satisfaction to him, and the other Lords of his party, he would agree to acknowledge and submit himself unto him. Du Plessis and Villeroy treated together with mutual promises of secrecy; but no evasion could be found, whereby, the King not turning his Religion at the present, they of the League could be secure, that he would do it for the future, since they alledged, that the King had from the beginning promised those very Catholics that followed him that he would do it, and yet had never performed it to them; whereupon it could not be hoped, that he would assuredly do it at the importunity of his enemies: Besides, that the King would make that promise with uncertain and ambiguous words, & with a reservation of being taught and instructed, which, as they were like to afford sufficient matter of excuse, to whatsoever resolution he should take, so did they not quiet the Duke of Mayenne; & the Conditions that were propounded in his particular, and in that of the other Princes and Lords of his party, did not absolutely satisfy them: Wherefore after much treating, and after much writing and replying, in the end, President Jeannin wrote by the Dukes order to Villeroy, and gave him Commission to propound for the last Conditions: That the business of the Kings Conversion should be referred to the Popes arbitrement, to whom the King should send the Marquess de Pisani, accompanied with Cardinal Gondi, to know his pleasure, and to receive those Conditions in that matter which the Apostolick See should judge convenient; and that he himself would send a person expressly, and would give order to his Agents at Rome to promote the business, and help to overcome the difficulties, that the Pope might be brought to some reasonable determination: That for security, that the King should persevere in the Catholick Religion, and maintain the Peace, the Places, Cities, and Fortresses, should for the space of six years remain in the hands of those that possessed them at that present, to restore them to the King, and to his free disposing within that time, if they saw the peace go on sincerely: That the Government of Bourgoigne, with all the places also, that held for the King, should be left to the Duke of Mayenne, which Government should be hereditary to his Sons, with authority of disposing & distributing the Benefices, Offices, Governments, and Places, which should become void in that Province for the time to come: That the

The Sieur du Plessis Mornay Secretary of State to the King, and the Sieur de Villeroy for the Duke of Mayenne, Treat of an Accommodation, with mutual promises of Secrecy.

President Jeannin by order from the Duke of Mayenne signifies those Conditions to Monsieur de Villeroy (who was in Treaty) which the Duke desires for the effecting an Accommodation

King

1592

King should give him an Office of the Crown, superior to the rest, as it might be of Constable, or of his Lieutenant-General: That he should give him such a sum of money as should be sufficient to pay those debts which he was run into upon that present occasion: That to the Government of Bourgogne, that of Lyons and Lyonois should be added: That the King should provide another Government for the Duke of Nemours, which should be equivalent to it: That the Duke of Guise should have the Government of Champagne, and two strong Holds for his security, the Duke of Mercœur that of Bretagne, the Duke of Joyeuse that of Languedoc, the Duke of Aumale that of Picardy, and for his security St. Esprit de Rue: That all the Lords of the League should be maintained in their Places, Offices, Dignities, and Governments, which they had possessed before the beginning of the War: That the Catholick King should be comprehended in the Peace, and reasonable satisfaction given to him for his pretensions: That there should be an Act of Oblivion concerning all things that had befallen in the War, and that the Narrative and Preamble of the Accommodation should be written in such manner, as it might clearly appear, the Duke of Mayenne had not acknowledged the King till then in respect of Religion, and that now he did it by reason of his conversion with the Popes consent, and that also it might expressly appear, he had no hand in the death of the late King Henry his last Predecessor.

These Conditions the *Sieur de Villeroy* imparted to *Monsieur du Plessis*, and gave him an extract of them, they being set down at large, with their Causes and Reasons in the Presidents Letter. *Du Plessis* first made small show to approve of them; but *Villeroy* replied, that this was not an Agreement with the Hugonots, who by all Laws Divine and Humane, were obliged to acknowledge their King established; but a capitulation, whereby the Lords of the *Union* were contented to acknowledge, or, to say better, upon certain conditions to make one King, who was not possessor of the Kingdom; that, that acknowledgment of theirs coming to pass, the King would thereby attain the Crown of France, which he possessed not; and that therefore the Conditions ought not to seem strange unto him: That the Lords of the League did now require all which they thought fit for their security, because when the acknowledgment was once made, they should be then

then no longer able to treat or demand any thing, but as subjects simply to beseech their Sovereign Lord: That it was no wonder they should demand much at one time, being very certain, that after that they should never obtain any thing more during his reign, nor perchance in that of his Sons neither: That the Duke of Mayenne had shewed himself so good a French-man, that he would rather acknowledge a French King, though an Enemy, upon these conditions, than a stranger, though a Friend and a Confident upon much greater ones: That the King had always said he would content and secure the Lords of the House of Lorain, and all the others of their party; and lately, while the War was in the heat before Caudebec had affirmed as much with his own mouth to the Baron de Luxembourg, with whom he had discoursed long about it, in the field, telling him, That if the Lords of the Union would acknowledge and follow him, he would not refuse any conditions; and particularly, that to his power he would give worthy satisfaction to the Duke of Mayenne, whom he knew to be a good Prince, and a good French-man: That the Marechal d'Aumont had by his orders repeated the same to the same Baron, and therefore that ought not to appear strange now, which he himself had proffered but a few days before. But the Sieur du Plessis considered, that to refer the business of the Kings conversion to the Pope, from whom, by reason of the Spaniards power, nothing at all would be obtained, replied, That it was not a thing to be expected from any other means, but from Gods divine inspiration, after such instructions as should make him know himself to be in an error; for otherwise it was an unlawful thing to demand it, and much worse to grant it, the soul being first to be thought of, and then the affairs of the World: And as for the other conditions, repeating them one by one, he shewed, that if all the Governments, and all the Places and Benefices should remain in the gift of the Lords of the Union, the King would neither have any thing to reserve, nor to grant to those of his own party; and that it would be a monstrous thing to see all the Provinces in the hand of one onely Family, and the Princes of the Blood, and so many other Lords excluded, who had labored, and endangered their lives for the Kings Crown. And yet after having again promised secrecy (which the Duke of Mayenne required above all other things) he said he would

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1592

speake with the King himself concerning it, and refer the resolution to his pleasure.

But being come into the Kings Council at Bussy where they were, he was so far from favoring the Treaty of Peace, and the Conditions propounding, or from observing that secrecie he had promised, that publicly in the presence of all the Council, he demanded pardon for having till then, not any way out of an evil intention, but through inadvertency deceived His Majesty, since such Conditions had been propounded to him, that he was ashamed of them, and did much disdain to publish them; He confessed, that he had believed too much, out of his desire of Peace, and out of a will to serve the Publick Cause, but the Conditions that were propounded, were so unjust and dishonorable for the King, and so pernicious for the whole Kingdom, that they plainly shewed the Duke of Mayenne, and those of his party, had no thought of peace; but that they sought to hold the King in hand, and to work a jealousy in the Spaniards, to draw money and satisfactions from them. That the things propounded, were such as did not deserve any answer, nor did he think them worthy to be heard by that Council; and yet having proposed them with this Preamble, not only the whole Council, but even the King himself thought them not so exorbitant, as he represented them; and so much the rather, because every one knew that demands are high in the beginning, but afterwards in the course of a Treaty, they fall by little and little; so that they were all scandalized at *du Plessis*. Nor was there any one who was not of opinion, that he as being an Hugonot, abhorred the Kings conversion, and therefore desired not, but rather crossed the peace. The King being of the same minde, gave the *Sieur de Villeroy* to understand, that he would willingly treat with him by word of mouth; and the *Mareschal de Biron*, and the *Duke de Bouillon*, desired to confer with him, though both of them were little inclined to peace; *Bouillon*, because he was an Hugonot; and *Biron*, because his whole fortune depended upon the Wars, whereupon by the continuation of them he hoped to rise to the height of power and honor, and those Offices and Titles which the Duke of Mayenne demanded, he grounding himself upon his own merits, aspired and pretended to for himself.

Du Plessis continuing his intention, and publishing his se-

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cret thoughts to men of understanding, divulged the whole Treaty, contrary to his faith given to *Villeroy*, and to many persons shewed copies of the Articles propounded; whereby they were not onely known to all the King's party, but also the Princesses who were in Paris saw them, and believed them; so that they made grievous complaints that the Duke should go about to establish a Peace, without making it known to them, and to the Lords of his party: and, which was much worse, they came also to the knowledge of the Spanish Ministers, who though they believed not the business could so easily be established, were yet filled with jealousy and suspicion. *Du Plessis* believed that at one time he should work two good effects for his own intentions; one, to cross and totally break all Treaty of Peace, because he thought he had discovered that the King, to obtain it, enclined to change his Religion, which the Hugonots feared above all things; the other, to make the Duke of Mayenne be distrusted of his own party, and particularly by the Spaniards, whereupon the disunion and ruin of the League would more easily follow. But as counsels that have too much of a man's particular interest, have often (either by the will of God, who is not pleased with them, or by reason of their own deceitfulness) very different events from what the intenders of them confidently design unto themselves, this divulging produced an effect very diverse from what *du Plessis* did assuredly expect: for it wrought no ill effect in the party of the League, and on the King's side it made an exceeding great stir and confusion.

It hurt not the Duke of Mayenne, because the Pope was much satisfied with his candour, seeing that without the King's conversion he refused all other particular greatness and advantage, and that he referred the whole business of Religion to the Apostolick See; and the Spaniards being fallen into some fear that Peace might easily ensue, forbore to give the Duke of Mayenne further cause of discontent; and the Duke of Parma necessarily departing by reason of his health, and in respect of the affairs of Flanders, left some Forces in Champagne, and gave not the command of them to the Duke of Guise, as he had intended, but left the charge of them to Monsieur de Rosne with the title of Camp-Master-General, he being to obey the Duke of Mayenne without contradiction; and *Juan Baptista Tassis* going to him, endeavored by his dexte-

1592

The Treaty of Agreement divulged by the *Sieur du Plessis*, comes to the ears of the Princesses and Spanish Ministers, working a contrary effect to what he that published them desired.

The Duke of Parma leaves forces in France under the *Sieur de Rosne* depending upon the Duke of Mayenne, to whom also the other Spanish Ministers forbear to give further discontents.

1592 rity to remedy the late disgusts, *Diego d' Ivarra* continuing with the Army, because he knew his presence was not pleasing to him. To this was added, that the Duke, who had entred into that Treaty, out of the despair which he was brought unto, seeing that he had already recovered his authority and reputation, which he had in great part lost with the Popes Ministers, and with the Spaniards, was afterward more backward in lending an ear to Peace: But thinking that his having been deceived by the revealing of that secret, contrary to promise, afforded him not onely excuse, but a lawful occasion for him, also to make use of the Treaty for his own profit, he continued it in such manner, that it served to keep sometimes one, sometimes another faithful, according as need required.

The Catholicks of the Kings party displeased, that the Peace should be treated by the *Sieur de Pleffis* a Hugonot, renew the Treaty of a third party.

On the other side, the Catholicks of the Kings party, wakened by the noise of this Treaty, and highly disdainning, that the Peace should be negotiated by the means of a Hugonot, and that the Kings conversion should be promised to the League, which they by many reiterated instances had not been able to obtain, began afresh to contrive a third Party, and more boldly then before, to assemble themselves severally, and discourse of forsaking the King, or to make an agreement with those of the League, in such manner, that the business having often been consulted of between the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Count *de Soissons*, the Duke of Longueville, the Count *de St. Paul*, the Duke of Nevers, the Marechal *d' Aumont*, Monsieur *d'O*, Monsieur *de Lavardin*, the Count *de Lude*, and many other Lords, they gave the Duke of Mayenne to understand, that it would be profitable for the common safety and security, to unite all the Catholicks, and desire the King, that within the term of a certain, prefixed, reasonable time, he would turn Catholick, and give security for the maintenance of Religion; which if he would do, he should be acknowledged and established; and if he would not, they all together should elect a Catholick King, who should be acknowledged and obeyed by all. This practice beginning to grow warm, the King seeing that the event would be, either a forced dishonorable conversion, or the utter ruine of his affairs, since from secret consultations that matter was come to open murmurings, he caused *Villeroy* to be very earnestly solicited (by the means of Monsieur *de Fleury*, his Brother-in-law) to come personally to confer with him, and resolved to apply himself of his own accord to a reconciliation with Rome.

Innocent

Innocent the Ninth, after a long and troublesome Conclave, was succeeded in the Apostolick See by *Hippolito*, Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, a man not weakned with age, being not above fifty and six years old, but endowed with mature prudence, and singular dexterity in affairs of State, which he had gotten by continual practice in the Court, and by the management of the most important businesses of his time. He having assumed the name of *Clement* the Eighth, though he had been favored by the Spaniards in his Election, and was therefore full of kinde grateful demonstrations toward them, was not yet totally disposed to let himself be ruled by their designs, but would depend upon himself, and after the chief interest of Religion, would have an aim at the general safety and equality. He held a great correspondence with the Commonwealth of Venice, and with the Great Duke of Tuscany, judging that State to be not onely the Foundation-stone of the Liberty of Italy, but also a wary Reconciler of the Peace of Christendom; and him, by reason of his great prudence, to be intent to follow the same way; and therefore he straitly confirmed that confidence with the Senate, which his Ancestors had in that State, having taken refuge there in their adversities: And with the Great Duke (forgetting those ancient factions for which his Father had been banished out of the City of Florence) he contracted a new confident correspondency, to advance (by the assistance and advice of these) the Government of the Church to the common benefit and safety of Christians.

The first and most important business that represented it self unto him, was that of France; in which, as matter of Religion was chiefly considered by him, so the private emulations, the ancient discords, and the present ambition of the Great-ones were very well known unto him: But because time and opportunity were to administer those overtures that were necessary for the Peace and Union of that Kingdom, he determined in himself, in the mean time, to sustain the League with convenient relief, but not with that interested fervor his predecessors had profusely done, desiring things should be in such a condition as might not tend towards the division and destruction, but to the safety and restauration of so great a Kingdom; which he thought would follow, if a King were elected and established who was not onely a Catholick, and obedient to the

1592
Innocent the Ninth is succeeded in the Papacy by Cardinal Hippolito Aldobrandino, with the name of Clement the Eighth, being aged fifty six years.

1592

*Clement 8
gives supplies
unto the
League with
more mode-
rate expences
and resoluti-
ons then his
predecessours
had done.*

the Apostolick See, but also a French-man, and of such a conditions a might draw along with him the general peace and satisfaction. He therefore confirmed the Cardinal of *Piacenza* in his Legation, judging him, by reason of his long employment there, not onely to be well informed, but also more fit to manage that business then any other: and though he in times past had shewn himself very partial to the Spaniards, yet the Pope thought that, his Master being changed, and his Commissions altered, he would, as a prudent experienced man endeavour rather to satisfy his intention, then to follow the interests of Spain, the ends whereof could not always run united with those of the See of Rome: but having, by the confirmation of the Legat, shewed (as much as was sufficient) his intentions to be well inclined towards the League, in other matters, under colour of the present disabilities of the Apostolick See, he freely declared that he could not assist the Confederates with more then fifteen thousand Ducats by the moneth; shewing that the excessive expences formerly made, to the wasting of the Treasury, and to the burdening of the people, had not produced any fruit equivalent to so vast a charge, and to so great preparations; and insisting upon that remedy which he esteemed convenient, he gave the Legat order to endeavour the assembling of the Free-States, to the end that a King being chosen with a common consent, all machinations might be cut off, the way lockt up against ambition, and that as a certain end, and a visible apparent mark, they might aim at the good of Religion, and the restoring of Peace in the Kingdom.

*The King, by
the means of
Mocenigo the
Venetian Amba-
ssadour, prays
that the Republi-
ck to treat with
the Pope concern-
ing his reconcilia-
tion with the
Church.*

These thoughts (which by many conjectures were known unto both parties) as they put the Duke of Mayenne in good hope that the Pope was inclined to acknowledge his merits, and his so great labours, and would favour his designs; so did they not displease the King, who despaired not in that moderation to finde some temper to settle his own affairs; wherefore being forced by the Commotion of the Catholicks, who all were already determined to see some resolution, he discoursed at Vernon with *Giovanni Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambassadour, and told him, that having a purpose to finde some way whereby an overture concerning his affairs might be made unto the Pope, he desired that the Republick, which he knew had a very near correspondence with him, would either by an expresse

express Ambassador given by the means of the ordinary Re-
 sident at Rome, assist that his just intention, having determined
 to procure that Cardinal Gondi, in whose prudence and can-
 dor he trusted very much, should go into Italy, and with him
 the Marquess de Pisani, in the name of the Catholick Nobil-
 ity of his party, to treat of the means of attaining to a Peace
 and Reconciliation; but that this Treaty being in appearance
 very difficult, by reason of the considerations at Rome, and
 of the extraordinary power of the Spaniards, he believed the
 intercession, counsel, authority, and endeavors of that Re-
 publick would serve as a Pole-star in so important a business.
 He found the Ambassador ready to give notice of it at Venice,
 who knowing the good intentions of the Senate toward the
 conservation of the Kingdom, assured him, that he should
 have all manner of assistance he could desire. The same did he
 cause to be treated of with the Grand Duke, by *Girolamo Gon-*
di, requesting him not only to use his endeavors with the
 Pope (wherein he more esteemed the power of the Venetian
 Senate) but also to deal with the Cardinals, to the end, that the
 business coming into debate, it might be crossed as little as was
 possible.

These foundations being laid, he solicited Monsieur de *Villeroy*,
 to come; for he designed to set things right with the Duke
 of Mayenne in such manner, that he also might favor his af-
 fairs in the Court of Rome, since his reconciliation with the
 Apostolick See coming to pass, the scruple of Religion would
 be taken away, and the Duke of Mayenne might with his honor
 embrace those large advantageous offers which he would make
 him. But the Duke, who had taken a distrust by reason of
 the trick put upon him by *du Plessis*, and who hoped to settle
 his own affairs with the Spaniards, suffered the treaty to run
 on, that he might make use of it for his own profit, but with-
 out any desire to conclude, those thoughts being again re-
 vived in his minde, which despair had before disordered and
 destroyed. Wherefore, though *Villeroy* went to Rouen to
 him, and afterwards had a conference with the King himself
 by night at Gisors, yet went they not on to treat of any con-
 ditions; but the Duke consented, that the King should send
 to Rome, leaving the Treaty to go on, and be concluded when
 the business was settled with the Pope; and the King was
 content that the Duke should assemble the States of his
 party,

The King de-
 sires *Ferdi-*
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ci, Grand
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 any, to use
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1592

party, to treat with them concerning the present resolution.

The Spaniards had never intermitted to press for the assembling of the States, and joyntly with the Cardinal Legate, had made both publick and private instances about it; and the Duke had always interposed difficulties and delays; sometimes alledging the urgency of following the management of the War; sometimes saying, it was fit first to treat and conclude with the Princes of the party; and sometimes the difficulties of assembling the Deputies, because of the general combustion of the War, by reason whereof they would very unwillingly forsake their own Houses and Cities in the present distractions; and that they would not venture to take so great journeys with the danger of their lives; but at last his backwardness was ascribed to an irregular ambition, and to a desire of continuing in the power he held at that present; neither could he without grievous complaints, nor without danger of discord and disunion refuse any longer to call the Assembly; wherefore turning his thought to remove that scandal, from whence arose all the discontents with the Spanish Ministers, he considered, that as to deny the meeting was dangerous, and now at length odious to every one, so the difficulties that would spring up, and those which he would artificially interpose should be so many, that the States should dissolve and end of themselves, without coming to any determination; and in the mean time, they might afford him conveniency and opportunity either to revive his authority, or else to finde means of reconciliation with the King, if so be he could not bring to pass, that the Kingdom should fall to his posterity: Wherefore, as the Spaniards did now show a desire to satisfie and honor him, and the same did the Legate by Commission from Rome; so he showing, that he would grant that in courtesie, which he would not yield to for fear, nor for threatnings, wrote to the Legate, and to the Duke of Parma, that now the time to assemble the States was ripe, he would give satisfaction to the Princes who had solicited him with so much earnestness, and would come at last to a resolution; and therefore they should endeavor to get Commissions from Rome and Spain, because within a few moneths the Deputies should be convened; for which effect, he dispatched Letters to every Province, and every Bailiage, to the end they might chuse

The Duke of Mayenne, who had still deferred the Convocation of the States, writes to the Cardinal Legate, and to the Duke of Parma, that the time of assembling them was now present.

chuse Deputies to meet in the place that should be appointed for the holding of the States-General.

1592

At the same time, the King had caused Cardinal *Gondi* to treat concerning his passage into Italy, and had required the Catholicks of his party, to appoint an Ambassador to the Pope, which though some opposed, alledging, That the Parliament had decreed that for the time to come, none should send to Rome upon any emergent occasion, yet the King answered, That the Decree was made in the Papacy of *Gregory the Fourteenth*, but that he granted leave to send to the present Pope; so the Marquess of *Pisani* was chosen, and Cardinal *Gondi* was contented to take that journey to satisfy the King, and to procure the general repose of the Kingdom.

Cardinal *Gondi* and the Marquess of *Pisani* are chosen to be sent to Rome.

This determination did in great part stop the resolution of the Catholicks, who were attentive to see what that Embassie would produce, being partly satisfied in that the King began already to treat of reconciling himself to the Pope and the Apostolick See. The Decree which the King made about this time concerning the disposing of the Benefices of the Kingdom, did help much to appease them; for after that the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons* had decreed, that for the conferring and confirmation of them, none should go any more to Rome; and after that the Congregation of the same Prelates had made the Declaration in favor of the King, those Benefices that became void, were disposed of to all kinde of persons without regard, in reward of their expences, in requital of their labors, and for particular inclination; and the administration of Spiritual Matters was by the Grand Council, assigned to one of the Priests of the Diocess, with title of *Spiritual Oeconome*: Which was not onely against the Decrees of the Canons, but scandalous and dangerous, contrary to the good of the people, and very near the custom of the Hugonots. *Renand de Beanne* Archbishop of *Bourges*, a man of exceeding great learning and singular eloquence, had thought, that he having the name of *Patriarch* (that title they use to give to the Archbishop of that City) it was very easie, and no less reasonable, that the authority of disposing the Benefices of the Kingdom should be conferred upon him, as Spiritual Superior of the *Gallie*; and that he should hold that degree thorowout all France, which the Pope holds over

The Decree of the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons*, that none should run to Rome for the procuring of Benefices.

The pretensions of *Renand de Beanne*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, upon the Spiritual Superiority of the *Gallie*.

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1592 the Universal Church; and as this thought had long been nourished in his minde, so had he attempted all those means which he thought proper to effect his design; to this end, at his exhortation, the Popes Bulls had been so sharply handled; to this end, those that represented the Apostolick See had been so hotly proceeded against; and to this end, the disorder in conferring of Benefices being now represented, and the abuse of those *Oeconomies* chosen by the great Council (a Temporal Magistracy, whom it concerned not to judge of Spiritual sufficiency) it was endeavored in that heat of mens mindes, that a resolution might be taken, and that a Prelate might be constituted in the Gallia, superior to all the rest in power and dignity, to whom that election should be committed. But the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the other Catholick Lords exclaiming, that this was an expresse way to alienate themselves from the Apostolick See, to make the Kingdom Schismatical, and for ever to cut off all hopes of an Accommodation; that they would never endure it, and that as soon as ever that Decree should be made, they would take some course to secure their own affairs: The King declared publickly, That he would not take away the obedience from the Apostolick See, and that if (not to ferment the evil) it had been decreed, That Money should not be carried to Rome, to the end, War might not be made upon the Kingdom with its own blood and substance, that had been established by way of provision, as long as the Popes should persist to oppose the lawful Successors of the Crown: That he did not intend, nor mean, there should be any innovation; but to maintain Ecclesiastical Matters, and the Religion and Priviledges of the Gallique Church, in the same being he had found them at his coming to the Crown: And finally, he caused the Council to decree, That the Bishops every one in his own Diocess should create the Administrators of Spiritual Matters, and that where the Bishopricks were vacant, the Metropolitan should supply that defect; and for want of him, the nearest Bishop; which did exceedingly quiet the mindes of the Catholicks, and did also for some time stop their resolutions.

A Decree made by Henry the Fourth, in favor of the Ecclesiastical Dignities, and of the Catholick Religion.

In this interim Matters of War went not on more slowly then the Counsels and Treaties of Peace; for the Duke

Duke of Mayenne, being cured of his indisposition at Rouen, was come forth with part of his Forces to lay siege to *Pontean de Mer*, a place, which because it was near, did incommode and straiten the Commerce of that City; and on the other side, Monsieur de Villars was likewise gone to besiege the new Fortrefs of *Quillebauf*, to open totally the passage and navigation of the *Seine*, being displeased (besides the impediment and inconvenience of it) that the Hollanders and English should nest themselves in that place, very opportune to receive their ships, and seated in the midst between his Governments of *Havre de Grace* and *Rouen*, molesting and endamaging both of them.

1592
The Duke of Mayenne besieges Pontean de Mer.

The Sieur de Villars goes to besiege Quillebauf, a Fort not yet brought to perfection.

The King, who was yet in the confines of Normandy, dispatched Colonel *Grillon* thither with one thousand and five hundred French Foot, and the Sieur de *Bouquetant* with an hundred Gentlemen of that Country, desiring no less to keep that place, then his enemies did to drive them out of it. The Fortifications of it were yet imperfect: for though the Holland-Fleet had wrought diligently at them; yet the time had not served to bring them to perfection; so that the Bulwarks were not faced with stone, and the Ramparts not only of simple earth not well settled, but were hardly above a mans height, though they were most skilfully drawn out, and diligently designed by expert Artists.

Villars presently planted five Pieces of Cannon to batter an Half-moon which defended the Gate that stood toward the land; and having got together a great number of Country-people, who followed his name voluntarily thorow the whole Country, he approached with a Trench, and began to sap in such manner, that he got under the Half-moon, and brought it into such a condition, that it was easie to be assaulted. The besiegers fell on exceeding fiercely at the first; but the number of the defendants was so great, that the resistance proved no less fierce within: and the assault being renewed the next day, *Grillon* having left the charge of the defence to Colonel *Rebours*, and to the Sieur de *Bellebat* Governour of the place, sallied out so furiously on the other side with *Bouquetant*, that having found no resistance in the Trench, he did a great deal of mischief, destroyed part of the Redoubts, nailed two Pieces of Artillery; and if *Villars* his Cavalry, with Captain *Borafey*, and Captain *Perdriel* being alighted from their horses, had not run unto the

1592

The Sieur de
Villars is forced
to rise
from Quille-
bœuf.

danger, the Trenches would have been utterly taken, and the Infantry defeated: so *Grillon* after many hours being got in again with much ado, *Monfieur de Villars* knowing the weakness of his Forces, and despairing of doing any good, raised the siege the next day, and returned to Rouen. *Mattenucci* was the principal cause of this disorder: for if he had not dismissed the Swiflers, there would have been such a Body of an Army before *Quillebœuf*, that perhaps the siege would have ended another way.

The Duke of
Mayenne takes
Ponteau de
Mer.

The Duke of Mayenne had better success at *Ponteau de Mer*: for having laid siege unto it, and fortified his Trenches well with Redoubts equally distant, he secured the weakness of his Forces in such manner, that the Artillery being planted, and having begun to batter, the Governour, who had not so great a strength as those of *Quillebœuf*, took a resolution to surrender, saving their goods and persons; and on that side the passage remained free to bring Victual into Rouen.

The Duke of
Parma goes
into Flanders
to the Baths
of Spaw,
to be cured of
the Dropsie.

In this time the Duke of Parma, not only troubled with his wound, but also with another wonted indisposition, by which he was going apace into a Dropsie, resolved to go to the Baths of *Spaw* in Flanders, and to carry back with him the greater part of the Army, to provide for the affairs of those Countries, and particularly of *Friseland*, where the States of Holland daily made great progress. Yet he left six hundred Foot more than ordinary in Paris, being intreated so to do (against the Duke of Mayenne's will) by the Legat and the Spanish Ministers, and three thousand Foot more, Italians and Walloons, with six hundred Horse, which were to assist in the quarters about Paris, at Soissons and in Champagne; the Command of which (though the Duke of Guise aspired to it, and sued for it very earnestly) he gave to the Sieur de *Rosne*, with the title of Camp-Master-General, and with order expressly to obey the Duke of Mayenne, being resolved at this time to give him all possible satisfactions that might keep him firm to the party, and alienate him from all practices of Peace.

With these Forces and those of the Province, *Monfieur de Rosney* went before *Espernay*, a Town seven leagues from *Chalons*, of a moderate circuit, but of an ancient form, and in the condition it then was, not fit to make resistance against any reasonable siege; thinking that it being taken, he might, by filling it with men, much straiten and incommode *Chalons*, where

where the Parliament resided, with a great number of persons, especially that Town being situate upon the current of the River Marne. The siege was short: For being violently battered, and a great breach being made in the Walls, which were very old, and fell without much trouble, the *Sieur de St. Estienne*, who had not a Garison sufficient to defend the weakness of the place, yielded it up without staying for the last experiments.

Monsieur de Rosne takes Espernay.

The King, who having left Normandy was come to the confines of that Province, not having had time to relieve that place, as soon as he knew it was taken, resolved, that he would recover it, more to shew that he regarded the conveniencies of the Parliament, then for any other respect: Wherefore having sent the Duke of Nevers, and the Marechal *de Biron* before, he according to his custom, running at large over the neighboring places, came even to the Walls of Chalons. The *Sieur de Rosne* had with wonderful great diligence made up the Walls that had been broken down by the late Battery, and had carefully caused Trenches and Ravelines to be made, considering well that the King would set himself without delay to recover what was lost. There were in the Town six hundred French Foot, and as many Walloons of the Count *de Bossu's* Tertia, and about sixty Horse, many small Pieces of Artillery, and a convenient quantity of Ammunition; and the Country people of those quarters being gathered together, labored continually to better the Works. The Kings Infantry came before the Town upon the Six and twentieth of July; and being suddenly quartered, the Marechal *de Biron* would needs advance with twenty Horse to view the situation, and the Works which the enemy had made for their defence: But he was scarcely come upon the way that leads to the Town upon the South-side, when a Cannon-shot (among many which the defendants fired at random) taking him at the rebound in the midst of his body shattered him in such manner, that without speaking one word, he fell suddenly from his horse dead upon the ground. The loss of this Commander was unspeakable: for all the Kings affairs depended upon his prudence, experience, discipline, and valour; and not onely the charge of the Armies rested wholly upon his shoulders, but matters of Government, counsels of State, Treaties with Princes, and the particular affairs of the Kingdom, were all ordered by his advice,

The King sends his Forces to recover Espernay.

The Marechal *de Biron*, a Commander of great valour, is killed with a Cannon shot, July 26. in the Sixty fiftieth year of his age.

1592

vice, in such manner, that those who were partial to him, attributed all that had succeeded prosperously, either in War or in other affairs, to his endeavours; and those that flattered him more boldly, publickly called him *The King's Foster-father*. And truly it cannot be denied by whosoever was present at those affairs that happened successively from the King's coming to the Crown, to the time of *Biron's* death (which were the most difficult, most important, and, as a man may say, the foundations of his Reign) but that in the prudence and vigilance of this man, consisted all the life and spirit, not onely of counsels, but also of enterprises and action. But yet those that emulated him, forbore not to attribute many disorders to his fault; and particularly, that not desiring for his own ends, that discords should be quieted, but that the Wars should continue, because, while they lasted, he governed the King's mind, and all the affairs of the Kingdom, and not stirring much for matters of Religion (for which from his youth he had shewed himself to care but little) he was the occasion that not onely the Civil Wars continued, with so great a both publick and private ruin, but that the King with arts and promises deferred the so necessary effect of his conversion. He was slain in the beginning of the sixty and fifth year of his age, being entire in minde, strong in body, full of carefull diligence, and indefatigable in Military exercises.

The King
wept for the
Marschal de
Biron.

After his death, the whole charge of the Army remaining to the Duke of Nevers, the siege of that Town began to be set in order; and the King having received the news of what had happened, after he had spent many hours in tears and publick condolings, with great celerity moved to return to the Camp. There were also three hundred Walloon-Foot of *Berlotte's* *Tertia* come from *Rheims* to enter into the Town, for the relief of the besieged, the conservation of that place seeming to be of great concernment to the Confederates. These marching that way, and being already near their entrance, were overtaken by the *Baron de Biron*, who, to revenge his father's death, had set forward to the Camp before all the rest; and not willing to pretermitt that occasion of cutting those Foot in pieces which he found in the field without any convoy of Horse, ran furiously to assault them. The Foot were not at all dismayed, being part of them Pike-men, and the rest Muskeriers and Fire-locks; and getting into a hollow way, shut up on both sides by

by two high Banks of Earth, as it were by two Ramparts, made an halt, and facing about, fiercely received the charge of the Horse with their Pikes, and in the mean time their companions mingled among them with their shot, failed not to fire incessantly upon them; so that two Captains of Horse, and many Gentlemen being killed, it seemed very difficult to force them: Monsieur *de St. Luc* came up with another Squadron of the Kings Cavalry, which marched toward the Camp, who thinking it a great shame that so few Foot should make resistance in the field, rushed forward to make the same attempt; but being received with the same constancy, he was repulsed no less then the others: And much worse did it happen to Monsieur *de Guiry*, who came up last with the Light-horse; for going to make the same charge, he left his own Lieutenant dead upon the place, with above sixty of his men; so that the Foot being no longer molested with the Cavalry, came out of the hollow way, and went up an Hill all full of Vines; from whence, without delay, they were to march down to the Moat of the Town towards the West corner: But in this time, the King himself coming up with the rest of his Forces, and seeing the affront his Horse received from so small a party of Foot, ran forward galloping to the very edge of the Moat, and though the Town ceased not to play both with their Artillery and Muskets, yet passing swiftly by, he went to charge the Foot, who being come down from the Hill, were already gotten into the Plain, whereby their way being so cut off, that they could not get under the Walls, they were surrounded on every side; and after a long and valiant resistance were at last cut in pieces, though with the loss of above two hundred of the Kings side, and above two hundred more wounded.

The same day he straitned the siege on all sides, and without losing time, began to hasten the taking of the place; and because the besieged had labored all those days that were past to fill their Moat with Water, that they might gain more time to bring their works to perfection, he employed his first study to divert the Water another way, which spent three days time; but the passage was no sooner opened to drain the Moat, when the Baron *de Biron*, impatient to stay for the effect of the Artillery, which nevertheless were planting by the industry of Monsieur *de St. Luc*, gave a scalado to a great Tower,

The Baron *de Biron*, to revenge the death of his Father, scales a great Tower at Espernay, and takes it, but is sorely wounded.

1592

Espernay yielded it self, with condition to leave their Colours, which were much desired by the King, because there were some Spanish Ensigns among them.

Tower, newly made defensible by those within, and being come up close together, so that they fought onely with their swords, he renewed the assault so obstinately, twice or thrice, that at last he carried it with great slaughter on both sides; but whilest in lodging his men there, the Earth was throwing up to shelter them from the Town, he was fore wounded with a shot in the shoulder. That Tower, and the other defences being taken one after another, the Artillery having made an open breach in the old Wall, the defendants began to remember that they had not sufficient Forces to sustain the assault; and therefore having sent to capitulate the second day, they concluded to march out free with their Baggage, but to leave their Colours, which the King by all means would have, in respect of the Spanish Ensigns of the Count *de Bossu*, which for reputation the King desired to have in his power. The Town was delivered up into the hand of the Duke of Nevers, Governor of that Province, upon the Ninth day of August.

From Espernay the Army went to take in Provins, a City of Brie; which for the unequalness of the situation, and the greatness of its circuit was not very defensible, being full of Gardens and Vineyards, very thinly peopled, and very ill provided of Soldiers; and yet things proceeding slowly, and the siege not pressing, all the rest of the moneth was spent about it, and it came not into the Kings power before the second of September.

The next thing that lay fit for the Army to besiege, was Meaux; whereof, as being nearer to Paris, and opportune to straiten that City, not onely the Parisians were exceeding jealous, but even the Duke of Mayenne himself, who being come to Beauvais, dispatched the *Sieur de Vitry* thither with Eight hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse, who together with the *Sieur de Rantilly*, Governor of the Town, and with the ordinary Garison, labored in such manner, that it was made very defensible; which the King considering, and judging, that the taking of it would be difficult, and a work of time, resolved (passing beyond Meaux along the bank of the river Marne, which leads to Paris) to raise a Fort in the middle of the River, in an Island called *Gournay*, to the end, that standing between both, it might hinder their commerce and the navigation of the River, whereby without loss of time in besieging Meaux,

Meaux, he might reap the same, or perhaps greater fruit. This was the thought of the Duke of Nevers, who having had the care of executing it, applied himself to it so diligently, that within a few days the work began to rise apace, the Fortification being made in the likeness of a Star with five acute Angles, and an high Platform raised in the midst. The King with his whole Army was quartered upon the Bank of the River, where forcing the Peasants of all that Country round about, and making his Foot Soldiers work by Companies in their turns, he endeavored to have the Fort made defensible.

On the other side, the Parisians anxious because of that impediment, which would bring them into a worse condition for matter of victual, and increase that dearth to extremity wherewith the City was already much afflicted, ceased not to stir up the Duke of Mayenne to oppose the raising of that Fort, so prejudicial to the common interests; nor did the Duke desire less than they, to be able to oppose it; but the small Forces he had with him constrained him to proceed slowly: For it was necessary first to stay till the neighboring Garisons were drawn together; and after they were met, the Count *de Colalto's* Germans, who were many Pays behind, mutinied against him, and without them he could not move with any hope of good success. The Germans at last were quieted, a certain sum of money being paid them; but in the mean time, many days were past, whereby the Duke of Nevers had so much the more leisure to bring the Fort into a posture of defence; and so much the more difficult became the attempt of hindering it; and yet the Duke advanced on the other side of the River, intending to fight and to possess an Abby, which standing over the River, he might afterward batter the Fort from thence as from a Cavalier; but the *Sieur de Praslin*, and the Count *de Brienne*, being in it with a very great number, both of Horse and Foot, they skirmished hotly for the space of two whole days together, before the Duke could seat himself in a convenient place to oppugn it, and as soon as the Artillery was brought and planted, the King appeared (who had been indisposed some days at St. Denis) at whose coming a Bridge of Boats being put over, the Garison in the Abby was so re-inforced, that those that defended it, were not content to fall y fiercely every hour to skirmish with

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1592

the Army of the League, but had also lodged themselves with many trenches in the field, and with them had brought themselves even under the Dukes Redouts, and to the same Post where the Artillery were placed; wherefore it appearing not onely difficult, but in a manner altogether impossible to gain the Abby defended by so numerous a Garison, and relieved, and sustained from the Kings Camp by the conveniency of the Bridge of Boats, the Duke not persisting obstinately, retired to quarter in the Village of Conde, there to expect the *Sieur de Rosne*, and Colonel *St. Paul*, whom he had sent for with the foreign Forces, and with those of the Province of Champagne, judging it impossible to oppose the Kings Army, if his own were not much encreased by the arrival of those Supplies; but having expected them in vain, from the 16. till the 22 of September, he retired at last to Meaux, without being able to hinder the perfecting of the Fort; from whence (that he might not lose his time unprofitably, and that he might give some ease to the afflicted Parisians) he went after not many days to besiege Crespy, a place of the County of Valois, and having taken it without much dispute, he made the passage more easie and more secure for some quantity of victual, which might be carried into Paris from that fertil Country round about.

The King desires a reconciliation with the Catholick Church, by way of Agreement, not by way of Pardon.

While the Heads of the Parties entertain themselves with these petty actions, one to straiten the City, the other to enlarge it from want of provisions, the Treaties of each side went on with more heat then matters of War. The Kings minde was intent upon the affairs of Rome, having from the Popes Equity and Prudence, conceived great hopes that he might reconcile himself to the Church; but he wished rather, that the business should pass by way of Composition and Agreement, then by means of Humiliation and Pardon; and therefore desired, That the Venetian Senate and the Great Duke of Tuscany should interpose as Mediators, to negotiate that reconciliation with the Apostolick See: The treaty whereof standing thus in suspence, withheld the mindes of the Catholicks, till the end were seen, and did not alienate the Hugonots, who were not yet sure that the agreement would be effected, but were rather full of a reasonable hope, that that manner of treating at Rome would not bring forth any fruit at all. Cardinal *Gondi* having conferred with the King in his passage, and having with his passport taken his voyage thorow the

the places that were of his party, had made some stay at Florence, desiring that some of the Cardinals might first be gained by the Great Duke.

The Marquis *de Pisany* took his journey at the same time, and having passed the Alps, was come to *Desfurs* upon the lake of *Garda*, a place belonging to the Republick of *Venice*, to procure that the Senate, by means of their Ambassadors, might first break the yce in introducing the Treaty with the Pope. But these attempts were yet very unseasonable: for the things that were still acted in France by the King's Council and the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons* (where they had damned the Pope's Bulls; and the Commission given concerning the Legation of the Cardinal of *Piacenza*, and many other Declarations of such-like nature) gave small signe of the King's repentance and conversion, and had put the Pope as it were in a necessity of protecting the League, and of resenting those injurious demonstrations which had been attempted against him with so little respect, as well for the security of Religion, as for the reputation of his own person: nor could he yet secure himself that the King, who for the time past had been so obstinate in his belief, could so all of a sudden sincerely turn Catholick; but he doubted that it was a meer fiction, to establish himself in the Kingdom; and therefore he judged it to be his office, by length of time, and by many arguments and conjectures, to make himself certain of his inward conversion, that he might not compleat the destruction of Religion by a precipitate determination, and such a one as was little seemly for the dignity of his person, and that opinion the world had conceived of him. To this was added the power of the Spaniard, who possessed the greater part of the Cardinals; the obligation the Pope himself had to that party, which had brought him to the Papacy: whereupon he was necessitated to carry himself very dexterously with them: the humour of that Court, which cannot endure those things that seem to it prejudicial to the Ecclesiastical authority, and to the majesty of the Church, and besides these, the King's misfortunes before *Rouen*, which were then fresh, and divulged with the additions of fame, made the Treaty improper, and by no means opportune at that present. And the Duke of Mayenne, who had given *Villeroy* some liberty to favour the King's conversion with the Pope, thinking it as lawfull for him to deceive

Causes that make the Pope backward in determining about the affairs of the Crown of France.

The Duke of Mayenne gives *Villeroy* liberty to favour the King's conversion at Rome, and at the same time opposes it with all his power.

1592

Pope Clem. 8.
gives notice
to Cardinal
Gondi and to
the Marquess
de Pisani, that
they should
not enter into
the Ecclesiasti-
cal State.

Cardinal Gon-
di sends his
Secretary to
Rome, to ex-
cuse himself
to the Pope.

his enemy, as it had been lawfull for his enemy to break his word with him, and to divulge the secret of those Treaties that had passed in confidence of privacy, being now more then ever entered again upon his old design by the means of *Des Portes* and the Bishop of *Lisieux*, his Agents in that Court, he did both by deeds and words, to his power, oppose those things that were treated in favour of that conversion. Wherefore the Pope being resolved not to give any scandal concerning himself in the beginning of his Papacy; and not finding things in such a condition, that with the security of Religion, and the decency of the Apostolick See, he might lend an ear to what was propounded, having shewed his reasons to the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, he wrote unto the Legat to give the Cardinal of *Gondi* notice that he should not stir out of France: which Commission being arrived late, found him already departed: whereupon, having afterwards heard that he had past the mountains, he dispatched Father *Alessandro Franceschi* of the Order of Preachers, his Chaplain, to meet him, and to forbid him in his name to come any further; for he was resolved, he being a malignant Cardinal, and an adherent to Hereticks, neither to see him, nor hearken unto him: and by the means of his Nuncio residing in Venice, he caused the Marquess of *Pisani* to be resolutely advertised, that he being suspected of Heresie, having followed and fought for an Heretick, should by no means enter into the State of the Church; for if he did, he should be forced to proceed against him. The Cardinal, who was at *Ambrogiana*, a place of the Grand Duke's near Florence, not at all dismayed at the Pope's so resolute advertisement, desired the Frier to give it him at length in writing, and with him dispatched his Secretary to Rome, to clear himself of those things that were objected against him: He shewed that from the beginning he had not been willing to subscribe unto the League as he had been desired, because, being an eye-witness, he saw, and by long practice in the customs of France, knew that Union was not set on foot by true zeal and sincere affection to Religion, but to palliate the ambition of the Great-ones, and to cover the interests of State, which it was not fit for him, being a Clergy-man, to give his assent unto, nor to make himself minister of other mens passions and affections: That he had made his excuse about it to Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, who being made acquainted with the truth, had taken

taken his determination in good part: That if he had treated with the King of Navar during the siege of Paris, to free the City from the extreme misery of hunger, he had done it with the consent and leave of the Apostolick Legat: That if he at that present had treated personally with the King himself, he had done it that he might not put himself in danger of being made a prisoner in his journey, and of being obliged afterwards, to the disreputation of his quality, to meet and treat with him by force: That he had obeyed the intimation which the Legat *Sega* had sent after him to the confines of Lorain, for he had given him notice, that if he meant to treat any thing in favour of Hereticks, or of the King of Navar, he should not come to Rome; whereupon, he having no such intention, had continued his journey: That he marvelled the Pope should refuse him leave to come and prostrate himself at his feet, to render him due obedience; where, if he were guilty, he might not onely reprehend, but also punish him: That he was ready to give a particular true account of his actions; and if he were found in a fault, he refused not to undergo such chastisement as he deserved: That his intention was to come to Rome, to make the Pope acquainted with the calamities and miseries of France, which perchance were not sincerely represented to him: That as a Prelat and Bishop of France, and as a Cardinal, he came to let him know, there were above 40 Bishopricks vacant, the revenues whereof were enjoyed by Women, Courtiers, Souldiers, and persons far from the Episcopall profession; and that in the mean time, the poor souls were dispersed without a Pastour: That he thought himself obliged to represent unto him, that the Curates of Parishes, Priests and other Clergymen, having abandoned their proper Function and the care of Souls, were busied in bloodying their hands, and living in the profession of Arms: That he should feel his conscience burdened, if he did not let him know the danger so noble, so great a Kingdom was in, of becoming schismatical, unless some course were taken for the safety and union of it: That this seemed to him to be the duty of a good Christian and a good Catholick, not of an Heretick, nor of a favourer and promoter of Heresies: That if his Holiness had been pleased to hear his opinions concerning the discords and calamities of France, he would have told them, and submitted them to his most grave and prudent judgement; and if he should have imposed him

The unhappy condition of Ecclesiastical affairs in the Kingdom of France.

1592

him silence, he would have held his peace, since for his part, when his conscience was once discharged, he intended not to pass any further.

These reasons boldly proposed by the Secretary, who was brought in by the Florentine Ambassadour, made a deep impression in the Pope, who having from this man, and from the discourses of the Venetian Ambassadour, comprehended many particulars, was confirmed in his opinion, either with the full consent of every one, to raise one of the Princes of the blood unto the Crown, or else that perhaps one day he might with the honour of the Apostolick See, and the restauration of all the Orders of France, see the King of Navar reconciled sincerely to the Church, and all the discords of the Kingdom composed in that point. But because this hope was yet weak and obscure in the uncertainty of the future, nor did he think it fit either to precipitate the natural course of things, or utterly to forsake the League (which, if for nothing else, served at least for a spur and necessary instrument of the King's conversion) he resolved to persist yet in that manner of appearance he had begun, in the mean time dexterously and with convenient patience promoted the secret of his thoughts. Therefore, though in a short writing to the Cardinal of *Piacenza* divulged in print, he declared that he desired a Catholick King and an enemy to Heresie should be elected; and that he abhorred that one who still persevered in his errors should be admitted to the possession of the Crown, and therefore made shew to consent also to the assembling of the States, to come in the end to a good and wholesom election; yet he dispatched his Nephew the Pronotary *Agucchi* to the Legat himself, giving him secret advice to carry himself very dexterously and very cautiously, and not to suffer that in the Assembly of the States, Votes should either be forced or corrupted; but that mens wills should be free, and their voices not interessed: That he should not permit the election of a King who was more like to kindle discords, then to put an end to the War: That he should endeavour no wrong might be done to any one: That that course should be taken, which by the most easie, most secure way, and with the least novelty that could be possible, might produce Peace; and that he should not be over-scrupulous, but yeild what he handsomly might, to time, and the nature of affairs; and provided Religion were secure, he should pass

The Pope sends Monsignor *Agucchi* to Cardinal *Sega* Legat in France with prudent Instructions concerning the affairs of that Kingdom.

pass by many other considerations in the order and manner of treating: Admonishing him finally, That this was a business of so great importance, as could never be sufficiently pondered and examined; and that therefore he should keep himself from hasty resolutions, and from specious counsels, and that without other respect, he should aim onely at the quiet of Souls, and at the service of God. The Pope believed these Instructions, without any further Declaration, would be sufficient to the prudence of the Legat, to cause moderate proceedings in the States, and to make him understand, that he should not carry the election for a forreign King, about whose establishment, longer and more ruinous Wars would necessarily ensue, then ever yet had been; but that, if with the honor of the Apostolick See, and the Security of Religion, he could either establish a King of the House of *Bourbon*, or compose the disorders with the King of *Navar*, it would be a much better and more expedient determination. But the Legat giving himself wholly over to the will of the Spaniards, by whom he hoped to be raised to the dignity of being Pope, (since the favorable endeavors of the Catholick King, being in good earnest added to the merit of his labors, he thought himself in a condition to attain it) and having by his long residence in France, and by conversation with the Parisians already contracted a partiality to the League, and an enmity to the King, was either so blinded by affection, that he could not, or so drawn by his own designs, that he would not understand the Popes meaning, and therefore set himself with all his power to advance the enterprises of the Spaniards.

But the Duke of Mayenne being by his Secretary *des Portes*, and by the Bishop of Lisieux, advertised in part of the Popes moderate Commissions, judged, that his minde inclined to favor him, and that those words of causing a Catholick King to be elected, who might be a Defender of the Church, and an enemy to Hereticks, but such a one as might be established with the general approbation, without commotion or subversion, pointed at his person; and therefore firmly hoping he should have the Popes favor, and by consequence the Legates; and that the attempts of the Spaniards were not somented by them, having loosened himself from the Treaty of Peace, he turned his minde wholly upon the assembling of the States, being intent to do it in such manner, that it might succeed

1592

Cardinal Sega
affectionate to
the Lords of
the League,
and perswa-
ded by hope,
being become
partial to the
Spaniards,
doth not exe-
cute his orders
according to
the Popes in-
tentions.

The Duke of
Mayenne in-
terpreting the
Popes manner
of proceeding
to be in favor
of him, applies
himself to the
Convocation
of the States,
with hope to
be chosen
K. of France.

1592

succeed to the advantage, and secure establishment of his Affairs. For this purpose he had with exceeding great diligence labored, that the Deputies who were selected, might not be of those that were taken with the gold or promises of the Spanish Ministers, but of his dependants; and where those could not be had, he at least obtained, that they should be for the most part men of good understanding, affectionate to their Country, and the general good, thinking, that such would hardly condescend to a forreign King, and one who was not of their own blood. The place where this Assembly of the States was to be held remained to be resolved on; and the Spaniards, who designed at the same time when it should be convened, to make the Duke of Parma enter into France, and draw near with the Army to back and colour the Catholick Kings pretensions, desired principally, that it might be the City of *Soissons*. The Duke of Lorain proposed the City of Rheims (as nearest to him) from which the Spaniards did not much dissent. But President *Jeannin*, and the *Sieur de Villeroy* counselled the Duke of Mayenne to reduce the Assembly into the City of Paris, without having regard to the length of the journey, the danger of the Deputies, or to the incommodioufness and dearth of victual, to give content and satisfaction to the inhabitants thereof, who were wonderful earnest to have it so; and had need after so many calamities to be comforted and kept faithful: And moreover to make the Congregation of the States, more publick and more famous by the quality of the place, and not to put the Cities of Rheims or *Soissons* in danger; for it was considered, that the Duke of Parma coming thither, accompanied according to his custom, with strong Forces, might easily force the Assembly to his will, and make himself Master of those places, which would be hard for him to obtain in Paris, as well by reason of the greatness of it, and the number of the people, as because it was further from the Frontiers, and all surrounded and encompassed with the Kings Fortresses, full of strong Garisons, which upon all occasions might be called to hinder any violence that should be offered to the City, or to the States. Besides this, the City was better inclined then ever it had been in former times; for the pernicious power of the *Sixteen* being weakned, the Government remained in the hands of the wonted Magistrates, elected with great care by the
the

the Duke of Mayenne himself, and the incendiaries not being there, they quieted the mindes of the people without those insurrections that were wont to disturb all busineses: Moreover, the Parliament residing in the City, might serve as a fit instrument to treat and to hinder many things.

This determination did very much displease the Spanish Ministers, and they opposed it at the first, shewing the necessity of the Duke of Parma's being there, who could not advance so far into the Kingdom, and withdraw himself so far from the Frontiers; and arguing also, that the great number of the Deputies would increase the dearth and necessity of the Parisians. But the objection concerning the Duke of Parma was removed by his death; and the interests of the Parisians was not put into consideration, for they themselves perswaded the Spaniards to desist from interposing any hindrance, because the City esteemed it to be for its advantage and profit, and much more for its honor and reputation; that so famous an Assembly should be made in their City, they intervening and assisting in it. The Cardinal Legat assented also to this opinion, as well not to incommode himself with the expence of new journeys, as because he thought by the heat of the Parisians to bring the Assembly to make election of that King, who should be of greatest satisfaction to the Apostolick See, and to the intentions of the King of Spain. Wherefore the Duke of Mayenne having left the Government of the Army to the *Sieur de Rosne*, by him created Marechal and Governor of the Isle of France, went to Paris with a small retinue, and there with his presence, and with his words labored to comfort the afflicted people for the dearth of victual, and the interruption of commerce and trading in the City, shewing them, that within a few days there would be some course taken in the Assembly of the States, and convenient order settled totally to free the City, and ease it of its present necessities; striving with liberal promises, and by honoring and cherishing every one (especially the Magistrates of the City, and the Preachers) to gain the good will of the people, which by his late severity he feared he had wholly lost.

It was not without great reason that the Duke of Mayenne hoped at last to transfer the Crown upon himself and his Posterity; for considering the present estate with due regard, it was clear, that neither the Union of the Crowns, nor the Election

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of

The City of Paris is appointed for the Convocation of the States.

The Duke of Mayenne leaves the command of the Army to the *Sieur de Rosne*, and goes himself to Paris.

1592

Causes that
moue the D.
of Mayenne
to hope to be
chosen King
of France.

of the *Infanta Isabella* (things labored for by the Spaniards) would ever be endured by the French, who by no kinde of interest, by no kinde of practice, could ever be brought to submit themselves to the Empire of their natural enemies; and though some particular men, corrupted with money, or by the expectation of places and honors, had accommodated their gust unto it; yet the general, which was more powerful, would never have been perswaded by any means: Wherefore these pretensions falling, and being excluded, he thought (and reason told him so) that the Catholick King could not concur more willingly to the election of any other then his own person; since, if either the Duke of Lorain, or the Duke of Savoy should be elected (as the report went) by the party that they should make, new States and power would be added to the Crown of France, with the augmentation whereof, it was likely the Catholick King would not be well pleased, but rather that it should decrease in strength and greatness; he did not see that the Catholick King could expect to draw greater fruit from his past labors and expences, then in chusing him; who by reason of the need he should have of him to establish himself in the Kingdom, would be constrained by necessity to content him, and to condescend to many things which the rest perhaps would not so easily consent to. The same he judged of the Pope; who, as far from interests, and full of that moderation which he made shew of, would more willingly yield to him then any other, not to deprive him of the fruit of his so great labors, considering that he alone had sustained the Catholick party, and the Cause of Religion, which no other, either by authority or prudence could have been able to sustain. He saw the French generally inclined and disposed in favor of him, by reason of his authority in the party, whereof he had so long been the Chief; and that between the Dignity and Office he now possessed, and the full power of King, there was no other difference but the title, he already holding the administration of affairs as Lieutenant of the Crown: He knew that not one of the rest of his Family could equal himself to him, either for valor, merit, experience or authority, and that the sole shadow of his will would confound and terrifie them all. To this was added the diligence wherewith the Deputies had been elected to his advantage, the inclination of the Parliament, newly (by the punish-

punishment of the *Sixteen*, by him restored to its being, the dependance of the Council of State, and the art of managing this design, in which Conditions all the rest were incomparably inferiour to him.

The same conceit had the Duke of Parma, who (after that his counsel of overcoming things with patience, and drawing matters out in length, was no longer hearkned to in Spain) thought the election of the Duke of Mayenne more profitable for the Catholick King's affairs then that of any other man, because he might be established with more facility, less charge, and more advantageous Conditions: wherefore he writ into Spain about it, and it appeared that in the course of the business he would have favoured his affairs, either because he so judged it profitable for King *Philip* as he demonstrated, or (as the other Ministers said) because he desired not that the Spanish Monarchy should increase to such a height, and come to be the only one in Christendom, without counterpoise or opposition. But his death, which happened upon the second day of December, in the City of *Arras*, after a long painfull sickness, did something vary the state of things, as the Spaniards then said, to the advantage of the Catholick King's affairs; but, as it appeared afterwards by the effects, to their notable damage: for the reputation of his name being removed, which had already brought the humour of the French as it were into obedience, they neither much esteemed the other Spanish Commanders and Ministers; nor were the Ministers themselves equal to him either in knowledge or authority; and having conceits and opinions different from those which he prudently nourished in his minde, and wherewith he had managed the business till then, they went on afterwards with such a precipice, that the Catholick King's affairs took an impression very different from what they held at that present. But the Duke of Mayenne, with the loss of him, lost also much of his hopes; and seeing the other Ministers, particularly *Diego d' Ivarra*, utterly averse from him, he began to doubt he should be forced to take another resolution, and thought to guide his businesses with more art and caution then he had formerly done. Nevertheless the Convocation of the States was advanced so far, that it could no longer be deferred: and it was necessary to assemble it, as well not to break absolutely with the Spaniards, as to satisfy the Pope's importunities; but most of all, because the Deputies

The Duke of Parma's death was hurtfull to the interests of the King of Spain.

1592

ties were already elected, and many of them upon their way to Paris.

Monſieur de la Valette is ſlain with a muſket ſhot at the ſiege of Rochebrune.

The River Vaze is the confine that ſeparates Italy from France.

The Sieur de Les-Diguières makes great incursions againſt the Duke of Savoy

Monſieur de Maugiron Governor of Valence for the King, gives up the place to the Lords of the League.

Theſe things happened *Anno 1592*, in which year various fortune had with divers accidents troubled the other Provinces of the Kingdom. Monſieur de la Valette Governour of Provence, had in the beginning of the year laid ſiege to *Rochebrune*, a place held in that Province by the Duke of Savoy; and after he had in vain battered it many days, being reſolved to remove his Artillery, and plant them in another place, where he had diſcovered the wall to be weaker, and the paſſage to go on to the aſſault more eaſie, began new Trenches to plant his Cannon there; about which Work whiſt he laboured in perſon, to haſten the perfecting of it, he received a Muſket-ſhot in the head, and being carried into his Tent, died within a few hours. A Cavalier who (having ſagacity of wit, joyned to valour and undauntedneſs of minde) had with ſlender Forces, honourably, without loſs, ſuſtained the much ſuperiour power of the Duke of Savoy. When he was dead, Provence remaining without a Governour on the King's part, Monſieur *Les-Diguières*, who was wont to help in thoſe neceſſities, left the care of Dauphine to Colonel *Ornano*, and haſted thither with his uſual diligence, and having joyned the Forces of that Province to his own, with infinite expedition made himſelf maſter of all the Towns and Caſtles ſeated upon the banks of the River *Vare*, which divides Italy from France; and then having ſuddenly paſt the River, and thrown down the Fortifications raiſed by the Duke, to hinder the entrance into his Territories, he with wonderfull terrour to the people pillaged all the Country to the very walls of *Nizza*; and having repaſſed the River, ſet himſelf with prosperous ſucceſs to take in the neighbouring Caſtles; yet not thinking it fit to aſſault either *Aix*, *Marſeilles*, or the principal Cities, becauſe he had neither Army nor preparations ſufficient to undertake any of thoſe enterpriſes.

But while he ſtays in Provence, the King's affairs received exceeding great damage in *Dauphiné*: for Monſieur de *Maugiron* Governour of *Valence* (whatſoever the occaſion was) agreed to put that City into the hands of the Duke of *Nemours*, and of his brother the Marqueſs de *St Sorlin* Governour for the League in thoſe parts; which being executed without impediment, the Duke of *Nemours*, intent to follow the proſperity

city of his fortune, battered and took St Marcellin, and after that, many other places, which being diligently fortified, had hindered the Forces of the Leagues from joyning on that side with the Duke of Savoy. Wherefore *Les-Dignieres* being by this diversion constrained to depart out of *Provence*, left the field open to the Duke of Savoy, who having past the *Vare*, and recovered all the places that had been taken from him, advanced to lay siege to *Antibo*; which Town standing upon the Sea, and for the famousness of the Port being very considerable, was taken by him, though with difficulty and length of time.

The Duke of Savoy recovered the places taken by *Les-Dignieres*, and takes *Antibo*.

But *Les-Dignieres* being returned into *Dauphiné*, removed him out of *Provence* by diversion, as he by the means of the Duke of Nemours had been diverted before: for having rallied an Army rather good and expert then numerous, he resolved to pass the Alps, and carry the War into *Piedmont*; and having overcome *Mount Geneure*, the ordinary Pass to conduct Armies on that side of the mountains, he enlarged himself along the valley of *Peroza* and the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, with so much noise and terrour to the people, that the Duke leaving the charge of *Provence* to Count *Francesco Martinengo* was forced to come to remedy the destruction of his Country. The quality of the place steep and mountainous, begirt with rocks and cliffs, and encompassed round about with the Alps, especially in a season when Winter in those parts was already growing on (for it was about the end of September) hindered the progress of Arms, and did not suffer the Armies to encounter with all their Forces: and yet the French having taken *Peroza*, and the Tower of *Luserne*, advanced as far as *Briqueras*; and having had intelligence that the Duke's Commanders gathered part of their Army at *Vigone*, resolved to assault the Camp before all their Forces were drawn together: so having advanced by marching all the night, upon the fourth of October in the morning they suddenly assaulted the Town; where, by reason of the difficulty of the situation, and the resistance of the defendants, the toil was long, and the conflict dangerous; yet the Savoyards being but few, and the place of it self but weak, they were defeated, six hundred souldiers slain, many Commanders taken, and ten Colours of Foot; and the French being returned victorious to *Briqueras*, began with wonderfull diligence to fortifie that place, which being made defensible by

by the forcing all the men of those quarters to work, they left a good Garrison in it, and advanced toward *Saluzzo* (at such time as the Duke was already come with his whole Army to *Villa Franca*) and having no more important enterprize to attempt, applied themselves to take *Cavors*, a mountainous place defended by a very strong Tower, situated just above it: but while they with art and industry strive to get neer it, and to plant the Artillery, the Duke passing another way, marched by night to assault *Briqueras*, judging that the Works not being yet finished, it would not be very hard to get it from the enemy; and it being taken, they remained invironed in such manner, that in the narrow Passes of that valley they might easily be defeated: but he found a brisker resistance then he expected; wherefore, after a most fierce assault of four hours, he resolved to retire, knowing that the French were so near, that it could not be long before they came to relieve their men, which proved very true: for Monsieur *Les-Diguières*, leaving the place besieged, which was but little, and might be blocked up with a few, went with the rest of the Army whither he was guided by the noise of the shot, which rattled aloud among the mountains: but having found the Duke was departed from *Briqueras*, he resolved to follow him speedily: and having overtaken his Rere-guard near a Village, as they were passing a certain rivulet, assaulted it so violently, that he disordered the last squadrons of Cavalry. The rest of the Army made a halt, and skirmished furiously for many hours, till being all tired out, and the night drawing on, the Duke retreated to *Vigone*, and *Les-Diguières* returned to *Cavors*, where the Tower and Castle being extremely battered, at last surrendered; and he having over-run and pillaged those valleys, being hindered by the snow and the coldness of the weather from proceeding to other enterprizes, marched back into *Dauphiné* about the end of December.

The Duke of
Espemon going
into Provence
recovers Antibes,
and all the
towns held by
the Duke of
Savoy as far as
the River Vaire

But the Duke of *Espemon* was come into *Provence*; who having heard of his brother's death, and being desirous to keep that Province, the Government whereof had been given him by King *Henr. 3.* in which he had substituted the *Sieur de la Valette*, went thither with all his Forces, and without much dispute recovered *Antibo*, & reduced into his power all the Towns as far as the River *Vaire*, which by reason of their weaknes were a prey sometimes to the one side, sometimes to the other; & though many

in the Province, even of those that were of the Kings party did not follow him; yet he trusting to the Forces he had brought, applied himself diligently to subject all the Towns to the obedience of his Government.

1592

The Kings affairs went on also prosperously in the Provinces of Guascogne and Languedoc; for *Antoine Scipion*, Duke of Joyeuse, Brother to *Anne*, who was slain in the Battel of Coutras, and chief Commander for the League in that Province, having obtained many Victories, taken many places, and made his name formidable in those quarters, had at last besieged *Villemur*, a Fortrefs not far from *Montauban*, with a design as soon as he had taken it, and spoiled all the Country about, to strengthen also *Montauban* it self, the secure receptacle, and for many late years the settled standing quarter of the Hugonots. But the Duke of *Espéron* passing at the same time with his Army to go into Provence, and having stept a little out of his way to relieve that place, Joyeuse knowing himself inferior in strength, arose from the siege, and went to the Towns of his own party, till the Duke of *Espéron* being gone on his journey, he thought he might opportunely venture to *Villemur*, and prosecute his begun design.

Antoine Scipion, Duke of Joyeuse, lays siege to *Villemur*, a Fortrefs near *Montauban*.

There were in *Villemur* Three hundred Foot, a very weak Garison to sustain so sharp a siege; wherefore *Monsieur de Temines* who was in *Montauban*, being resolved not to suffer the besieged to perish without relief, went from thence with Two hundred Firelocks, an hundred and twenty Cuirassiers, and a select number of Gentlemen, by ways that were not ordinary, and thorow secret uneven passages got into the place, desiring rather to labor in the defence of *Villemur*, then when it was lost to be put to defend the Walls of *Montauban*. The Duke of Joyeuse having taken the Outworks, and made his approaches to the Moat, planted Eight pieces of Cannon, and with them battered the Wall very furiously, and not failing in any thing that was the part of a valiant diligent Commander, being abundantly furnished from *Tholouse* with those things that belong unto a siege, straitned it in such manner, that the danger was already urgent, and a speedy resolution was necessary, either to relieve the besieged, or let them perish: Whereupon, *Henry d'Anville*, Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governor for the King in that Province, not willing to receive that affront before his own face, gathered the Forces he had

Monsieur de Temines enters with men into *Villemur*.

1592

The Kings
forces sent to
relieve Villemur,
assault
the Duke of
Joyeuse's
Camp, and
make them-
selves masters
of the first
Trench.

had together, and having called to his assistance the Gentry of Auvergne which were near, dispatched Monsieur *de Lecques*, and with him the Sieurs *de Chambaut* and *Montoyson*, to the end, they might endeavor either to raise the siege, or to relieve the Town with powerful assistance some other way. These made their Rendezvous at Bellegarde; which the Duke of Joyeuse having heard, left his Infantry to continue the siege, and he himself with the Cavalry, and a certain number of Firelocks, ran fiercely to assault them. The encounter at the first was hot and furious, whereupon they of the Kings side began to be put in disorder; but *Lecques* having caused two Culverins to give fire, as also two other lesser Pieces, which they had taken out of Montauban, stopt the assailants in such sort, that at last they drew off without having wrought any further effect, and the Duke of Joyeuse returned to his quarter, continuing the siege with so much security, and so much contempt, that he quartered his Cavalry scatteringly in the Villages about, to the end, that in the sterility of that Country, they might be more commodiously furnished. But the Viscount *de Gordon* being come to assist them of the Kings party, they being increased in courage and in strength, (for they had One thousand eight hundred Horse, and little less then four thousand Foot) resolved suddenly to fall upon the Dukes Trenches, judging, that if the besieged (as they promised themselves from the valor of Monsieur *de Temines*) should fall upon them on the other side, they might easily pass thorow the Trenches, and put relief into the place. With this design being (upon the Nineteenth of December at night) entered into a Wood, which largely spreading it self, reaches near to Villemur, they arrived so unexpectedly the next morning to assault the Duke of Joyeuse his Camp, that they entered the first Trenches, before those that negligently guarded them, had time to stand to their Arms. The Duke having heard of the enemies coming, and the flight of his guards, sent Two hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back before, to hold the enemy in play, and giving sign by three Cannon-shot to his Cavalry to hasten to the Camp, stood firm with his Forces in Battalia between the first and second Trench, to receive the assault of the Royallists, who encouraged by the prosperity of that beginning, charged them valiantly, and were no less fiercely received. The conflict lasted with great uncertainty of

of the victory for the space of an hour and an half; but in the mean time, Monsieur de Temines with the greater part of the Garison, falling at the Skitgates of the Fortrefs, and having drawn up a small, but a valiant Squadron, fell upon the Rere of the Dukes main Body, which hardly made any resistance; so that not being able to sustain the violence on both sides, the Infantry took flight, and ran without stop, to pass over a Bridge, which for the conveniency of the Camp they had caused to be made of Boats over the River Tar: But the Bridge being weak, and the croud exceeding great, it broke under so great a weight, and the men upon it in a miserable confusion were all drowned. The Duke, who being got upon a Pad-nag, had used all the endeavors of a good Commander to stop his men, made his retreat with a few Gentlemen, still fighting till he came to the bank of the River, where he found the Bridge already broken, and his men drowned; whereupon being necessitated to pass the River upon the same Nag, he was carried away by the Water, by reason of the weakness of his horse, and for haste to get over, fell into the midst of the stream, and was drowned with no less misfortune, then his Forces had perished in their flight. In the mean time the Cavalry was got together at the warning of the three Cannon shot; but the General being dead, and their Trenches taken every where, they endeavored to save the relicks of them that fled, and retired without troubling the Enemy. Thus the Camp of the League being routed, with the loss of a thousand men, two and twenty Ensigns, and all their Artillery, Villemur remained free from the siege, and the Kings Forces much superior in that Province.

But matters proceeded very differently in Bretagne. The Prince of Conty, Commander in chief of the Army in Poictou, and the Country of Maine, was joyned for the defence of the Kings party with the Prince of Dombes, Governor of Bretagne, and they had joyntly resolved to besiege Craon, a great strong Town seated upon the Confine that divides Bretagne from the other Neighboring Provinces; in which, there being a very great Garison, it over-ran and pillaged all the Country about. Wherefore having gathered together all their Forces, they set themselves about this enterprife; one on the one side, and the other on the

Ggggggg

other

1592
While the
Royalists fight
with the
Leaguers with
equal fortune,
Temines falls
with most of
the Garison
of Villemur,
and catching
the enemy in
the midst,
routs them,
and puts them
to flight.

Craon a great
strong Town
that held for
the League, is
besieged by
the Princes of
Conty and
Dombes.

1592

The Royal-
lists raise their
siege at Cra-
on, by reason
of the Duke
of Mercœurs
arrival with
relief.

other side of the River, which running thorow the midst of the City, divides it into two parts; but as it commonly comes to pass, that where more then one General commands in Armies, things always go on not onely slowly and coldly, but also disorderly and confusedly, the siege very hopefully begun, was delaid and protracted so long, that the Duke of Mercœur had time to draw his Forces together to relieve that place, as he much desired: For which purpose having sent for the Spaniards from Blavet, and gathered together all his Horse and the Gentry of the Country, having also raised two thousand Breton Firelocks, he marched with speed toward Craon, at the time when the Prince of Conti having diverted the water out of the Moat on his side, and the Prince of Dombes battering fiercely on the other, the besieged were brought in danger of not being able to make good the first assaults. At the Dukes advancing, the Princes not judging it good for their Armies to be divided, with the River between them, resolved, That the Prince of Dombes should repass the River, and joyn with the Prince of Conti in the same quarter, which was done before the Enemies arrival; but with so little circumspection, that not to deprive themselves of the conveniency of repassing the River, either through inadvertency, carelesness, and something else, they left the Bridge standing, and very weakly guarded, which they had made upon Boats over the River about a League below the Town. The Prince being past over, and the Armies reunited, they desired to free themselves from the incumbrance of their great Artillery; wherefore having without loss of time drawn them off from the Wall, they sent them before to Chasteau Gontier, whither they had designed to retire, and their great shot, which by reason of the number of them, and their haste, they could not carry away, they buried in divers places to hide them from the Enemy. But the Duke *de Mercœur*, who finding the Bridge entire, had speedily past the River without resistance, marching in gallant order, advanced so quickly, that the Princes had scarcely raised their Camp, and set the Army in Battalia to draw off, when the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin*, who led the Vanguard of the League, appeared in the field, and began to send forth his Light-horse toward them. Many of the most expert Commanders, and particularly *Charles* of Montmorancy, Lord *d'Anville*, condemned the counsel of retiring in sight of the Enemy,

enemy, arguing that there was no example of any such resolution, but had ever been pernicious to Armies; it not being possible but that the one should retire with terror and disorder, and the other advance with violence and boldness: wherefore they were of opinion, that standing firm in the Post they held, and drawing (if they had so much time) a Trench before the front of the Army, they should stoutly expect the enemies assault; and that recalling the Artillery, which was not gone very far, they should turn furiously against them. The Prince of *Dombes* did in great part assent to this advice; but the Prince of *Conty*, superiour in authority and years, and who commanded in chief, because he was upon the confines of his own Government, sent to tell him that he should retire, according to the order already appointed, because, being inferiour in Force, he would not endanger that Army and all the neighbouring Countries: wherefore marching before with the Vanguard led by *Hercule de Rohan* Duke of *Montbason*, and with the Battel which he himself commanded, he left order that the Prince of *Dombes* should come after with the Rere-guard: but he, straitened and followed at the heels by the enemies Cavalry (for not onely their Van-guard pressed him, but also the Duke of *Mercœur* with the whole Forces had overtaken him) was at last constrained to stand, and facing about, to close up against the enemy, whose boldness he repressed for a while, till, being surrounded with so much a greater number, and being forsaken by his men, after he had shewed all the proofs of a valiant resolute Commander, he was fain (being in a manner left alone) to retire, quitting the passage to the enemy, who fiercely prosecuting the course of their Victory, fell upon the Infantry, which retired very disorderly, by reason of the narrowness of the ways: whereupon, without so much as making the least shew of defending themselves, they were destroyed and dissipated in a very short space, there being an exceeding great slaughter made of them by the Light-horse and the Spanish Foot. The Prince of *Conty*, without ever turning his face, came with his Cavalry untouched to *Chasteau Gontier* in the evening, whither the Prince of *Dombes* came up to him a while after, with no more but a eleven Horse. The Artillery left upon the way by those that had the charge of conducting it, fell all into the enemies hands; and the Gentry, as soon as they were come safe into a place where they could not

The Kings Forces desiring to make their retreat in sight of the enemy, lose almost all their Foot, who are cut in pieces.

The Prince of *Conty*, without ever turning his face, saves himself with all the Horse at *Chasteau Gontier*.

1592

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1592

be pursued, disbanded of themselves, and every one severally betook himself to the security of his own house. This defeat, which happened the three and twentieth of May, weakned the King's Forces in those parts so much, that not onely *Chasteau Gontier* being quitted by the Princes who retired further into the Country, but also *Maine* and *Laval*, with all the neighbouring places, came into the power of the League. The Prince of Conty retired into the Country of *Maine*, and the Prince of Dombes by a different way went back to *Rennes*; and the English, wounded and disarmed, got into the Suburbs of *Vitré*, leaving the possession of the field for many days to the Duke of *Mercœur*.

The Marechal d' *Aumont* was already appointed by the King to be Governour of *Bretagne*: for the Prince (whom from henceforth we will call Duke of Montpensier) had already succeeded his father in the Government of *Normandy*, and for his Lieutenant had chosen *François d'Espina* Sieur de *St Luc*,; a man who by the readines of his wit, the ornaments of learning, and his valour in Arms, was risen to a very high estimation; who having gathered Forces from all parts, and made a levy of Foot in the Country of *Broûage*, of which place *St Luc* was Governour, hastened their coming, because the Duke of *Mercœur* having taken the Castle of *Malestron*, prepared himself to besiege *Vitré*, a considerable Town, in the conservation whereof the sum of affairs consisted. The King's Commanders having drawn their Forces together, at their first coming besieged *Mayne*, a City more great then strong; and having gotten it upon Conditions, stood doubtfull whether they should pass forward to meet the Duke of *Mercœur*, or stay to attempt *Rochefort*, a wonderfull strong place, which did incommode all the places thereabout, and particularly the City of *Angiers*. At last, at the importunity of the people, and of the Gentlemen that followed them, they resolved to try what they could do upon that place: but the taking of it proved so difficult, being defended by the Sieur de *St Offange*, that after two thousand and five hundred Cannon-shot, and the loss of much time, and the best Souldiers of the Army, the rains of Autumne falling, and the Duke of *Mercœur*'s relief drawing neer, they were at last constrained to rise without having obtained their intent. But the Duke having held the enemy in suspense by taking several ways, and by making shew of turning

ing sometimes to one place, sometimes to another, came suddenly to *Quintin*, whither seven hundred Germans were gotten, who were under the Command of the Duke of Montpensier in those parts; and having found them unprovided of those things which were requisite to make a long defence, he forced them to yield, with expresse conditions to go out of the Province, and not to serve any more against him; a thing which proved very hurtfull to the King's affairs; for he had no Foot that were more forward, more expert, nor better disciplined then they.

1592

The loss of the King's party was augmented by the defeat of the English, who being (as they still are wont) afflicted with grievous diseases, and brought to a very weak estate, had obtained leave of the Duke of Montpensier to go to *Danfront* in lower Normandy, to change the air, and to recover their strength by rest: but being set upon in the way by the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin*, with the Garrisons of *Laval*, *Craon*, *Fongeres*, and of the near adjacent places, they were so shattered, that of so great a number hardly two hundred remained alive.

On the contrary, the affairs of the League in Lorain went on unsuccessfully: for while the Duke of *Bouillon*, who had taken *Stenay* with a Petard, and possessed some lesser places, at last went to relieve *Beaumont*, besieged by Monsieur d'*Amblise* General for the Duke of Lorain: the Armies encountered fiercely, and the Lorainers losing their Trenches and Artillery, were utterly routed and dispersed: after which business, the Duke of *Bouillon* took *Dun* suddenly, by having likewise fastened a Petard to the gate; and overrunning all the Country without hinderance, had put the Forces of the League in very great confusion.

In this condition of affairs began the year 1593, the general dispositions of mens mindes, as well of the one side as the other, being more inclined to the settling of affairs, then to the management of Arms. The first novelty of this year, was the Duke of *Mayenne's* Declaration, made from the December before, but not published before the fifth of January; in which, making known his intention in assembling the States of his party, he prayed and exhorted the Catholicks that followed the King's party to unite themselves to the same end with him, and to take some course for the safety and peace of the Kingdom. It was of the tenour following.

1593

CHARLES

1593

The Declara-
tion made by
the Duke of
Mayenne for
the congrega-
tion of the
States, pub-
lished the fifth
of January,
1693.

CHARLES OF LORRAINE, Duke of Mayenne, Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France, To all persons present and to come, Greeting. The inviolable and perpetual observance which this Kingdom hath had of Religion and piety, hath been that which hath made it flourish above all others in Christendom, and which hath caused our Kings to be honoured with the name of *Most-Christian*, and *First Sons of the Church*; some of them having, to obtain that so glorious Title, past the Seas, and gone as far as the utmost bounds of the earth, with most powerfull Armies, to make War against the Infidels; and others of them, fought often against those that sought to introduce new Sects and Errours contrary to the faith and belief of their fore-fathers: in all which Expeditions, they were always accompanied by the Nobility, who voluntarily exposed their lives and fortunes to all dangers, to have part in that onely true and solid glory of having helped to conserve Religion in their Country, or to establish it in places far remote, where the Name and Worship of our Lord was not yet known: from whence not onely the fame of the valour and zeal of the whole Nation resounds in all parts, but by the example of it, other Potentates have been stirred up to follow in the honour and danger of so worthy enterprises; and of so laudable achievements. After this ardor the holy intention of our Kings and of their Subjects was not at all cooled nor changed, till these last dayes that Heresie hath been secretly introduced into this Kingdom, and increased in such manner, by the means which every one knows, that there is now no more need to set before our eyes, that we are at last fallen into so lamentable a misfortune, that the Catholicks themselves, whom the Union of the Church ought inseparably to joyn together, have by a new prodigious example taken Arms against one another, and disunited themselves in stead of joyning together for the defence of their Religion: Which we judge to be come to pass by the wicked impressions and wonted artifices Hereticks have made use of, to perswade them that this War is not for Religion, but to destroy and usurp the State; though we have taken Arms, being moved thereunto by so just a grief, or rather being constrained by so great a necessity, that the cause thereof cannot be ascribed to any others, then the authors of the most wicked, disloyal and pernicious counsel that was ever given to a Prince; though the

the Kings death happened by a blow from Heaven, and by the hand of one man alone, without the help or knowledge of those that had but too much cause to desire it; and notwithstanding we had made protestation that all our aim and desire tended onely to preserve the State, to follow the Laws of the Kingdom, by acknowledging for King the Cardinal of Bourbon, the nearest and first Prince of the Blood, declared so to be in the life-time of the late King by his Letters Patents, verified in all the Parliaments, and in that quality designed his Successor, in case he should die without male children, which obliged us to confer that honor upon him, and yield him all kinde of obedience, fidelity, and service, as our intention was to do, if it had pleased God to free him from the captivity he was in: And if the King of Navar, from whom alone he could hope for that good, had been pleased (obliging all Catholicks) to set him at liberty, to acknowledge himself as King, and to stay till Nature had brought his days to an end, making use of that occasion to cause himself to be instructed, and to reconcile himself to the holy Church, he should have found all the Catholicks united and disposed to yield him the same obedience and fidelity, after the death of the King his Uncle. But he persevering in his Errors, it was not possible to do it, if he would remain under the obedience of the Apostolick Roman Church, which had excommunicated him, and deprived him of all the rights he could pretend to the Crown: Besides that, by so doing we should have broken and violated that ancient custom, so religiously kept for so many ages, and through the succession of so many Kings, from Clouis till this present, not to acknowledge any King in the Royal Throne, who was not a Catholick, an Obedient Son of the Church, and who had not promised and sworn at his Consecration, and at his receiving the Crown and Scepter, that he would live and die in it, defend and maintain it, and extirpate Hereſie with his utmost forces; the first Oath of our Kings, whereupon that of the obedience and fidelity of their Subjects is grounded, and without which (so zealous they were in Religion) they would never have acknowledged that Prince, who pretended by the Laws, to be called unto the Crown. A Custom judged so holy and necessary for the welfare and good of the Kingdom, by the States held at Blois in the year 1566, when the Catholicks were not yet divided

1593

divided in the defence of their Religion, that it was by them held as the principal and fundamental Law of the State, and it was established by the Kings will and authority, that two of every Order should be deputed and sent to the King of Navar, and the Prince of Conde, to represent unto them from the States, the danger they put themselves in, by forsaking the holy Church, and to exhort them to reconcile themselves unto it, and to denounce unto them, that in case they did not, if they should chance to succeed unto the Crown, they should be perpetually excluded as incapable. Nor is the Declaration which was afterward made at Rouen in the year 1588. confirmed in the Convocation of the States last held at Blois, that this ancient Law and Custom should be inviolably observed as a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, any thing else but a simple approbation of the judgment given upon that point by the foregoing States, against which he cannot object any just suspicion to condemn or reject their opinion and authority. So the late King received it for a Law, and promised and swore to the observing of it in his Church, and upon the precious Body of our Lord; as likewise all the Deputies of the States did in the last Assembly, not onely before those inhumane murders which made it infamous and fatal; but also afterward, when he no longer feared those that were dead, and when he despised those that remained, whom he held for lost and in despair of all safety, having done it because he knew himself to be bound and obliged to it by right, as all Superiors are to follow and conserve the Laws, which are as the principal Pillars, or rather the Foundations of their State. Therefore the Catholicks of the *Union* cannot be justly blamed, who have followed the Decrees of the holy Church, the example of their Ancestors, and the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, which do require the profession of the Catholick Faith, as an essential and necessary quality in that Prince that aspires to the Crown by being next of blood, because he is King of a Kingdom which is gained to Jesus Christ by the power of the Gospel, which it hath received so many ages since, and in the form as it is Preached in the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church.

These reasons have made us hope (though some appearance of duty retained many Catholicks with the late King) that after his death, Religion the strongest bond of all others
to

to joyn men together, would unite them all for the defence of that which ought to be more dear to them then life: But against all humane belief, we see the contrary is come to pass; for it was easie in that sudden moment to perswade them, That we were guilty of his death, of which we never so much as thought; That honor obliged them to assist the King of Navar, who published that he would revenge it, and promised them that he would turn Catholick within six moneths; and being once engaged in it, the injuries which Civil War produces, the prosperous successes which he hath had, and the same calumnies which the Hereticks have continued to publish against us, are the true causes that have kept him in it till this present, and that have given the Hereticks means to proceed so far, that Religion and the State are in manifest danger thereby. And though we long foresaw the mischief this division would bring, that it would be the cause of establishing Heresie with the Blood and Arms of the Catholicks, and that this could onely be hindered by our reconciliation, which we for this end have sought with so much earnestness; yet hath it never been in our power to attain it; so much have mens mindes been transported and possessed with passion, that they have hindered us from using the means of our own safety. We have often caused them to be entreated, that they would enter into conferences with us, as we offered to do with them, to take some course in the business. We have caused to be declared, both to them, and to the King of Navar himself, upon some proposition made for the quiet of the Kingdom, That if leaving his error, he would reconcile himself to the Church, to his Holiness, and to the most holy See, by a true unfeigned conversion; and by actions that might give testimony of his zeal toward our Religion, we would most willingly have added our obedience; and all that is in our power to help to put an end to our miseries, and would have proceeded with such candor and sincerity, that none should justly have been able to doubt, but that such was our true intention. These Overtures and Declarations have been made at such times when we were in greatest prosperity, and had means to undertake greater matters, if we had had such a thought in our minde, rather then to serve the publick, and seek the general quiet. To which he answered (as it is known to every one) that he would not be forced by his

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Subjects,

1593

Subjects, calling the Prayers that were made unto him to return into the Church, by the name of force, which he ought rather to have taken in good part, and as a wholesome admonition which represented to him his duty, to which the greatest Kings are no less obliged, then the meanest persons of all the Earth; for when a man hath once received Christianity in the true Church (which is ours, whose authority we will not put in doubt with any whosoever) he can no more go out of it, then a Soldier enrolled can depart from the Fidelity which he hath promised and sworn to, without being held for a desertor and violator of the Laws of God and the Church. He likewise added to the said Answer, That when once he should be obeyed and acknowledged by all his Subjects, he would cause himself to be instructed in a free general Council; as if Councils were necessary to condemn an error so often reprobated by the Church, especially by the last Council of Trent, as solemn and authentick as any other that hath been celebrated these many ages. And God having permitted that he should have the advantage, after the winning of a Battel the same Prayer was reiterated, not by us who were not then in a condition to do it; but by persons of honor, desirous of the publick good and repose of the Kingdom, as it hapned likewise in the siege of Paris, by Prelates of great authority, who moved by the prayers of the besieged, disposed themselves to go unto him to finde some remedy for their miseries. At which time, if it had been resolved, or rather, if the Holy Ghost, without whom none can enter into his Church, had so put into his minde, he might have caused the Catholicks to hope much better of his conversion, who justly do suspect a sudden change, and are sensible in a thing that so nearly touches the honor of God, their lives and consciences, which can never be secure under the dominion of Hereticks. But the hope he then was in to subdue Paris, and by consequence with the terror of his Arms, and the means which he promised to himself he should finde in it, to possess the rest of the Kingdom by force, made him reject that counsel of reconciling himself to the Church, which might have united the Catholicks, and preserved Religion. But after that the City was freed by the help of the Princes and Lords, of a good number of the Gentry of the Kingdom, and of the Army of the Catholick King (who hath always with his Forces

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upheld this Cause (for which we are most obliged to him) sent under the Command of the Duke of Parma, a Prince of happy memory, sufficiently known by the reputation of his name; and of his great deserts, he ceased not nevertheless to enter into his first hopes, because this forraign Army, as soon as it had raised the siege, went out of the Kingdom; and he having commanded his own party, drew together a great Army, wherewith he made himself master of the field, and then caused openly to be published without dissembling it, that it was a crime for any to intreat him, or speak to him about conversion, before they had acknowledged him, and taken the Oath of obedience and fidelity to him; that we were obliged to lay down our Arms, to present our selves before him so naked, so disarmed, to beseech him, and to give him absolute power upon our lives and fortunes, and upon Religion it self, to use it or abuse it as he pleased, by our baseness putting it in evident danger; whereas by the authority and means of the holy See, the help of the Catholick King and other Potentates, who assist and favour this Cause, we have always hoped that God would be so mercifull to us, as to preserve it; who all would have had nothing more to do in our affairs, if we had once acknowledged him; and this quarrel of Religion would have been decided with two much advantage to Hereticks, between him the Head and Protectour of Heresie, armed with our obedience, and the whole Forces of the Kingdom; and us, who should have had nothing to resist him, but bare weak supplications, addressed to a Prince more desirous to hear them, then to provide for them.

But how unjust soever this will is, and though the following of it is the true means to ruine Religion; yet among those Catholicks that assist him, many have suffered themselves to be perswaded that it is rebellion to oppose him, and that we ought rather to obey his Commands, and the Laws of that temporal policy which he would establish anew against the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, then the Decrees of the holy Church, and the Laws of his Predecessours, from the succession of whom he pretends to the Crown, who never taught us to acknowledge Hereticks, but on the contrary to reject them, and make War against them, and not to hold any to be more just and necessary then it, though it be exceeding dangerous. Here let * us remember, that he himself often took Arms

* Mem. de la Ligue, Him.

1593

against our Kings, to introduce a new Doctrine into the Kingdom: That many defamatory Books and Writings were made and published against those that opposed it, and counselled to extinguish the growing evil betimes, while it was yet weak: That then, he would needs have his Arms to be believed just, because for matter of Religion and Conscience; and that we defend an ancient Religion received into this Kingdom as soon as it began, and with which this Crown grew till it became the first and most potent of all Christendom; which we know very well cannot be kept pure, inviolable, and without danger under a Heretick King, though at first, to make us lay down our Arms, and make him absolute Master, he dissemble and promise the contrary. Late examples, reason, and that which we finde every day, ought to make us wise, and teach us that Subjects willingly follow the life, customs, nay and even the Religion of their Kings, to maintain themselves in their favour, and to have share in the Honours and Benefits which they alone can distribute; and that after they have corrupted some with their favours, they have always means to constrain the rest by their power and authority. We are all men, and that which hath once been accounted lawfull, though it were not, shall afterwards be so again for another cause which shall appear to us no less just then the first that made us erre. Many Catholicks have thought that for some consideration they might follow an Heretick Prince, and assist to establish him; nor hath the sight of the ruines of Churches, of Altars, and of the Monuments of their fathers (whereof many died fighting to destroy the Heresie which they maintain) nor the present nor future danger of Religion, been able to divert them. How much more suspected ought his Forces and adherents be to us, if he already were established King and absolute Master? since that in such a case, every one would be so afflicted and tired, or rather ruined with the late unhappy War, that, provided they might but live secure in repose, and also with some hope of reward, they would chuse rather to suffer any kinde of trouble, then make opposition with danger. Some are of opinion that in a such case all the Catholicks would unite themselves unanimously to conserve Religion, and that therefore it would be an easie matter to interrupt the design of whosoever should attempt Innovations. Certainly we ought to desire that happiness; but yet we dare not hope it on such
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a sudden: but admit that, the fire being extinguished, there should in one instant remain no heat in the embers; and that, Arms being laid down, all our hatred likewise should be quite extinct; yet it is most certain, we should not therefore be exempt from all other passions which sometimes make us run into errors; and that the danger would always hang over our heads, of being (in spite of us) subject to the motions and passions of Hereticks, who finding that they had the advantage of having a King of their own Religion, which is as much as they desire, would, by force or art, do whatsoever they had a minde to. And if the Catholicks at this present would well consider the actions that proceed from their advice, they might see it clearly enough: for the best Cities and Fortresses that are taken, are put into their power, or into the hands of persons who have at all times shewed themselves favourers of them. The Catholicks that reside in them, are every day accused and convicted of supposed crimes, the sole, but concealed cause thereof being onely the opposition which hitherto they have made against their designs, which they by a false name call Rebellion. The principal Offices fall into their hands, and it is already come even unto the Crown. The Bulls of our Lord Gregory the fourteenth, and Clement the eighth, full of holy precepts and fatherly admonitions given to the Catholicks to separate them from Hereticks, have not onely been rejected, but with all contempt trampled upon by Magistrates who unjustly give themselves the name of Catholicks: for if they were such indeed, they would never abuse the simplicity of those that are so. For to make use of the example of things done in this Kingdom at such a time when the business was about introducing matters that were against the liberty and privilege of the Gallique-Church, is very different from our case, the Kingdom never having been reduced to so great an unhappiness (since it received the Faith) as to endure an Heretick-Prince, or to see any of that quality pretend right unto it: and if they thought those Bulls had any difficulties in them, they, being Catholicks, ought to have proceeded by Remonstrances, and with that respect and modesty which is due unto the holy See, and not with so much contempt, and so many blasphemies and impieties as they did: but perchance they thereby intended to shew those who know how to be better Catholicks, that small reckoning is to be made of the Head
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1593

of the holy Church, to the end that they may afterward be so much the more easily excluded. In evil, men proceed by degrees; they always begin with that which either is not evil, or at least is evil in a lower degree; the next day they rise higher, and at last arrive at the top of all. Thence it is that we know God to be highly incensed against this poor desolate Kingdom, and that he will yet punish us for our sins, since that so many actions which tend to the ruin of our Religion, have not been able to bend them, nor the many and often repeated Declarations made by us (especially within these few days) that we will refer our selves in all things to what it should please his Holiness and the holy See to determine concerning the King of Navar's conversion, if God gave him the grace to leave his errors; which Declarations ought certainly to give undoubted testimony of our innocency and sincerity, and justify our Arms as necessary for our own safety. Yet they forbear not to publish, that the Princes united for the defence of Religion, tend onely to the ruin and destruction of the State; though their actions, and the Propositions made by the common consent of them all, especially of the greatest that assist us, be the true and most secure means to take away the cause and means from whosoever should aspire to it. The Hereticks have nothing else to lay hold of, but the Catholick King's relief, which they complain of, and look upon with an evil eye, and would take us to be better French-men, if we would forbear making use of it; or to say better more easie to be overcome, if we were disarmed. To which it shall suffice us to answer them, that Religion afflicted and put into exceeding great danger in this Kingdom, had need to finde out that support, that we are bound to publish this obligation, and to remember it for ever; and that imploring the aid of so great a King, an Ally and Confederate of this Crown, he hath not required any thing from us; and we likewise on our parts have not made any Treaty with any whosoever within or without the Kingdom, in diminution of the Greatness and Majesty of the State, for the conservation whereof we would precipitate our selves willingly into all kinde of dangers, so it were not to make an Heretick master of it; a wickedness which we abhor, as the greatest and most abominable of all others. And if the Catholicks who assist them could but lay aside this passion, depart from Hereticks, and joyn themselves, not with us, but with the

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Cause of our Religion, and in common, seek remedies to preserve it, and to provide for the safety of the State, we should without doubt, finde the conservation of both, and it would not be in the power of him that had an ill intention thereby to prejudice the State, nor to make use of so holy a Cause, as of a specious, but unjust pretence, to gain honor and authority. We therefore beseech and conjure them in the name of God, and of this very Church (wherein we protest we will always live and die) to separate themselves from Hereticks, and consider, that while we are opposit to one another, we cannot take any remedy that will not be dangerous, and such as will make this whole State suffer very much before it can do any good at all. Whereas on the contrary, our reconciliation will make every thing easie, and will quickly make an end of our miseries. And to the end, that as well the Princes of the Blood, as the Officers of the Crown, and others may not at all be kept back or hindered from applying themselves to so good a work, out of a doubt that they shall not be respected, acknowledged and honored by us, and the other Princes and Lords of this party according to their merit; We promise upon our faith and honor, provided they separate themselves from the Hereticks, that we will do it sincerely, assuring them that they shall finde the same respect and reverence from us and them that follow us. But we beseech them to do it speedily, and cut the knots of so many difficulties which cannot be disentangled, if they forsake not all things to serve God and his holy Church, and if they lay not before their eyes, that Religion ought to pass before all other respects and considerations, and that prudence is no longer to be so called, when it makes us forget our first obligation. And, to proceed with more mature advice, we give them to understand, that we have prayed the Princes, Peers of France, Prelates, Lords, and Deputies of the Parliaments, and of the Cities and Towns of this Party, that they would be at the City of Paris upon the seventeenth day of the moneth of January next, to chuse joyntly, without passion, or regard of the interest of any whosoever, the Remedy which we shall judge in Conscience to be most profitable for the conservation of Religion and the State. To which place, if they shall think fit to send any body to make overtures there, which may conduce to so great a good, they shall finde all security, shall be heard with attention, and with a desire to content them.

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1593

But if our earnest request made unto them, that they should lend an hand to this reconciliation, and the near and inevitable danger of the ruine of this State, have not power sufficient over them, to excite them to have a care of the common safety, and that we be constrained, because of our being abandoned by them, to have recourse to extraordinary remedies against our intention and desire; We protest before God and Men, that the blame shall be attributed to them, and not to the United Catholicks, who have labored with all their power to preserve this common Cause with good intelligence, and agreeing mindes, and with the counsel of themselves, wherein if they would labor with good affections, the hope of a compleat quiet would be near, and we all secure that the Catholicks united together against the Hereticks, their ancient enemies, (whom they have been accustomed to overcome) would quickly see an end of the War. We also pray the Gentlemen of the Parliaments of this Kingdom to cause these presents to be published and registred, to the end they may be known to all, and that the perpetual remembrance of them may remain to after times, for the discharge of us, and of the Princes, Peers of France, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, Cities and Corporations, who have united themselves together for the conservation of their Religion.

With this form of Declaration, though the Duke of Mayenne strengthened his pretensions very much, and wonderfully defended the cause of his party, yet did he not engage himself to the election of a new King, but holding things in equal ballance, left himself a way open, that upon opportunity he might take any resolution whatsoever time should advise, and the quality of affairs permit; for being much diminished in his hopes by the Duke of Parma's death, by the Union which he saw between the Legate and the Spanish Ministers, who he knew hated his person, and by the concurrence of the Dukes of Guise and Nemours, who were not likely to be faulty to themselves, he intended not to attempt the election of himself, and of his posterity, except in case it should seem to him not onely that he might be able to effect it, by the number of Votes, and with the general consent; but also, that he should have such, and so secure Forces and Dependents, that he might not need to fear, being able to establish himself in the possession of the Crown; otherwise he was resolved, either to settle himself

himself in the full authority of Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, and to follow the War, if by the means of the States he could bring matters to pass, that he might be able to uphold the enterprise with small foreign dependents; or else, if he proved not able to attain to these, rather to bring the States to agree with the King by means of his conversion, then suffer the Kingdom to come to any other body; still firm to his principle, of neither suffering the Union of the Crowns, nor the disunion of the Kingdom: Which resolution of his, full of integrity and sincerity towards his Country, did not onely please many of his party, but even the King himself (to whom it was known by many conjectures) could not sometimes forbear commending it.

But the Cardinal Legat and the Spanish Ministers, not well satisfied with his so ambiguous Declaration, wherein he seemed rather to aim at an Accommodation with the Catholics of the contrary party, then at the election of a new King, resolved to agree together, and declare their intention perfectly; and therefore the Cardinal Legat published a Writing in the form of a Letter, of the tenor following.

PHILIP by the Grace of God, Cardinal of Piacenza, of the Title of St. Onofrio, Legat *a Latere* of our Lord, Pope Clement the Eighth, by Divine Providence Pope, and of the Apostolick See in this Kingdom: To all Catholics, of what pre-eminence, state or condition soever they be, who follow the party of the Heretick, and adhere unto him, or favor him in any manner whatsoever; Health, Peace, Love, and the Spirit of better counsel in him who is the true Peace, onely Wisdom, onely King, onely Governor, Jesus Christ our Saviour and Redeemer. The performance of so holy and necessary a work as is that which concerns the charge and dignity which it hath pleased his Holiness to give us in this Kingdom, is so dear unto us, that we should account our blood and life well employed, if they could be helpful to it; and would it pleased God, that it were permitted to us to go in person, not onely from City to City, or from Province to Province, but even from house to house, as well to give a most certain proof to all the World of our Affection, which is known to God, as by word of mouth to awaken in you a generous desire, with the singular piety of your Ancestors, that is, with the Roman

The Tenor of another Declaration published by the Cardinal Legat, wherein he exhorts the Catholics of the Kings party to forsake the Heretick, and unite themselves with the States, to elect a Catholic King.

Catholick Apostolick Religion, to make that prosperous flourishing State spring up again in France, from whence Heresie hath miserably caused it to fall. But since that by reason of the unhappines of the times, and the impediments which are but too well known, we cannot (as it would be the intention of his Holiness, and our desire) communicate familiarly with you, we have thought it our duty to supply that want with this Letter, in the best manner that is possible for us. But if you please to accept of it, and read it with the spirit of true Christians and Catholicks, free from all passion, as it is naked from all artifice which is averse from truth, you will excite in us a most pleasing and firm hope, of being within a short time able to offer our presence to you in all parts of this Kingdom, not to exhort you any more to what is fit, but to congratulate with you for what you shall so valiantly have performed, to the consolation of all good men. Making no doubt at all, but that if entring again into your selves, you will take care to examine your selves as you ought, you will need neither word, nor letter, nor any other exterior remedy, to settle you again in your former sanctity. For then every one of you will see, that from Heresie alone, as from the fountain of all evils, this blindness of understanding and dazling of spirits is sprung up in you, which hinders you from making so sound a judgment as you were wont, of your own and other mens actions. Then for certain you will discover the various Artifices wherewith the Hereticks continually labor to withdraw you from the devotion and obedience, which, as true sons of the Church, you have so religiously yielded, till these last days, to its chief Head and the Apostolick See, whose Name and Authority they by all means attempt to render odious and contemptible unto you, knowing, that this point alone, by necessary consequence, draws after it the ruine of the Catholick Religion in France, and the establishment of their impiety, which could not take footing where the Throne of St. Peter is revered as it ought to be. And not to touch any thing here, but what is most to our purpose, What likelihood is there to think that the Head of the Christian Church, would in part assist or consent to the ruine and destruction of this most Christian Crown? What good could he expect, and what misfortune ought he not to fear from thence? Although this is the principal calumny wherewith they have labored to make you abhor the name and

and holy memory of the late Popes, howbeit they swerved not at all from the footsteps of their Predecessours, whose sollicitousness for this Kingdom you were wont not long since with reason to commend, as also the acknowledgement which they rendered for so many, so signal enterprises, atchieved by the most Christian Kings, with most singular piety, liberality and valour, for the benefit of the holy See; and, to omit more ancient examples, you cannot so soon have forgotten with what applause and thanks you received the notable supplies which were sent against the Hereticks, from *Pius Quintus* of happy memory, to *Charles* the Ninth then your King: Can you then now accuse that in his Successour, which you approved in him? Heresie is still the same, still pernicious, cursed, execrable; and it is against that infernal monster, that the Vicars of Christ, and the Successours of *St Peter* (not to transgress in the duty of their Office) do wage mortal War, and not against the Catholick Kings and Kingdoms, to whom they are Fathers and Pastours. It is against it that without exception of persons they do no less justly then wholesomely employ the sword of Supreme Jurisdiction which our Lord Jesus hath put into their hand, to cut off the festred putrified members from the body of the Church, to the end that their contagion might not be pestiferous and mortal to the rest: which nevertheless they do as late as they can, mildness and fatherly pity still going before in the Office of Sovereign Judge; so that their rigour never chastiseth any but those that are incorrigible. But if you please to turn your eyes upon other Countries, or rather, without going out of your own Kingdom, to consider what usage it hath ever received from the holy Apostolick See, you will finde, that since the combustion kindled in it by Heresie, which still continues to consume it, no Pope hath omitted any thing that he ought or could do to help to quench it. The good intelligence which they have ever held with your Kings, and the continual assistance which they have always given them of men and other means, and the frequent sending of Legats hither, do sufficiently shew the zeal they have ever had, for the tranquillity, repose and conservation of this most noble State. Nor were their actions ever suspected or ill interpreted by you, while, as true Catholicks and French-men, you desired rather to give the Law to Hereticks, then to take it from their hand. You have always

1593

found them to be such as need required, till these late dayes, that by your discords and connivence you have suffered Heresie to gather such footing upon you, that now it no longer demands favour of impunity from you as it was wont, but begins it self now (as every one knows) to punish those, who, more carefull of their salvation, refuse to submit themselves unto their yoke. A strange unhappy revolution, which makes you detest that as a most heinous crime, which you your selves have taught others to be a rare and excellent vertue, and which on the contrary makes you to crown vice, which you ought still (as in former times you have done) to condemn unto the fire. See what the deadly poison of Heresie can do, from whose touch, so many other absurdities and contradictions are bred, which you would not deny to be spread amongst you, if you would lay your hands upon your hearts. For, to go about to maintain that the priviledges of the *Gallique Church* extend so far, as to permit that a relapsed Heretick, and one excluded from the Body of the Universal Church, should be acknowledged King, is the dream of a mad-man, which proceeds from nothing else but heretical contagion. And from the same original we may likewise say have sprung all the sinister interpretations which have been made of the actions and intentions of our holy Fathers. But let us see a little whether those of the late Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, which are expressly declared by his Bulls concerning the business of the most illustrious Cardinal *Gaetano's* Legation, can in any part be calumniated. That Cardinal was sent by the aforesaid Pope, of happy memory, into this Kingdom, not as a Herald or King at Arms, but as an Angel of Peace; not to shake the foundations of this State, nor to alter or innovate any thing in its Laws or Policy, but to help to maintain the true, ancient, Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion; to the end that all Catholicks being united together for the service of God, the publick good, and the conservation of the Crown, with a mutual unanimous consent, might with security and repose, obey, and yield themselves subject to one onely Catholick lawfull King. Now as these intentions were pious, and directed toward the common safety; so can it not be denied but that the effect and execution of them hath been endeavoured, as well by the said Pope *Sixtus*, as by Cardinal *Gaetano*; not perhaps with that severity which according to some mens judgements had been necessary,

necessary, but with all the mildness, clemency and charity that could be desired from a most loving Father towards his dearest children. No sooner was that wise Legat entred into the Kingdom, but, to begin to lay his hand in good earnest to the work, he addressed himself at his first arrival to all those whom he believed he should finde so much the more disposed to shew him all favour in the administration of his Charge, by how much greater were their obligations and means to do it: he sent some Prelats purposely unto them, to confer particularly about what might concern the fruit of his Legation: those men, as also all the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelats, Lords, Gentlemen, and others (with whom he treated, or caused to be treated during his Legation, and to whom he wrot about this matter) can give testimony whether he ever exceeded the limits of his Commission, and how much he always protested that his Holiness had no other aim nor design, then to maintain and defend the Catholick Religion, and to conserve this Crown entire for the lawfull Catholick Successors that were capable of it. But if by the same means he complained that having as it were forgotten, not onely the singular Piety and Religion of your Ancestours, but the conservation, and together with it, the reputation of your Country, and, which is worse, the safety of your souls, you had joyned your selves to the party of him who you could not but know was deservedly cut off from the body of the Church; of him whom as such you had long ago, and also a few months before, most justly pronounced, in a full Congregation of the States, to be incapable of this most Christian Crown; of him whose Arms never knew how to shed any other blood than that of the Catholicks; and who finally, by an example altogether barbarous, had in the person of one man alone, violated all Laws both divine and humane, having suffered his Uncle, a Cardinal of the holy Roman Church, Prince of the blood, a man of so pious and Holy a life as the most eminent Cardinal of Bourbon was always known to be, to die in captivity, under the custody, and in the sacrilegious hands of an Heretick. These complaints were not without great ground and reason, nor ought you to have been displeased with them who made such-like demonstrations to you. And in effect, experience hath certainly made you sufficiently know, that they were wholesome and charitable; and from how many adversities you might have

1593

have freed this Kingdom, if lending your ears to him, and to his holy exhortations, you had readily separated your selves from the Heretick, to apply your selves with the rest of the Catholicks to any good or quiet. But the same unhappines which then made you to reject them, rendered vain also the Interviews and Conferences which followed many times after between the Legat and his Prelats, and some principal Lords that are amongst you. Whilst things here were in these terms, and that at Rome *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, desirous to withdraw you from the Heretick, and to win you to *Iesus Christ*, gave free access and audience to those whom you sent unto him, while every thing (to shorten it) seemed to be done to your hands, in stead of embracing the fair occasion that God offered you, of being able to free your selves and your Country from the infamous yoke of Hereticks, you suffered your selves to be transported with the winde of an unhappy prosperity to those designs and hopes that have reduced this poor State to the desperation you now see it in. The death of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* of glorious memory, and that of *Urban* the seventh who succeeded him, having given place to the succession of *Gregory* the fourteenth, he began presently to let you see, that a particular care and sollicitousness for your salvation, and the preservation of this most Christian Monarchy, is inseparably joyned unto the Papacy. The *Breve* which he was pleased to send us in the moneth of January 1591, which was published; the Bulls and other *Breves* which in the month of March following were represented to you by *Mansigno Landriano* the said Pope's *Nuncio* (whatsoever the Hereticks can say to the contrary) could not, nor ought not by you to have been taken in another sense. Well did the good Pope judge (as being a man endowed with singular piety and prudence) that while you were mingled among Hereticks (the known plague of this Kingdom) your salvation was desperate; that therefore it was necessary you should quickly withdraw your selves far from them, otherwise you would within a short time miserably lose your own souls, together with theirs, and expose your bodies estates and to those troubles and ruines which you have since suffered and continued to prove every day. To these most urgent and lively reasons which he alledged to you in this matter, he added his Remonstrances full of charity, and to them his fatherly Exhortation: certainly it

it was a very great fault that you would not lend an ear unto them, and yet a greater to go about to calumniate them; but so injuriously to use, not the insensible paper which contained his will, but in it the name and authority of the Head of the Church, and by consequence of the holy Apostolick See it self, this is a wickedness which comprehends in it as many new kindes of crimes, as there are words in the pretended Decrees which were published thereupon in Tours and Chalons; and yet the enormity and greatness of these misdeeds, and of those likewise which in this business were committed by them of the Clergy that were present in the Council at Chartres, hath till now been dissembled by them who might have made some just resentment of it. Nor did Pope *Innocent* the Ninth, of happy memory, who succeeded him, carry himself otherwise towards you, whose sudden death would yet be more lamented by good men, if Divine Providence, which never forsakes the holy Church in time of need, had not by the election of the most blessed Father *Clement* the Eighth, provided us of such a Pastor, as the necessity of the times requires, being one who comes not behinde his Predecessors in any kinde of rare vertue; but rather in what concerns the particular care which they have always had of the safety and secure repose of this Kingdom, seems to go before them all. Nor was he sooner raised to the supream degree of Apostleship, but all the faithful transported with joy, turned both their eyes and mindes upon him, as upon a clear Sun, which God the Father of Light, and Giver of all Consolations, seems to have made shine in these our days to dissipate the darkness of so calamitous an age. And when every one began to have certain hope, that each of you opening his heart to receive the beams of so clear, so gracious a Light, would draw near in the obedience and union of the holy Church, under the authority and conduct of so great an Head: Behold, that to our infinite grief, another pretended Decree brought forth by Heresie at Chalons, is published against the Bulls of his Holiness concerning our Legation, whereby they still make tryal to banish all hopes from us, of that which ought to be most dear to all persons, jealous of Gods glory, and of the honor, repose, and conservation of this Kingdom. For, (let them say what they will to the contrary, whom the true and lawful Parliament of Paris (which hath still retained its ancient equity and constancy) hath grievously

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1593

condemned as men, who by their carriage manifest themselves to be rather slaves to Heresie, then Ministers of Justice) it is impossible ever to see France enjoy a durable peace and tranquillity, nor any other kinde of prosperity, whiles it groans under the yoke of an Heretick. This is no less true then known to every one of you, whose Consciences are sufficient to bear witness of it, besides many of your outward actions, which clearly enough do let us see what you think among your selves; since by your wonted Protestations and Remonstrances, wherein you declare, That the obedience you yield to the Heretick hath no other foundation but a vain hope of his conversion, and of his again becoming capable of the Crown; it clearly appears, that the fault of acknowledging a relapsed obstinate Heretick for the King of a most Christian Kingdom, seems too heinous to you to confess your selves guilty of it. But since his obstinacy hath already deprived him of all the rights which he could pretend to, it likewise takes from you all pretences and excuses, that you can alledge in his favor and your own discharge. It is now time, that you discover boldly all that you have in your hearts; and if there be nothing in them that is not Catholick, as your former actions have made known, when the forcery of Hereticks had not yet bewitched you, declare for Gods sake with the rest of the Catholicks, that you desire not any thing so much as to see your selves united under the obedience of a most Christian King, both in name and actions: It will be a prudent thing to have such thoughts, a magnanimous one to endeavor the execution of them, and a vertue every way most perfect to do both. Now as at this present there is no more just, nor more lawfull means to compass this end, then the holding of the States General, to which you are invited by the Duke of Mayenne, who following the duty of his Office and Authority, hath ever sought, and doth now more then ever, seek (with a piety, constancy, and magnanimity, worthy of eternal praise) the most certain and secure means to defend and secure this State and Crown in its integrity, and to maintain the Catholick Religion, and the Gallique Church in its true liberty, which consists principally in not yielding obedience to an Heretick Head: So we have thought fit in this place, to protest unto you, that containing our selves, as our intention is, within the limits of the charge it hath pleased his Holiness to give us,

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we neither could, nor would in any way assist or favor the designs and enterprises of the Duke of Mayenne, nor of any other Prince or Potentate in the World, be he who he will, but rather with all our Forces would oppose them, if we should know that they were in any part contrary to the common votes and desires of all good men, true Catholicks, and good Frenchmen, and in particular, to the holy, pious intention of our Lord; which moreover by these presents, we desire to declare to have no other aim nor object but the glory of God, the conservation of our holy Roman Catholick Apostolick Faith and Religion, with the utter extirpation of Heresies and Schisms, which have reduced this poor Kingdom of France to so miserable a condition, which his Holiness desires to see principally crowned with its ancient splendor and majesty by the establishment of a King truly most Christian; such a one God in mercy grant the States General may name; and such a one no Heretick ever was, nor ever can be. Thither then in the name of his Holiness do I invite you, to the end, that separating your selves totally from the company and dominion of the Heretick, you may with mindes free from all passion, and full of an holy zeal and piety toward God and your Country, assist in all that you shall judge, may serve to extinguish the general combustion, which hath even almost burnt it to ashes. It is no longer time to propose vain excuses and new difficulties, you shall finde no others but those that proceed from your selves: For if you please to come to the said Assembly for the effect you ought, we can assure you in the name of all the Catholicks, who by Gods Grace have still persevered in obedience and devotion to the holy Apostolick See, that you shall finde them most ready to receive you, and to imbrace (as Brothers and true Christians, whom with the price of their bloods and very lives they desire to save) a holy peace and reconciliation with you. Take order therefore that in good earnest we may see you there separated from the Heretick; and in such a case demand all the securities you shall think necessary, that you may freely go and come, speak and propose in the said Assembly all that you shall judge most expedient to attain to the desired end. The Duke of Mayenne is ready to grant you them, and we on our part make no difficulty to oblige our selves that nothing shall be done to the contrary in any kinde, offering in that respect to take you, if there be
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1593

need, under our especial protection, that is, of the holy Church, and of the holy Apostolick See: And we conjure you again, in the Name of God, that at last you would with lively effects shew, that you are true Catholicks, conforming your intentions to that of the chief Head of the Church, without longer deferring to render to our holy Religion, and to our Country, that faithful duty which it expects from you in this extream necessity. There is nothing to be expected from your divisions, but desolation and ruine; and though from elsewhere every thing should succeed according to your wish, (which methinks you should not dare to promise to your selves under an Heretick Head) yet ought you nevertheless to consider, that Schisms, which this Kingdom seems to be full of, do in the end turn into Heresie, which God of his Mercy, be pleased not to permit, but rather to enlighten your hearts and minds, making them capable of his holy Inspirations and Benedictions, to the end, that being all united in deed and will, in the unity of the holy Roman Catholick Church, under the obedience of one King, who may deservedly be called Most-Christian, you may in this life enjoy a secure tranquillity, and finally come to that Kingdom which his Divine Majesty hath prepared from eternity for them, who persevering constantly in the Communion of his said Church, out of which there is no Salvation, do give clear testimony of their lively Faith by holy and vertuous actions.

With this Writing, in appearance like that of the Duke of Mayennes, but indeed full of matter very different, did the Legat endeavor to establish the principal end of the Assembly to be, not to treat of business with the Catholicks of the Kings party, not to agree with him if he should resolve to reconcile himself to the Church, not to raise any Prince of the Blood to the Crown, but to elect a new King, not onely depending upon the Apostolick See, but approved also by the Catholick King, that they might make use of the power of his arms and moneys to protect and establish him. And though the Pope (being made acquainted with the Legates inclinations, and particularly advertised by the Venetian Senate, that there was great suspicion of him, and that many were scandalized, because they thought he seemed to have more care of the satisfaction of the Spaniards, then

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of the safety of the State and Religion) did declare himself much more then he had done before by the Praetory *Agua* by the means of *Monsieur Innocentio Malvagia*, sent by him to be Commissary of the Army in the head of *Matrucci*, and gave him particular Commission, that above all things he should take heed of a monstrous election, not generally approved, and that might be like to cause new Wars more pernicious then the former: yet the Legat (either because he really thought the interests of Religion so linked to those of Spain, that they could not be separated; or in respect of his own private designs, which perswaded him to get the Catholick King's favour absolutely; or else by reason of the enmity he had contracted with the King, because of the Declarations made by the Parliaments against him; or that the Pope's so obscure Commissions were not well understood by him) did not take himself off from his first manner of treating, but with the pretence and colour of Religion (which truly was very great) did wonderfully serve all the Plots and Practices of the Spanish Ministers. These were yet uncertain of the means, but most certain of the end of their treating; the Council of Spain having determined, that for the greater decency and speciousness, the union of the Crowns should not be mentioned: a thing rather to be discoursed of in the Infancy, then to be hoped for in effect; but that the election of the *Infanta Isabella* should be propounded, which by divers ways came to the same end.

But at this time in Paris there was no other Spanish Ministers except *Diego d' Ivarra*, who continuing his disaffection to the Duke of Mayenne, and being of opinion that without him the Catholick King's Forces, Money, and Authority were sufficient to cause the States to make that election, continued still private practices with the Deputies, all which nevertheless came perfectly to the Duke of Mayenne's knowledge. *Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa*, Duke of *Ferra*, appointed Head of the Embassie, was expected; and with him *Inigo de Mendoza* a most learned Spanish Lawyer, sent to dispute (by way of right) the lawfull Succession of the *Infanta*, and *Juan Baptista Tassis*, who, that he might give them information, was gone as far as the confines of Flanders to meet them; but these also came with an impression that the *Infanta's* right was evident, and that the Catholick King's Forces and Authority were so

1593
Pope Clem. 8. sends Innocentio Malvagia into France, in the place of Commissary Matrucci, with more particular Commissions to Cardinal Segat the Legat; but they work small effect.

The Spanish Council resolves to propose the election of the *Infanta Isabella* to be Queen of France. *Diego d' Ivarra*, ill affected to the Duke of Mayenne, practices with the Deputies of the States apart, to dispose them to the election of the *Infanta*; but every one of his private treaties comes to the Dukes of Mayenne's knowledge.

1593

feared in France, that without the Duke of Mayene they should be able to obtain their intent of the Assembly: and though *Juan Baptista Tassis* told them otherwise, believing that without the Duke of Mayenne they could not compais any end; yet they being prepossessed with the opinions of Spain, and far from the moderate counsels which the Duke of Parma in his life time had held and represented, persevered in their conceit, and continued on their practices in the manner they were begun. *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and together with him the Counsellours of Flanders, who knew the French humour, and by reason of their neighbourhood saw things at a neerer distance, counselled that they should march into France with a powerfull Army, and that with it Count *Charles* of Mansfelt (to whom that charge was committed) should draw neer to Paris: That at the same time with great sums of money they should gain the Duke of Mayenne especially, and then the other principal Lords, and every particular Deputy that had credit and authority in the Assembly; and that to the Lords of the House of Lorain, who were chief of the Union, large advantageous offers should be made, and full security given them for their performance: and with these Conditions, and not otherwise, they thought the election of the *Infanta* which was to be propounded, might be brought about: for if the French were not besieged and taken, on the one side by profit, and on the other by fear, they thought it impossible that of their own voluntary will they shall ever consent to submit themselves to the Spanish dominion: and if the Princes of Lorain, who were in so great power, and in a very neer hope that one of them might attain to the Crown, were not by exceeding high and secure Conditions removed from that design, they did not think that ever they would condescend to transfer that to others, which they pretended to for themselves: besides, there was no doubt, but that to establish an election so new, and so contrary to the nature of the French, powerfull and extraordinary Forces were necessary, and such preparations of Souldiery, Money and Commanders, as might overcome those difficulties and oppositions which would discover themselves much more in the progress, then in the beginning of the business. To this was added, that to break into a matter of so great difficulty, a great increase of reputation was necessary, and a certainty that the King of Navar might, without much length of time,

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be overcome and suppressed; which was not possible to be effected without very great store of men and money.

These were the solid and well-grounded counsels of those, who, judging with reason of the importance and weightiness of those affairs, were of opinion, that for the Catholick King's honour, the thing should not be propounded, without an infallible certainty of bringing it perfectly to an end. But those that were newly come from Spain, either by reason of the different opinion that was there, or of the relations given by *Diego d'Ivarra*, judged quite differently, that neither many Forces ought to be drawn into France, nor much money be distributed, nor that the House of Lorain should have satisfaction in deed, but in words and appearance only; because, by keeping the Duke of Mayenne low, and by driving him and his party into a straight, they thought they should put them upon a necessity of consenting to their demands, that thereby they might obtain such assistance from them, as might raise them from the abject condition they were reduced to: for they were moreover informed, that they were not inclined to content them willingly; that if they should free the League, and particularly the City of Paris, from their present want and scarcity, they would not afterward be content to condescend to the Catholick King's will; gratitude being but a weak instrument, where such weighty matters were treated on; but that then rather they would consent unto it, when they saw no other remedy to free themselves from misery; which would be so much the more effectual, by how much the more neerly it pressed and straightened them: That to give money now, was but to throw it away, without any ground or assurance that it should produce the effect, and to satisfy the greediness of those who being once glutted with Spanish gold, and having compassed their own designs, would not care afterward to satisfy their promises as they ought: That in plenty and prosperity the French would be proud and insolent; but in want and necessity, abject and tractable: That it was not fit to dismember the Kingdom, and tear it in pieces, to give part to this, and part to that man of the House of Lorain, thereby to attain to it afterwards, being weak, mangled and destroyed.

The present state of the Catholick King's affairs inclined most toward this Counsel: for his treasures at this time being much exhausted by his past expences, and by the commotions

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The Spanish Ministers ill informed of the inclinations of the French, and of the Duke of Mayenne's authority, contrary to *Juan Baptista Tassili's* opinion, prosecute their treaty a wrong way.

1593

All this while
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of Arragon, he could not draw together those sums that would have been necessary for the first advice: and the affairs of the Low-Countries, and of the Army there, being, by reason of the Duke of Parma's death, in great weakness and confusion, it was not possible to make so great a Body of men, as the con-
 tinuance of that design required: and finally, the nature of the Spaniards made them begin with thrift and parsimony to manage the affairs of that Kingdom, which was not yet begun to be obtained. For these reasons, the Spanish Ministers would needs follow the last counsel: perswading themselves also, that by their arts, and the Legat's assistance, they should overcome many difficulties, and that with words and promises they might supply, where deeds were defective.

But the Duke of Mayenne, to whom these conceits were in great part known, was very certain, that without his will and consent they could never obtain any thing; and by reason he saw the Spanish Ministers so disaffected to him, but much more because he hoped to attain the Kingdom for himself, was wholly averse from contenting them: only the discords that arose between him and the others of his Family, held him in suspense: for the Duke of Lorain still pretended right unto the Kingdom, and the superiority above the rest of his Family; and the Dukes of Guise and Nemours pretended to the Crown no less than he; the first, by reason of the name and merits of his father, upon whose blood (as he said) the whole structure of the League was grounded: and the other, because of his prosperous defence of Paris, whereby he judged himself to have deserved more than any one of the rest, and to have that people at his devotion: besides that, being both of them young and unmarried, they were not so averse from the election of the *Infanta*, hoping that one of them might be destined for her husband. The Duke of Mayenne being led by this doubt, resolved to prepare many strings to his bowe, that he might have several ways to hinder the designs of the rest, and to bring his own businesses to their appointed end. Whereupon, after having by his Declaration invited the Catholics of the King's party to a Treaty (a weapon by him esteemed most powerfull, to cross the Spaniards in the business) he also caused the Cardinal of Bourbon's design to be renewed, that he might keep it alive, and make use of it in convenient time and place: and Jehan la Maistre, a man totally depending upon his

his will, having after the death of President *Briffon* taken the place of first President of the Parliament, he began by his means, not onely to deal with the Counsellors of that Parliament, and Magistrates of that City, but also with those, who, because they inclined to favor the King, were called *Politicks*, that in time of need he might also make use of their help; and having found the Parliament most disposed to his designs, and grounding himself very much upon the support of the Commanders of the *Militia* chosen and raised by him, he propounded and obtained (for the greater reputation of so great an Assembly, and for the greater assurance of the election of a King, a thing of so great weight and consequence) that also the Parliament, and Governors of Provinces, and the Commanders of the *Militia*, might vote in the Assembly of the States, not every one by himself, but by Deputies for each body, to the end, that by the counterpoise of these, he might balance the Votes of the other Deputies, if they should ever dissent from his will; wherein (because he was exceeding well versed in the business, and knew the persons very particularly) he proceeded with so much art and dissimulation, that the Spanish Ministers and the Legat did not take notice of many things till after they were established; and he gained more men with art, then they were able to do with gold or promises; and on the other side, they could hardly design the framing of an engine; but he, founding the end of it, found many evasions to dissolve or hinder it.

In this state of things, time no longer allowing, that the celebration of the States should be deferred, the Overture (as they call it) of the Assembly was made upon the Six and twentieth of January, at which all the Deputies being met in the Hall of the Louvre, and with them all the Magistrates and Officers of the Crown, the Duke of Mayenne sitting under the Cloth of State (as Kings are wont to do) said, That he had called, and with very much ado assembled that Solemn Meeting, that they might take some course to finde a remedy for the calamities and miseries that afflicted their common Country: He exaggerated the evils of the present condition, the danger of Religion, and the unhappiness of the War; and concluded, that the onely remedy was the election of a King, who in the first place should be so constant and sincere a Catholic, that he should prefer the good and honor of the holy Church before

The Overture of the States is made in Paris, Jan. 26. 1593.

The Duke of Mayenne sitting under the Cloth of State as King in the Hall of the Louvre, makes the Overture of the States, exhorting them to elect a Catholic King, able to sustain the weight of the Crown.

1593

before his own life; and in the second, should be such a one for valor, experience and reputation, that not onely unruly mindes might willingly obey him, but also might be able to fight with and conquer the Enemies of the Church and Kingdom. Wherefore he exhorted the Assembly, that being met, not to moderate grievances, or to finde means to pay the debts of the Crown (things ordinarily introduced to be treated of in the States) but to provide a King, a Pastor for themselves, and the whole people of the greatest Kingdom of Christendom, they should not let themselves be carried away with any private interests, but should take that holy, that worthy resolution, which the present need and their common safety required.

When he had done speaking, Cardinal *Pelle-vé*, as Ecclesiastical President of the Assembly, with a long tedious Oration full of digressions, praised the Duke of Mayennes zeal and valor, and by several ways coming round about again, concluded at last with exhorting the Assembly to elect a King, who as the present exigent required, might be totally devoted to the holy Apostolick See, and an Enemy to Heresie, against which more then any thing else, it was at that present necessary to make opposition. The Baron *de Senecey* for the Nobility spake to the same effect, but much more briefly, and to the purpose; and the same did *Honoré de Laurent*, Counsellor in the Parliament of Provence, for the third Order of the Commons. There was nothing else treated of at this first meeting, it being the custom onely to use these Ceremonies at the first overture.

The Cardinal
Legats Pro-
position.

The next day in a particular meeting, which was held among the chiefeft about this business, there was a very sharp dispute between the Legat joyned with the Spanish Ambassador, and some of the greatest personages of the Assembly; for the Legat proposed, that at the second Session for the beginning of the States, all should take a solemn Oath never to be reconciled to, nor acknowledge the King of Navar for Superior, though he should turn his Religion, and make show to live as a Catholick; to which the Duke of Mayenne not consenting, as a thing very different from his practices and intentions, the other Deputies that were present spake against it with divers reasons: But the Legat urging with wonderful vehemence, at last the Archbishop of Lyons said, that the
States

The Arch-bishop of Lyons his Answer.

States were Catholicks, obedient to the holy Church under the superiority of the Apostolick See in such cases, and met together in obedience to the Pope, and that therefore they would not be so impudent as to go about to binde his hands, and presumptuously to declare that which he had not declared, preventing his judgments, and declaring the King of Navar irreconcilable to the Church by a vain determination, which was out of the Secular power, and wholly proper to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; and that therefore they were resolved not to proceed to that Oath, lest they should offend their own consciences, and the majesty and jurisdiction of the Pope and the Apostolick See. Which reason, with the decency thereof stoppt the Legat's mouth; and the Duke of Mayenne's intention not to proceed to that Declaration prevailed.

But upon the twenty eighth day there came one of the King's Trumpets to the gate of the City, desiring to be brought in, that he might deliver a packet of Letters directed to the Count de Belin Governour of it, and being ask'd what his businesse was? he answered freely and publickly, That he brought a Declaration of the Catholicks of the King's party, address'd to the Assembly of the States; and being come before the Governour, he gave the Letters into his hand, and made the contents of them more fully known among the People. The Governour carryed the Packet to the Duke of Mayenne, who lay troubled in his bed; and not being willing to open it, but in the presence of all the Confederates, he sent for the Legate, the Cardinal of Pelle-vé, Diego d'Ivarra, the Sieur de Bassompierre Ambassadour from the Duke of Lorraine, the Arch-bishop of Lyons, Monsieur de Rosne, the Count de Belin, the Viscount de Tavannes, the Sieur de Villars by him newly declared Admiral, Monsieur de Villeroy, President Jeamin, and two of the ordinary Secretaries, which they called Secretaries of State; in the presence of whom the cover being taken off, there was a Writing found with this Title:

A Trumpet of the Kings comes to Paris, and brings a Packet to the Governor, which being opened by the Duke of Mayenne in the presence of the Confederates, contains an offer from the Catholick Lords and Prelats of the King's party.

The Proposition of the Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and chief Catholick Lords, as well Counsellours of the King, as others, now present with his Majesty, tending to the end of obtaining Peace, so necessary to this Kingdom for the conservation of the Catholick Religion, and of the State: made

1593

to the Duke of Mayenne and the Princes of his Family, the Lords and other persons sent by some Cities and Corporations, at this present assembled in the City of Paris.

Having seen the Title, and every one being desirous to hear the contents, the Writing was read by one of the Secretaries, being of this Tenor following :

THe Princes, Prelates, Officers of the Crown, and Chief Catholick Lords, as well of the Council, as attendance of His Majesty, having seen a Declaration Printed at Paris in the name of the Duke of Mayenne, dated in the Moneth of December, published with the sound of the Trumpet in the said City upon the Fifth day of this present Moneth of January, as is found at the bottom of it, and which came into their hands at Chartres, do acknowledge, and are of opinion with the said Duke of Mayenne, That the continuance of this War, bringing the ruine and destruction of the State, doth also by necessary consequence draw along with it the ruine of the Catholick Religion, as experience hath but too well shewed us, to the great grief of the said Princes, Lords, and Catholick States, who do acknowledge the King, whom God hath given them, and serve him as they are naturally obliged, having with this duty ever made the Conservation of the Catholick Religion their principal aim ; and have then always been most animated with their arms and forces to defend the Crown under the obedience of His Majesty, when they have seen strangers, enemies to the greatness of this Monarchy, and to the honor and glory of the French name, enter into this Kingdom ; for it is too evident, that they tend to nothing else but to dissipate it, and from its dissipation would follow an Immortal War, which in time could produce no other effects, save the total ruine of the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, Cities, and Countries, an event which would also infallibly happen to the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom. Thence it is, that all good Frenchmen, and all those that are truly zealous thereof, ought to strive with all their Forces to hinder the first inconvenience, from which the second is inseparable, and both inevitable by the continuation of the War. The true means to prevent them, would be a good Peace, and a reconciliation between those whom the misfortune hereof keeps so divided
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and armed to the destruction of one another: for upon this foundation Religion would be restored, Churches preserved, the Clergy maintained in their estates and reputation, and Justice settled again; the Nobility would recover their ancient force and vigour, for the defence and quiet of the Kingdom; the Cities would recover their losses and ruines, by the re-establishment of Commerce, Trades, and employments (maintainers of the people) which are in a manner utterly extinct; the Universities would again betake themselves to the study of Sciences, which in times past have caused this Kingdom to flourish, and given splendour and ornament unto it, which at this present languish, and are by little and little wasting to nothing; the fields would again be tilled, which in so many places are left fallow and barren, and in stead of the fruits they were wont to bring forth for man's nourishment, are now covered with thorns and thistles: in sum, by Peace every one might do his duty; God might be served, and the people enjoying a secure Peace, would bless those who had procured them that happiness; whereas, on the contrary, they will have just cause to complain, and curse those that shall hinder it. To this effect, upon the Declaration which the said Duke of Mayenne makes by his writing, as well in his own name, as in the names of the rest of his party assembled in Paris, where he alledgeth that he hath called the States, to take some course and counsel for the good of the Catholick Religion, and the repose of this Kingdom; it being clear, that if for no other reason, yet because of the place alone (where it is neither lawfull nor reasonable that any other but they of their own party should interview) no resolution can proceed from it, that can be valid or profitable for the effect which he hath published: and it being rather most certain, that this can nothing but inflame the War so much the more, and take away all hopes and means of reconciliation; the said Princes, Prelats, Officers of the Crown, and other Catholick Lords now present with His Majesty, being certain that the other Princes, Lords, and Catholick States who acknowledg Him, do concur with them in the same zeal towards the Catholick Religion, and the good of the State, as they agree in the obedience and fidelity due unto their King and natural Prince; have in the name of all, and with the leave and permission of His Majesty, thought fit, by this Writing, to make

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1593

known to the said Duke of Mayenne, and the other Princes of his Family, Prelats, Lords, and other persons assembled in the City of Paris, that if they will enter into conference and communication about the means proper to bury these tumults, for the conservation of the Catholick Religion and of the State, and depute any persons of worth and integrity to meet joyntly at a place which may be chosen between *Paris* and *St Denis*, they will on their parts send thither upon the day that shall be appointed and agreed upon, to receive and carry all those resolutions and overtures which may be proposed for so good a purpose, as they are confident, that if every one will bring those good inclinations he is obliged to, which they for their parts promise to do, means may be found to attain to so great a happiness: protesting before God and men, that if, neglecting this way, they shall use other unlawfull means, which cannot chuse but be pernicious to Religion and the State, if they shall compleat the reducing of France to the last period of all calamity and misery, making it a prey and a spoil to the insatiable greediness of the Spaniards, and a trophy of their insolency, gotten by the practices and blinde passions of a part of them, who carry the name of French-men, degenerating from the duty which hath been held in so great veneration by our Ancestours; the fault of that evil that shall come thereby, cannot, nor ought not justly to be ascribed to any others then those who shall be notoriously known to be the sole authours of such a refusal, as men who prefer the ways that are fit to serve their own particular greatness and ambition, and that of their fomenters, before those which aime at the glory of God and the safety of the Kingdom. Given in the King's Council (where the said Princes and Lords have purposely assembled themselves, and with his Majesties permission resolved to make the above-said Propositions and Overtures) at Chartres the seven and twentieth of January, 1593. Subscribed
Revol.

The first mover of this Writing, penned and presented in this manner, was the *Sieur de Villeroy*: for being of himself averse to the Spanish attempt, and rather inclined to an Agreement with the King then to any other resolution; and being set on by the Duke of Mayenne, desirous to put some Treaty on foot, to make use of it, as occasion should serve, for his
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own advantage, wrote to his brother-in-law the *Sieur de Fleury*, that addressing himself to the Duke of *Nevers* and the other Catholick Lords that were with the King, he should shew them in how great danger the affairs of the Kingdom were, with how much earnestness the Spaniards had set themselves to promote the election of the *Infanta Isabella*, how many there were that for their own interests favoured that election, and how the Duke of Mayenne, who had never been able to induce the King to be reconciled to the Church, was now in such a necessity, that he would be constrained to agree with the Catholick King, if by some means they did not interrupt those proceedings. That they should consider, if strangers should obtain their intent, and that the Lords of the House of Lorain, and the other Confederates, should oblige themselves unto it, in how great danger the King would be to be deprived of the Kingdom, being to fight with the Spanish power, which then would employ it self wholly to His ruin; the mindes of the French Confederates would become irreconcilable, as if of their own accord they had put themselves under the servitude, and engaged themselves under the dominion of strangers: the way to a reconciliation with the Pope and with the Church would be shut up, when once he should have approved of the election which the States were to make within a few weeks; and that therefore time was not to be lost, but some way found to interrupt the course of those designs.

These Considerations were represented by the *Sieur de Fleury*, not onely to the Duke of *Nevers*, but to *Gaspar Count of Scombergh*, who about that time having been sent for by the King, was come to Court. He by birth was a German, and by nature a man not onely of great courage, but free in his opinions and words; and for his experience and valour, highly esteemed by every one; wary in his courses, provident in his actions, infinitely inclined and very faithfull to the King, and (which at that time was much to the purpose) one who had not been present at the consultations that had been held among the Catholicks about forsaking him, and for this cause had more authority and belief with him to treat upon this business, then the Duke of *Nevers* and many others: Wherefore being of opinion that the Considerations represented by *Villeroy* were most important, and that to them many others were added;

for

1593

The *Sieur de Villeroy*, averſe from the Spaniards, and a friend to peace, writes to the *Sieur de Fleury* to advertiſe the Catholicks of the danger the King was in, and of the attempts to cauſe the *Infanta Isabella* to be elected Queen.

1593

for already every one knew that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was thinking to depart, and go over to the League; and that many Princes of the Blood and other Lords were inclined to follow that resolution; that the Catholicks for the most part holding themselves deceived and mocked by the King's promises, were very ill satisfied; and that every one weary of the War, longed impatiently for Peace, he found a fit conjuncture to discourse with the King about it; and with solid effectual eloquence, wherein he was very prevalent, made him fully acquainted with those reasons, which out of respect were coldly, and but in part represented to him by others; and demonstrated to him the nearness of his ruine, unless he suddenly took some course to content the Catholicks, and to cross the designs and attempts of the Spaniards. The conjuncture of the time was also favourable: for the King's late prosperities had brought him into such a condition, that if the Catholicks persevered constantly to serve him, he had but little need of foreign Forces; which of how little benefit they were, and how much mischief they did to his Country, he himself had already found: The *Sieur du Plessis* was far off, who with his reasons, partly Theological, partly Political, was wont to withhold him, and put scruples in his minde, to the end he might not change his Religion: and the Duke of *Bouillon*, then Head of the Hugonots, who was present at the business, had ever been one of those who were of opinion that the King could never be a peaceable possessor of the Crown, unless he changed his Religion: and perchance for his own interest it displeased him not that the King should turn Catholick, to the end the first place among the Hugonots might remain to him: Wherefore, all these obstacles being removed, and necessity urging; for already the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and Count *Soissons*, with many others, began to talk very plainly; and the States assembled by the League being in much greater consideration with the King, then perhaps they were with the Confederates themselves; after many consultations with the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the High-Chancellor, and President *de Thou*, to whom, by reason of his learning and experience, the King gave much credit, he resolved that the Catholicks should make this Overture, with intent either to interrupt the course of the State by that means, or else to resolve upon an Accommodation and

The Duke of Bouillon, a Hugonot, was ever of opinion that the King could not be a peaceable possessor of his Crown unless he turned Catholick; perhaps to the end he might remain Head of the Hugonots.

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Reconciliation with the Apostolick See, and the Lords of the House of Lorain.

1593

As soon as the Writing was read in the presence of the Duke of Mayenne, and the other Lords, the Cardinal of Piacenza rose up in choler, and without consultation or deliberation said angrily, that that Proposition was full of Heresies, and that they were Hereticks that should take it into consideration, and therefore it was by no means fitting to give any Answer to it: Cardinal *Pelle-vé* and *Diego d' Ivarra* assented without any demur; but the Duke of Mayenne remained in suspense, as also the rest that were present, who durst not immediately oppose the Legat's words. But *Villeroy* and *Jeamin* not losing courage, without contradicting the Cardinal, found another evasion, and said, That the Writing not being directed to the Duke of Mayenne alone, but to the whole Assembly of the States, and the Trumpet having freely said so to many at his entrance into the City, whereby the business was become publick, it was fit to communicate it to the States, and refer it to them, to the end that the Deputies might not be disgusted in the very beginning, and believe that they were not freely and fairly dealt withal, but that endeavours were used to conceal many things from them, and to deceive them; That this would be an ill beginning, and would not onely cause suspicion, but also disunion among the Deputies. The Count *de Belin* added, that the Trumpet had not onely told that the Writing was directed to the whole Assembly, but had also scattered some copies of it among the people, as he thought he had heard, whereby it was so much the more publick, and could not be concealed from the Deputies.

The Legat's opposition against the Propositions of the Kings Catholicks.

It was determined that every one should consider of what he thought most convenient to resolve about it in the same place against the next day; which being come, though the Legat and Spanish Ambassadour laboured stily that the Writing might be suppressed and rejected, the Duke of Mayenne nevertheless with the votes of the major part, concluded, not to use his Deputies ill, nor give them cause of distaste; but bearing that respect to them which was fit, would have the Writing read in the full Assembly, where afterwards that should be resolved on that should be thought most convenient: which while it was deferred by reason of the contrariety of opinions,

It is concluded by the votes of the major part of the Lords in the private meeting, that the writing should be read in the Assembly of the States, notwithstanding the opposition of the Legat and the Spaniards.

and

1593

The tenor of
a Manifest
published by
the King at
Chartres.

and of the Obstacles that were interposed, the King being at Chartres, published a Manifest upon the nine and twentieth day; wherein, after having briefly attested his singular affection toward the general good and safety, He said he was extremely grieved to have happened in such perverse times, wherein many degenerating from that fidelity towards their Princes which had ever been peculiar to the French Nation, did now use all their studies and endeavours to oppose the Royal authority under pretence of Religion; which pretence, how falsely it was usurped by them, was clearly seen in the War twice attempted against the happy memory of *Henry the Third*, which it was not possible to value so much, as to think the cause thereof could be attributed to matter of Religion, he having ever been most Catholick, and most observant of the See of Rome, and imployed with his arms even against those that were not of the Catholick Religion to subdue them; at the same time when they having furiously taken arms, ran to Tours to suppress and besiege him; and that now it was more clear than the Sun it self, how improperly and unjustly they made use of the same colour against him; for by how much the more they sought to mask and palliate their malignity under that specious cloke, so much the more, breaking forth, did it shew it self clearly to the eyes of all men; nor was there any one who knew not that their conspiracy, attempted for the oppression and ruine of their Country, was not caused by zeal to Religion; but that their union appeared manifestly to be composed of three kinds of Persons for three different reasons. First, the wickedness of them, who led by an incredible desire to possess and dissipate the Kingdom, had made themselves Heads and Authors of this Rebellion. Secondly, the craftiness of Strangers, antient enemies to the French name and Crown, who having found this opportunity of executing their inveterate designs, had voluntarily joyned themselves with their assistance to be Companions in so perfidious a Conspiracy. And lastly, the fury of some of the meanest dregs of the People, who being abandoned by fortune to extreme beggery and misery, or else led by their misdeeds in fear of Justice, out of a desire of spoil, or hope of impunity, had gathered themselves together to this factious confederacy. But it being the custome of divine providence to draw good out of evil, so it had

had now miraculously come to pass, since that the Duke of Mayenne by setting down in writing his reasons of assembling a Congregation in Paris, by him called the States, had cleerly laid open and manifested his designs by his own confession: for striving with all his power dissemblingly to represent the face of an honest man, and to make it believed that he had no thought of usurping that which belonged not unto him, he could not in the interim give greater testimony of his ambition and impiety toward his Country, then by framing an Edict, and sealing it with the Royal Seal for the Convocation of the States, a thing reserved onely to the Royal-Power, and never communicated to any other; whereby he had made cleer to the world his usurpation of the Royal Office and Majesty, and his crime of High-Treason, having taken upon him the Royal Ministry, and the proper marks of Sovereignty. But what eye was so dazeled, or what minde so blinded, as not to see how false those things were which he had inserted in his Edict with so much pomp of words? That the laws permitted him not to render due observance and obedience to the King God had given him: a Lye as apparent, as it is true that the *Salique-Law*, a wholesome fundamental one, born at one birth with the Kingdom, hath ever been the basis of the Subjects obedience, and the foundation and safety of the Crown: That open injury is done to the constitution of this Law, when the lawfull Dominion of him is called in doubt or controversie, who by the prescribed order of it is called by God unto the Crown: That the force and authority of this Law is so great and venerable, that no other law hath power to prejudice it, and the Kings themselves, which are loose from other laws, are subject, and not superior, to this alone; and that therefore it was a vain thing to alledge against it the *Decree* of the States at *Blois* in the year 76; for not the King, nor the States, but that Law it self ought to decide the Succession of the Kingdom: and yet what man of sound understanding could ever hold the Assembly at Blois to be a lawfull Congregation of the States? in which the liberty of votes being taken away, and the voice of good men suppressed, there was nothing else minded by the Conspirators of that Confederacy (the fruits whereof are now found) but to oppugne the King's authority who then reigned, and to reduce him to the slavery of his enemies, disposing of the

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1593

affairs of the Kingdom, according to the will and fancy of factious persons : That perchance that violence used against him, from which he had so much laboured to defend and free himself was not clear enough ; who was he that could believe the late King would voluntarily break and violate that Law, by vertue of which his Grandfather *Francis* the First was come unto the Crown ? But what needed there other proofs ? The same men who had forcibly and treacherously caused that Decree to be made, had themselves waved, forsaken, and declared it ineffectual and of no validity ; for if the Duke of Mayenne had esteemed that constitution valid, after the seditious deposing of King *Henry* the Third caused by him, he would not have entituled himself Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France before the Kingdom were vacant, but Lieutenant to the Cardinal of Bourbon, to whom by that seditious Decree the Kingdom appertained. But what ? not onely then, but also after the King's death (who was by them caused to be murdered) he for three months together usurped the same title, declaring how little valid he esteemed the determination of those States ; that therefore it was manifest and known, that it was not out of reverence to the determination of his own States, which they now publish, that he made use afterwards of the fained person of the Cardinal of Bourbon when it was convenient for him ; but thereby to usurp the Royal-Power and Ministry, and to gain time and means to establish himself in his intended usurpation. But that no less vain was the reason he alledged, *viz.* That he was not a Catholick, but of a different Religion ; for he was neither Infidel nor Pagan, but confessed the same God and the same Redeemer the Catholicks confesse and adore ; nor ought some difference in opinion to make such a desperate irreconcilable division. That he would not be obstinate, nor refuse to be taught and instructed, and that he was ready, if his error were shown him, to forsake it, and reduce himself to those rites which the Catholicks of his Kingdom desired, and that he wished he could with safety of conscience take away all scruples from all his Subjects ; but he prayed the Catholicks not to wonder if he did not so easily leave that Religion which he sucked with his milk, nor ought it to appear strange that he should not forsake the ancient institution of his life, unless first he were made to see the error, which they were of opinion

mon he was in, which when it should come to pass, no body should need to desire his readines and willingness to condemn his fault, and enter into that way which should be known to be the best. That it was fit in a busines that concerned his soul and eternall life he should proceed with great circumspection; and so much the more, because his example was like to draw many with it, whom he would not help to damn, but willingly to save them if he could. That therefore he had often demanded Councils, not to oppose himself against those already celebrated, as his Enemies reported, but to the end that he together with them of the same Religion, might be instructed and taught thereby: that it was no absurd thing to celebrate a Council, and moderate many matters which times and occasions produce: and to say they had already been decided by other Councils, was nothing; for so all later Councils would have been vain and absurd in confirming and ordering things again which had been settled and determined by former ones: That if a more speedy and more proper way were found for his instruction, he would not refuse it; and that he had given clear testimony of it to the world, when he gave leave to the Catholicks under his obedience to send Ambassadors to the Pope to take some course in it, and when he so often caused his very adversaries to be told, that in the midst of Arms it was no time to talk of Conversions, but that making Peace, they should resolve upon a Conference wherein he might be instructed; but that they, abusing his goodness, had made shew to lend an ear unto it onely when for their own designs they desired to work a jealousy in the Spaniards: That it was certain, they abhorred to have him instructed, since now in their Writings they reckoned it as a thing to be despaired of, having never yet so much as attempted it, and because that presently, as soon as the Marquess *de Pisani's* Embassie tending to that effect was agreed upon, they had by all possible means crossed his negotiation, and brought it so to pass, that the Pope would not admit him to his audience: That if they published and vaunted that they would refer the busines wholly to the Pope, He on the other side did not despair, but the Pope at last, knowing their subtilty and cunning, would take that resolution which should be most conformable to decency and reason: That therefore seditious persons ought

1593

no longer to tempt the good Catholicks that stood armed for the defence and safety of their Country ; but that they rather should acknowledge their error, and as members gone astray, return to joyn themselves with the rest of the Body : for except the Princes of Lorain, who were strangers, all the Princes of the blood, Prelats, Lords, Officers of the Crown, and in a manner all the strength of the Gentry, were of his party, and made the true Body of France united for the defence of their Liberty, and the safety of the Kingdom : That they should consider how unworthy, how monstrous a thing it was, to open the gates to the Spaniard to come and invade the bowels of the Kingdom ; their ancestours, and even they themselves, having spilt and poured out so much blood to drive them from their confines : That they should see how impious that insatiableness was, which, for covetousness of gold, sold the French Name, Glory, and Liberty : but that it was no wonder they felt not the prick of conscience in that business, since they felt it not in the most cruel parricide committed on the person of the late King, which they were so far from detesting and abhorring, that they impiously attributed it to Providence and the hand of God : That if (as they now made shew) they would be held innocent of that fact, which obscured the glory, and laid a foul blot of wicked perfidiousness upon the Name of the French, they should not at the same time joy and rejoyce at it, commend, exalt, and canonize the name of the murderer, and do so many other barbarous monstrous things ; but should rather shew that they were moved at so great a wickedness, and resolved to reconcile themselves to that Country that had bred, nourished, and raised them to the height of greatness ; and not take part with barbarous Nations, that are enemies to, and separated from France, as in language and manners, so in candour and disposition : That if these reasons could not prevail to perswade those that were gone astray, and make them know their error, at least they would confirm the resolution of good French-men, to continue constantly in the defence of their Country, wherein He, as he had for the time past, so he would also for the future afford them always his example, exposing his body, health, blood, and life before them all, as a sacrifice for so worthy, so profitable a work : That his affection and devotion till that present, were sufficiently known, and with what tenderness of minde he

he had embraced the Catholicks, conserved, protected, and maintained them in their possessions, and in their priviledges; how he had favoured and preserved their Religion, and constantly and inviolably observed all that he had promised them at his coming to the Crown; and now, for more security, and absolutely to take away all scruples, he swore before God and men, that he was ready to persevere in their protection and conservation till his latest breath, and that he never would do any thing to the prejudice or diminution of them or their Religion, and that he desired those things which his Subjects required of him, might, to the glory of God, be orderly and fitly executed, as he hoped in Gods divine Majesty, and in his infallible providence, that the effects would quickly be seen, which out of a confidence in God's mercy he doubted not to promise and attest. That in the mean time he with the advice of his Council had decreed, and by that present Manifest did decree and declare, that the Duke of Mayenne in having assembled a Congregation in Paris under the name of States, had seditiously and unjustly usurped the Office and power of King, and that those States being null, invalid, and seditious, were not to hold, nor to be effectual, nor any thing that in them should be done, established, or determined.

This Writing which carried with it no necessity of an Answer, was according to the disposition of mens mindes variously received and interpreted; but that of the Catholick Lords of the King's party sent to the Assembly at Paris, held the Confederates anxious and solicitous for different respects; for the Legate having caused it to be examined by the Colledge of the Divines of *Sorbonne*, persisted to say, that being heretical, it was not worthy of any answer; and the Spanish Ambassadour said it was but a trick to disturb the good for which they were met together: but the Arch-bishop of *Lyons*, *Villeroy*, *Jannin*, the Count *de Belin*, and those of the Parliament maintained, that what a kinde of one soever it was, it ought neither to be despised nor rejected, and gave their reasons for it; and between these the Duke of Mayenne stood doubtfull what should be resolved; for on the one side he had a great desire to begin a Treaty with the Royallists, and on the other he would not absolutely alienate nor exasperate the Legate and the Spaniards. In the end, after many consultations

1593

The Duke of Mayenne resolveth to deferre the business of the protestation of the Kings Catholicks till he had conferred with the Duke of *Feria*, Ambassadour from Spain to the Assembly of the States.

sultations held privately with his friends, he resolved to defer the consideration of that business in the Assembly till he had conferred with the Duke of *Feria*, and the rest that were coming, and till he had seen the strength of the Army, and what Orders Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* had, who was already prepared to enter into the Confines, to the end he might regulate himself afterward according to time and occasion; wherefore he determined to go and meet the Ambassadors, and to receive and imploy the Army himself, lest the Duke of *Guise* should go to receive it, and (to the lessening of his reputation) have it consigned to him by the Spaniards, who openly favoured him. He hoped also to make some progress in the War, which might augment his credit and reputation; but above all, it was necessary for him to draw a certain sum of money from the Spaniards, to be then distributed (in favour of him) among the Deputies, many of whom, by reason of the dearth of Paris, and their own poverty, had urgent need thereof.

This resolution being taken, he called the Deputies of the Assembly, and prayed them to busie themselves about smaller matters, but not to deliberate any thing concerning the Election till his return, it being fit that all the Catholick Ambassadors should be there, as likewise himself, together with the Duke of *Guise*, and the other principal men of the party, which he would bring along with him within a few days; and because his praying was commanding, they all promised it without contradiction; and he having left Monsieur *de Villeroy* and President *Jeannin* to prevent those secret practices which might be set on foot in the mean time, went with four hundred Horse to *Soissons*, where he had given order that his French Forces should be in a readines. Being come to that City upon the ninth of February, he found the Duke of *Feria*, and the other Spanish Ambassadors there; with whom having conferred, discontents began to break forth in their first meetings.

The Duke of Mayenne having left order with the Deputies not to meddle with matters of importance till his return, goes to *Soissons*; where having conferred with the Spanish Ambassadors, they break out in disputes.

In Spain they thought it very agreeable to justice and decency that the Salique Law should be broken, because all they of the Family of Bourbon were notoriously either Hereticks, or favourers of Heresie, and that the Kingdom should come to the *Infanta Isabella* the Catholicks King's Daughter, who by the ordinary Laws was the nearest Heir to the late King,

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as being born of *Elizabeth* his eldest sister. And on the contrary when it was alledged that the posterity of the Royal Family failing, the authority of making a new King returned to the commonalty of the people of France; they replied, that though that were true, yet was it seemly that the Commonalty in that election should have respect to the Law of Nations, which always calls the nearest heirs; and that it was very fit much should be condescended to, in regard of the so great expences the Catholick King had been at, and of those many things he had done for the maintenance of the Crown and of Religion; since with great detriment to his own affairs, he had employed all his Armies, and all the revenues of his Kingdom, through the course of so many years, for the benefit of the affairs of France; which if he from the beginning had abandoned to the discretion of the *Navarrois*, there was no doubt but it would have been constrained to bend its neck, and receive the yoke of Heresie: whence certainly would have proceeded the total ruin of every Catholick in particular, and the general servitude and dishonour of so Christian a Kingdom. Thus these Counsellors having perswaded themselves that these reasons would have the same efficacy in the mindes of the French, had concluded to apply themselves speedily to the advancing of so great a design. Wherefore the Ambassadors, having this expresse order from Spain, and believing also by *Diego d'Ivarra's* Letters that the election of the *Infanta* would willingly, and without contradiction be embraced by the States, did not defer to urge the Duke of Mayenne about it, to the end that he assenting to it, might favour that Declaration.

The Duke of Feria and Mendoza Spanish Ambassadors, urge the Duke of Mayenne for the election of the Infanta *Isabella* to the Kingdom.

They said, that the Catholick King pretended justly to that election; first by reason of the right which the *Infanta* (as born of the eldest daughter of France) pretended to that Kingdom; and then, by reason of the benefits France had received from him, and of those likewise which it might receive for the future, he being resolved to use all his force and power to free them from the contagion of Heresie, and to establish that Crown as soon as could be possible, in a quiet peacefull condition. To this purpose they added many magnificent promises to every one in particular, and much more largely in the Duke of Mayenne's interests, shewing that the Catholick King would use him honourably, increase him in riches

The Duke of
Mayenne
gives sharp
answers to
the Catholick
King's Am-
bassadours.

riches and reputation, and make him the first person in the whole Kingdom : finally, they demonstrated the honour the Catholick King did him already, in putting his Arms under the authority of his Command, having giving order to Count *Charles* absolutely to obey and acknowledge him superiour.

The Duke of Mayenne, who had already at his first coming been advertised that Count *Charles* brought not above four thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, and that the Ambassadours had no order to pay him any more then five and twenty thousand duckets, a sum much inferiour to the greatness of his present need, answered the Ambassadours Proposition very resentingly, and with more boldness then he was wont, and reproached them with the weakness of those Forces, and their thriftiness of money, which things were not like to free the Confederates from the yoke of Heresie, nor to make the Kingdom peaceable, as they boasted in their words, but to continue the calamities of War without end, and to reduce the affairs of the League unto extreme weakness and misery : That it had been seen in times past how the Catholicks Kings Armies were hardly come in sight, when presently they vanished again, fomenting, but not remedying the mischiefs that afflicted the Kingdom ; which now appeared much more clearly, since in that very point, when a course was to have been taken for the common safety, and when he to satisfy their so great importunities and complaints, had with infinite difficulty assembled the States of the Crown, there came such poor assistance, as neither the Army was sufficient to give heat and authority to so great a business, nor the money able to supply, or so much as give the least ease to the present necessities : That he marvelled exceedingly at that preposterous manner of proceeding : That now indeed the prudence of the Catholick King and his Councillors was requisite ; and that he knew no good could be expected for the future by that way : That it was a vain thing to propose the *Infanta* for Queen, and not to send fitting means to make her be acknowledged, and to establish her in the Kingdom : That this was a difficult weighty important business, and not well relished by many, and to carry it on with such feebleness of Forces, and so small reputation, was onely the way to destroy and ruine it, which, out of his observance to the Catholick King, he would not endure : That the mindes of men, who had settled the sum of their hopes

hopes in the present Congregation, would be incensed and put in despair, when they should see a Stranger-Queen proposed; and that without power or means of attaining to the Crown: That this was a thing averſe from the nature of the French, croſſed by the impediment of the Salique Law, no way conſonant to the ears of free men, and ſuch as were not accuſtomed to ſuffer themſelves to be brought under; and that therefore it was neceſſary firſt to engage mens minds both with high reputation, and the noiſe of great Armies, and alſo to win their affections by the allurements of profits and riches; but to propound ſo great a matter in ſo faint a manner, was neither conformable to the greatneſſe of the Catholick King, nor decent for the name and reputation of the Confederates; and that for his part, he neither thought fit, nor was able, nor knew how to engage himſelf in that Propoſition, being certain, not onely that nothing at all would be effected, but that in deſpair it would neceſſitate the Deputies to turn to an Agreement with the Hereticks, rather than precipitate themſelves into a bottomleſſe pit of perpetuall miſery, where both the publick and private deſolation were moſt viſible.

This answer appeared as ſtrange as unexpected to the Ambaſſadors, and they perceived at the very firſt, that they were far from the imaginary reckonings they had made; yet perſiſting in their Propoſition, they answered, That the commotions of Arragon, and the long indiſpoſition, and afterward the death of the Duke of Parma had hindered the King from making thoſe preparations, which ſhould within few months (if there were need of them) be made ready: That the Succours of the Catholick King had alwayes been ſo powerful, and ſo opportune, that they had manifeſtly delivered the Kingdom and Religion from the oppreſſion of the Hereticks; and that the French could not complain of any but themſelves, who of themſelves had loſt battels, and brought themſelves under in ſuch manner, that afterward the King of Spain had been fain to forſake his own affairs, to recover them as it were from death to life: That the ſums of money were not ſmall, but the greedineſſe of the French very great and unſatiable; and yet when they ſhould give juſt reaſonable ſatisfaction to the Catholick King, He would ſtrive to the utmoſt to content them; but that to deſire all advantages, all convenien-

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The Answer
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1593

cies, all satisfactions; and all contentments, and to give none at all; was not an equal dealing, nor a fair reasonable way of proceeding; That they should resolve to declare their good will in acknowledging the rights of the Infanta to be just and valid; and for the rest, it was not to be thought the Catholick King would be careless of his Daughters interests, but would empty his Kingdom both of men and money to place her in the Throne, and to establish her perfectly: That the King, weary of so many disturbances, and of so many expences without fruit, would no more tire his people and ruine himself, unless he knew the charge and labor should in the end come to effect; but the Infanta being chosen, he would send Fifty thousand Foot and Ten thousand Horse, which should be paid till the enterprize were perfected; and would freely pour out all the Treasures of his Kingdom upon the French.

The Duke of Mayenne smiling at the proffer of these future Magnificences, said it was necessary to think of present things; and that to make the States swallow that bitter Pill of Foreign Dominion, it was necessary to temper it with the sweetness of profit and reputation, else it would prove impossible to get it down. But *Inigo Mendozza* (more able to dispute among learned men, then to manage so weighty an Affair of State) replied, That they knew all the Deputies would not onely accept the Infanta; but also beseech the King to grant her for their Queen; and that he alone opposed that Election, which already was desired by them all. The Duke grew angry, and told *Mendozza* he was little acquainted with the busineses of France, and not knowing the magnanimity of the French, promised himself they should govern the Deputies, as they were wont to do the stupid senseless Indians; but that in the effect he would finde himself much mistaken. *Mendozza* added, That rather in the effect they would make him know, they were able to make the Infanta be elected by the States without his help. But the Duke not enduring that, replied, That he feared it not; and that if he should not consent unto it, all the world would not be able to make that election. To which the Duke of Feria answering, said, They would quickly make him perceive his error, and would take away the command of the Army from him, and give it to the Duke of Guise. This nettled the Duke of Mayenne

Mayenne more then all the rest; and as he was most passionate in his anger, he added, that it was in his power to turn all France against them, and that if he pleased, he could in a week shut them all out of the Kingdom: That they play'd the parts rather of Ambassadors from the King of Navar, then the Catholick King, nor could they serve him better if they were paid by him: but they should not think to use him as their Subject, for he was not so yet, nor did ever think by that manner of usage to be so for the future; and scornfully taking leave, departed from them.

Juan Baptista Tassis took the business in hand again the next day, striving to pacifie and overcome him with promises; but the Duke told him freely, that if now they used him in that manner, he might, if he were not mad, perceive how he should be used when he was obliged, and a vassal; and refused a great while to confer any more with the Duke of Feria, and Mendoza. But Pronotary Agucchi, and Commissary Malvagia, who were present by order from the Legat, and Count Charles of Mansfelt, who was come thither to consult what should be done with the Army, laboured so far in the business, that on the one side the Spaniards knowing they could do nothing without the Duke of Mayenne; and he when the violence of his anger was past, remembering that he was not in such a condition that it was convenient for him to lose the supportation of the Spaniards, differences were composed again at last, but with so much prejudice to the Catholick King's designs, that the Duke to put a hard bit in their mouths, wrote to Villeroy, Jeannin, and the Arch-Bishop of Lyons, by all means to cause the Writing of the King's Catholicks to be answered, and that he should begin the conference which they proposed, to the end they might have that refuge in a readines, whensoever they should be ill dealt withall by the Spaniards for the future; and yet dissembling on both sides, they agreed among themselves, that the Duke of Mayenne should assent to the election of the Infanta, and favour it with the States; and on the other side, that she being elected, he should have the Title of the Duchy of Bourgogne, the Government of Picardy for his life, the Title and Authority of the Queen's Lieutenant-General thorow the whole Kingdom, that all debts should be paid him, as well those that were contracted in the name of the Publick, as those in

1593
The Duke of Mayenne by reason of the answers and threats of the Spanish Ambassadors, departs in anger from the Meeting.

The Popes Ministers and others labour so far that the differences between the Duke and the Spaniards are composed in show, but not in their hearts

1593

his own particular; and that he should be repaid all the money which he could make appear he had spent of his own; they paid him five and twenty thousand Crowns at that present; and consigned Letters to him for two hundred thousand more, and gave order to Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* with the Army to obey him, and dispose of himself according to his Orders.

This convention pieced up in this manner, did indeed stop the discords and disgusts for the present, but made not things so secure as to go on unanimously in their endeavours for the future; for the Duke of *Mayenne* on the one side, did not believe himself obliged to observe what the necessity of publick affairs had extorted from him by force, and the Spaniards as they had but little confidence that he would observe them, so were they ready to imbrace any occasion that should present it self, of treating and establishing the business without him. But being departed from *Soissons* upon the five and twentieth of February and come to *Paris*, as soon as they began to converse with the deputies, they easily perceived that the Duke of *Mayenne* ruled all the Assembly, and that without him nothing at all could be obtained.

On the other side he being gone to the Confines, where the Army was, found it so weak, that he lost hope of doing any enterprise of such moment, as was like to bring him either profit or reputation. They all agreed that the Army should not advance into the inward parts of the Kingdom, but for diverse ends: the Spanish Ministers, to the end *Paris* might not be freed from scarcity, following their conceit that it was profitable for their designs the League and the City should be streightened and kept low; the Duke of *Mayenne* on the other side, to the end the Spaniards might not take heart by the nearness of their forces, and Count *Charles*, because by reason of the weakness of his Army, and that he had but little money, would not engage himself in places far from the confines, and in actions of long and difficult event; wherefore though the Legate and the Parisians were earnest, that the army should advance and besiege *St Denis*, to free the passage of victuals into the City on that side, yet it was nevertheless unanimously determined, that the forces should be employed in other enterprises, among which, the Duke of *Mayenne* was better pleased with the besieging of *Noyon* than any other, as

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well because he had almost a certain hope of taking that place, and coming off, with increase of credit, and reputation, as to dispatch quickly, that he might return to the assistance of the Assembly; also because it was neer to Reimes, where the Lords of the House of Lorain were to meet, before the State should come to a final determination.

The forces being come together from all places, the Army drew before the Town, and having fortified their quarters, without delay, began to break ground, to cast up trenches, and raise batteries. There were in the army four thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse of the Catholick King's; twelve hundred German Foot, and one hundred Horse, paid by the Pope; which Forces were commanded by *Appio Conti* as General of the Church, and by Commissary *Malvagia*; and between five and six hundred German Foot of the Prince of *Aiguillon's* Regiment; three thousand French Foot, and between eight and nine hundred Horse of the Duke of *Mayenne's*, with which were the Dukes of *Guise*, and *Anmale*, and the *Sieur de Rosne*, and *de la Chastre*. In the Town was *Monfieur d'Estrée* with nine hundred Foot and about eighty Horse, but not assisted by the Towns-men, who by an old inclination had ever desired to be under the Confederates. Within a few dayes three batteries were planted, one of which was that of the Walloons, under the command of *Berlatte*; another where the Spaniards wrought under *Antonio Zúñiga*, and *Ludovico Velasco*; and the third, where the Germans were, under the command of *Appio Conti*; and the French being entrenched on the side toward *Chauny* lay upon the way from whence relief might come. This siege lasted but few days, in respect of what men had thought it would; for the Duke of *Mayenne* himself with extraordinary diligence would needs assist at all the works, and show that now he commanded alone without the superiority of other Generals, he knew how with valour and celerity to bring an enterprise to perfection; wherefore being busied both in minde and body, and applying his utmost endeavours to it, he wearied the besieged in so many places, and with so many sorts of Mines, Batteries, turnings of Water, and frequent assaults, that not being longer able to resist, they agreed to surrender, and upon the last of May *Monfieur d'Estrée* delivered to the town into their hands, whereupon there was grievous complaint in the Army; for by reason of

The Duke of Mayenne with the Spanish Forces commanded by *Charles of Mansfelt*, and with the Pope's commanded by *Appo Conty* and with his own besiges Noyon.

Monfieur d'Estrée surrenders Noyon to the Duke of Mayenne after a few days siege.

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1593

the pains the souldiers had taken, they pretended the pillage of it belong'd to them; but the Duke of Mayenne averse from rapine, and knowing how well affected the Towns-men were, would not suffer strangers to enrich themselves with the blood of the French.

But in the time of this sieg a thing happen'd which did very much weaken the Army of the League: for the Colonel of the Popes Lands-Knights having denied to obey *Appio Conti*, who commanded him to make his men work at the trenches, as the other souldiers did, and being come from words to swords, *Appio Conti* was slain by a thrust the German made at him, who being seized upon in the midst of his men by the Duke of Mayenne himself, escaped afterwards out of the hands of them that kept him; whereupon the German Captains furling up their Ensignes, refused to bear arms any more; which not displeasing Commissary *Malvagia*, he (though the Duke stifly contradicted it) dismissed them from the Popes pay, with no less error then *Mattenucci* had formerly sent away the Swissers. The Catholick Kings Foot were likewise diminished, especially the Walloons, who because they were not paid ran in great numbers from their colours; and the French, according to their wont, were both decreased in number and abated in force; wherefore it was necessary to omit the prosecution of other enterprises, *Mansfelt* not being willing to advance further, either because of the weakness of his Army, or of his Orders from the Spanish Ministers, the Parisians almost in an uprore, solicited the enterprise of *St Denis*; which the chief commanders not being willing to undertake at that time, and they of the City insisting still that the number of their Garrisons might be increased, to the end they might be able to convoy their provisions more securely, which were taken away and hindered by the Kings Garrisons, it was determined in Paris that the Popes Germans should come in thither, that neither the Spaniards nor the Duke of Mayenne's forces might be increased, but the Legats order arriving after the death of *Appio Conti*, and after the Commissary had dismissed the Germans, the Duke of Mayenne laid hold of the occasion, and instead of them, sent in the Regiment of the Prince his Son, thereby giving warmth to them that depended upon him, and desired his greatness. Noyon being taken, and the Army half dissolved, Count *Charles* retired toward

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1593

The King at this time was forced by an unthought of accident to go to Tours, which was not without prejudice to his affairs, and particularly caused the loss of Noyon. He from the year 1587. had treated about giving his sister, the Princess Catherine in marriage to the Count de Soissons; but things not having succeeded according to agreements, by reason whereof the Count went unto him to the Army in Xaintonge, they remained as ill satisfied of one another, as the Princess was pleased with the gentle fashion and behavior of the Count; wherefore though he both departed from, and returned to the party of the Catholicks during the States at Blois, yet had they continued secret conversation by Letters, whereby their hearts in progress of time were the more enflamed, and they were gone so far by the means of the Madam de Granmont, that the Count, who was one of those that thought of forsaking the King, being come to Tours under the apparent pretence of visiting his Mother, posted from thence secretly into Bearne, with an appointment to contract and consummate the Marriage with the Lady Catherine. But the King (who hoped the Marriage of his sister would be a means to gain him the friendship of other Princes, and therefore made several designs about it) had his eyes so intent upon the Counts actions, that he dived into that intention before it was executed: For having in former times long loved Madam de Granmont, and then left her after his departure out of Gascogne, as she did all she could to disoblige him, out of disdain for having been forsaken; so his Sisters, most trusty Gentlewomen, being corrupted by the Kings gifts, were as ready to give him notice of every particular: Wherefore being come to the knowledge of all that was in agitation, he gave order to some of the Parliament to go into Bearne, and hinder that Contract; and he having before sent the Baron de Biron (by him created Admiral) under pretence of taking possession of that dignity in the Parliament, followed him speedily, leaving his household and Council at Chartres, and having caused the Princess to come to Tours, he brought her with him, after the space of two moneths, unto the same City, being exceedingly angry to see himself so little

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1593

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1593

little esteemed by those of his own blood. But this was a thing that made him more clearly know, it was high time (nor could he any longer defer) to take some resolution, and to establish his affairs, since that even the Princes of the Blood were openly alienated from him. Thus every little accident, though it seemed cross, was yet always favorable to his greatness and establishment.

The Writing of the Kings Catholicks sent to the Convocation of the States is damned by the Spaniards for Heretical, and therefore they urge that it should neither be accepted nor answered.

Whilest they were fighting about Noyon, with no less ardor did they contend in Paris about resolving upon the Answer that was to be given to the Catholicks of the Kings party; for the Spaniards supported by the Cardinal Legat, strove to cross it, and for a manifest reason alledged, that the Writing being heretical, as the Divines of Sorbonne had declared, it could not be taken into consideration, nor ought the States to give an Answer to it: That which made it heretical, they said, was, because it affirmed that Subjects were obliged to yield obedience to their Prince, though he were an Heretick, both known to be such, and condemned by the holy Church: They added, that this was a net to catch the inclinations of the simple, an obstacle to hinder the progress of the States, and a stone of scandal to retard Gods service; that it was not fit to lose time about their enemies subtilties, nor about the interpositions of the King of Navar, from whom it was certain that Writing was derived, since they themselves that caused it to be presented, confessed they did it with his consent, and it was subscribed by no other man but Revol, one of the Secretaries of State; and therefore, as he that will do well ought not to hearken to the temptations which the Devil suggests; so they that would procure the safety of the Kingdom, and the establishment of Religion, should in no sort minde the interpositions of the King of Navar, and those that spoke by his instigation, and thorow his very mouth. On the other side, many of the Deputies said, that they ought not to shut their ears against those of the same Blood and Religion, who perchance sought to amend their errors, and cure their consciences by retiring to the party of the good Catholicks, and adhering to the Confederates; that if it should come to pass, the King of Navar would remain so weak and abject, that it would need no great pains to vanquish him; that all means ought to be used, and covetously laid hold on, which might lead to peace, that being the last end to which all good

good Frenchmen tended, and to which for their own safety all aspired; and if with a common consent the way to attain to quietness could be found; why should they ingulf themselves in new miseries of War, and in new perpetual distractions of Arms? That to this end, the Duke of Mayenne had in his Declaration invited the Catholicks of the contrary party to meet and confer with him: That he had protested this unto them, adding, that if they resolved not to unite themselves with him, they should be guilty of all the subsequent mischiefs and calamities: Which Protestation the Catholicks trusting in, had now demanded a Conference, and if they should not accept it, they should make themselves guilty of the same crimes: That their speaking by the Kings permission, imported nothing; for things are not done and obtained all at once: That being now subject to his power, they were necessitated to speak in that manner; but that afterwards being perswaded and drawn by little and little, by reason and gentleness, perchance they would make a more clear, more express resolution: That it was no matter though *Revol* were Secretary to the King of Navar, for he was a Catholick, and perchance no less inclined to a revolt then the rest: That it was already known, how even the Princes of the Blood thought of changing their party, that the Catholicks were ill satisfied, because the promises of his Conversion were not kept; and therefore it was necessary to foment that beginning of alteration, to help them to bring forth a firm determination, and by means thereof reunite all the Members into one Body, to attain the safety and quiet of the Kingdom.

This was the more plausible opinion, and it was carried by the Duke of Mayennes confidents, from whom they had received order to bring it to pass; nor did there want any thing, save the Legats consent, from whom neither the States, nor the Duke himself would in any wise alienate themselves. Therefore the Archbishop of Lyons went to him, and demonstrated, that if the Proposition of the Royallists were not accepted, some very great tumults would follow; for the Nobility and the Order of Commons stood so stiffly for it, that being tired out with the War, and toyl of Arms, they would make an insurrection, with great danger of revolting to the King of Navar: That no harm could be feared from that Conference; for such persons should be employed in it,

1593

The Cardinal Legat perswaded by the Archbishop of Lyons, consents in secret that an answer should be given to the Catholicks of the Kings party.

The Tenor of the Answer, wherein the Conference demanded, is accepted.

as there would be no danger of their forsaking the cause of Religion: That if the Catholicks of the Kings party would joyn with that of the Confederates, it would be the very point of Victory; and if on the other side, they should show themselves averse from doing so, it would be easie, after having given satisfaction to the World, and to the States in appearance, to dissolve the Conference a thousand ways. But that also in the time of Cardinal Gaetano there had been many Treaties and Conferences, both by himself and others; and yet no absurdity had followed; and if at that present there should not be one, he would not only be accounted scrupulous and severe, but also obstinate, and an enemy to Peace: That if only through his opposition, the proposal of the Catholicks were not embraced, it would be attributed to an unreasonable pride, and a too interested union with the Spaniards, which perchance would not be pleasing at Rome; that already all men murmured at it; and that the demand was so just, that whosoever should refuse it, would manifestly put themselves on the wrong side. The Legat (whose ears were already filled with the popular discourses, which condemned his too much assenting to the Spaniards; the Prevost *Jean Merbende* having added, that the City, which by this Conference hoped for the benefit of being partly freed from scarcity, would certainly mutiny if it were refused, and those of the Parliament still boldly crying, and giving out, that they would make Protestation to the States) at last yielded in secret, that the Catholicks should be answered, and that the Conference should be accepted, but without his apparent consent: So with a general Vote it was decreed in the States, that the Conference should be accepted, and upon the Fourth day of March they framed an Answer to the Catholicks of this Tenor.

WE have seen some few days ago, the Letter which was written to us, and sent by a Trumpet in your Name; which we could with came from you with such zeal and affection as you were wont (before these last miseries) to bear to the preservation of Religion, and with such respect and observance as is due to the Church, our Lord the Pope, and the holy Chair; we should for certain quickly be agreed and united together against the Hereticks; nor would other arms be longer necessary for us, to beat down and break in pieces

pieces those new Altars which are set up against ours, and to hinder the establishment of Heresie, which (because it hath been tolerated, or rather honoured with reward and recompence, when it should have been punished) is not contented now adays to be received and accepted; but will become Mistress, and domineer imperiously under the authority of an Heretick Prince. And though that Letter name no body in particular, nor is subscribed by any of those whose names it bears, and that we therefore are uncertain who sent it us, or rather certain that it was done at the suggestion of others (the Catholicks not having in the place where you are, that liberty which is necessary, to hear, deliberate, and resolve with the counsel and judgement of their conscience, any of those things which our misery and the common safety require) yet should we not have so long delayed to make answer to it, had it not been that we stayed expecting to have the Assembly fuller, and increased by a good number of persons who were upon the way to come unto it, of whom the greater part being arrived, out of a doubt that our so long silence may be calumniated, We do it this day, without deferring it to another, in expectation of the rest who are yet to come. And we declare first of all, That we have all sworn and promised to God (after having received his most precious Body, and the blessing of the holy See by the hands of the Cardinal-Legat) that the scope of all our Counsels, the beginning, means, and end of all our actions shall be to secure and preserve the Roman Catholick-Apostolick Religion, wherein we will live and die. Truth it self which cannot lye, having taught us, that by seeking the Kingdom and glory of God before all other things, temporall blessings shall be added thereunto; among which in the first place after Religion, we put the conservation of the State entire; and hold that all other means of hinderance ruine and destruction, grounded onely upon humane wisdom, smell of impiety, are unjust, contrary to duty, and the profession we make to be good Catholicks, and without likelihood of ever having any good success. And we being freed from those accidents and dangers which good men foresee and fear by reason of the mischiefs Heresie produceth, will not reject any counsel which may help to diminish our miseries, or bring them to an end. For we acknowledge, and are but too sensible of the calamities which civil War brings

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1593

forth, and have no need of any body to shew us our wounds; but God and men know who are the authours of them. It sufficeth us to say we are trained up and instructed in the Doctrine of the holy Church, nor can our souls and consciences have repose and tranquillity, nor taste any happiness while they are in fears and jealousies of losing Religion, whose danger can neither be dissembled nor avoided, if men continue as they have begun. Thence it is, that, judging as you do that our reconciliation is most necessary, we seek it with a truly Christian charity, and pray and conjure you in the Name of God to grant it us. Nor let the blames and upbraidings which the Hereticks cast upon us any way hinder you. As for ambition, which they publish to be the cause of our taking up of Arms, it is in your power to see us within, and discover whether Religion be the cause, or pretence; leave you the Hereticks (whom at the same time you both follow and detest): If we life up our hands to heaven to give God thanks, if we be disposed and ready to follow all good counsels, to love you, to honour you, to yield you that respect and service that shall be due to you; then praise us as honest men, who have had the courage to despise all dangers for the preservation of Religion, nor have wanted integrity and moderation to forbear the thought of any thing that is against honour and reason: but if the contrary happen, then accuse our dissimulation, and condemn us as wicked persons; by so doing you will set both heaven and earth against us, and make our arms fall out of our hands as conquered, or leave us so weak, that the victory over us will be without danger, and without glory. In the mean time, blame the mischief of Heresie which is known to you, and rather fear that canker that devours us, and every day gets ground, then a vain imaginary Ambition, when there is no such thing; or, if there be, it will be left alone and poorly attended, when it shall be deprived of the cloak of Religion. It is likewise a calumny to accuse us that we bring strangers into the Kingdom: it is necessary either to lose Religion, with our honours, lives, and estates, or else to oppose the force of the Heretick, whom nothing can please but our ruin; and therefore we are constrained to make use of them, since your arms are against us. They are the most holy Fathers, and the most holy See that have sent us relief; and though many have been called to that supreme Dignity since these

these last troubles, yet have there not been one of them who hath changed his affection towards us, a most certain testimony that our cause is just. It is the Catholick King, a Prince allyed and Confederate to this Crown, onely powerfull now adays to maintain and defend Religion, who hath likewise helped us with his forces and powers, yet without any other reward or recompence, but the glory which so good a work hath justly acquired him. Our Kings against the Rebellion of Hereticks, and in the like necessity have had recourse to them; we have followed their example, without entring into any Treaty prejudicial to the State, or to our reputation, though our necessity hath been much greater then theirs. Rather set before your eyes, that the English, who assist you to establish Heresie, are the ancient Enemies of the Kingdom, who yet bear the title of that usurpation, and have their hands imbrued in the innocent blood of an infinite number of Catholicks, who have constantly suffered death for the service of God and the Church. Cease likewise to hold us guilty of high treason, because we will not obey an Heretick Prince, whom you call our natural King; and have a care, that bending your eyes to the earth to look upon humane Laws, you forget not the divine Law that came from Heaven. It is not Nature, nor the right of Nations that teacheth us to acknowledge our Kings, but the Law of God, the Law of his Church, and that of the Kingdom, which require from the Prince that is to command us, not onely proximity of blood, which you stand upon, but also the profession of the Catholick Religion; and this quality hath given name to that law which we call the fundamental Law of the State, always followed and observed by our Ancestors without any exception; though the other of proximity of blood hath been sometime altered, the Kingdom remaining nevertheless entire, and in its former dignity. To come therefore to so holy and necessary a reconciliation, we accept the Conference which you demand, provided it may be onely between Catholicks, and to deliberate about the means of preserving Religion and the State. And because you desire it should be between Paris and St Denis, we intreat you to like of *Mont-Martre*, *St Meaux*, or *Chalot* in the Queens Palace; and that you would be pleased to send those that shall be deputed by you, upon some day you shall think fit, before the end of this moneth, whereof we being advertised, will not fail to have

OURS

1593

ous there, and to proceed with sincere affection free from all passion praying to God that the event of it may be such, that we may finde the preservation of Religion and of the State; and a good, secure durable peace, as we also pray him to conserve you, and give you his spirit to know, and embrace the most wholesome profitable counsell for the generall safety.

This answer being received and read in the Councel of the King, who was not yet come back from his journey into *Poictou*, they that were there present determined to prosecute the conference, but to defer the particulars thereof, till they had the Kings consent to them, and the general votes of the Councel. Thus by a writing full of curteous expressions, they excused the delay, and finally, having received their approbation, and replied again with other letters, they concluded to hold the conference at *Surrenne* between *Paris* and *St Denis*.

Surrenne is
chosen for the
place of con-
ference.

There was great contention at *Paris* about the election of the persons that were to intervene at this Treaty; for the Legate and the Spanish Ambassadors strove to procure that one of them might be *Guillianne Rose* Bishop of *Senlis*, a man of a sower nature, and sharp eloquence, which for many years he had profusely used against the Kings, and against their party; and on the other side, they that inclined to peace, desired the *Sieur de Villeroy* might be admitted, who by many was excluded as partial to the King: at last for the common satisfaction they were both left out, and those that were unanimously chosen were, the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, *Pericard* Bishop of *Auranche*, *Godsfroy de Billy* Abbot of *St Vincent de Laon*, the Admiral *Villars*, the Count *de Belin*, the Baron *de Talmay*, the *Sieurs de Montigny* and *Montanlin*, President *Jeannin*, and President *Maistre*, *Estienne Bernard* Advocate in the Parliament of *Dijon*, and *Honoré de Laurent* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Aix*. They of the Kings side chose the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, the *Sieurs de Chavigny*, and *Bellicre*, the Count *de Schomberg*, President *de Thon*, *Nicholas Sieur de Rambouillet*, the *Sieur de Pomcarre*, and Secretary *Revol*. But at the first meeting, with the mutual consent of the Deputies, there were added the *Sieur de Vic* Governour of *St Denis* on the Kings side, and for the League the *Sieur de Villeroy*, who the Duke of *Mayenne* desired by all means should assist in the treaty, and in the progress of it the *Sieurs de Rosne* and *la Chastre* were likewise admitted.

The persons
elected on
both sides to
intervene at
the Confe-
rence.

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In the mean time, the Duke of Feria, upon the second of April had solemn publick audience of the States, at which in a Latin Oration, he proffered the Catholick Kings assistance and supplies to the Assembly, for the conservation of Religion, and the election of such a King, as the condition of the times required, and likewise presented Letters from King Philip, wherein after many courteous expressions, he referred himself to what the Duke of Feria, and the other Ambassadors should represent in his name, who said, that they referred themselves to do it, when the Duke of Mayenne and the other Princes should be come unto the States, who were yet at the meeting at Rheims with the Duke of Lorraine.

There their minds were no less disagreeing, nor the opinions less differing then in the States; for the Duke of Lorraine seeing the rest were not inclined to yield to him as head of the Family, and knowing the Spaniards were already engaged in the design of getting the Infanta elected, began to be weary of the War which he had sustained all those late years to the great damage of his people; and though the Spaniards sometimes scattered reports, that the Infanta being chosen Queen should take the Cardinal his Son to be her Husband, it seemed to him so absurd, that he was not at all inclined to believe it; and since he could attain to nothing else, would have been content with Peace, whereby the Cities of Thoul, and Verdun should remain his. On the other side, the Duke of Mayenne desired he should persist in Arms, and favor the election of him and his Sons, thinking his pains and endeavors deserved that reward, and that no other body at that present was able to undergo that weight; but he rather gave signs of this intention, then propounded it, and labored dexterously to insinuate it into the rest, among which as the Dukes of Anjou and Elbeuf adhered to him, so the Dukes of Nemours and Guise assented not, both being intent to endeavor for themselves, and full of hopes, that the Spaniards might at last concur to marry the Infanta to one of them. The Duke of Mayenne strove to withdraw them from that thought, by letting them see it was far from the intent of the Spaniards, who had no other design then to get the Crown into the power of the Infanta, and by her, either in her lifetime, or after her death, to have it united and incorporated to that of Spain, to which it was very repugnant to give her a young French Husband, and

The Lords of the House of Lorraine being met at Rheims to elect about the election of a King, differ in opinions by reason of their own interests.

1593

and such a one as might be able not onely to govern her, but also the people, and forces of the Nobility and Kingdom.

Girolamo Gondi with the Grand Duke of Thuscany's consent, treats an Agreement with the Duke of Lorain in the Kings behalf, offering him the Princess Catherine in marriage for the Prince his Son; and the Count de Schomberg treats an Agreement with the Duke of Mayenne, but with weak hope of success.

It was a remarkable thing, that though this was an Assembly of the House of Lorain, the King should yet have a very great party in it, for by the Grand Duke of Thuscany's consent, *Girolamo Gondi* had formerly begun, and now continued to treat with the Duke of Lorain, to induce him and the rest to think of agreeing with the King, proposing his conversion, full caution and security for Religion, and to give his sister in marriage to the Prince of Lorain, with those Cities which the Duke desired and pretended to; and on the other side, by means of the Count of Schomberg he had begun to deal with the Duke of Mayenne, shewing him that they might with much more ease, agree privately between themselves; then if they should stay for the event of the conference, for he was ready to gratifie him, and give him that really in present, which the Spaniards promised but verbally to give in future. But the hopes of everyone of these interested persons were still too fresh and lively, which dazling their understanding, and incumbering it with passion, would not suffer them yet to come to this determination; so that neither agreeing among themselves, nor in any third person, they parted at last without any conclusion; save that the Duke of Lorain gave Commission to the *Sieur de Bassompierre* his Ambassador to the States, to adhere in the treaty to the Duke of Mayenne's will, in what concerned their interests and the affairs of the Spaniards without declaring himself in the business of election. The D. of Mayenne with his Nephew of Guise, and the D. of Elbœuf, went towards Paris, being yet uncertain of his own design; the Duke of Lorain more desirous of quiet then any thing else, returned into his own State, and the Duke of Aumale went into Picardy to assist Count *Charles*, who staid about the confines with the forces of the Catholick King.

In the mean time the Conference at Surenne was begun, upon the Nine and twentieth of April, where after the first Meetings, and mutual Exhortations, to lay aside all affections and interests, and to apply themselves sincerely to the common good and safety; the Deputies shewed one another their Commissions and Authority; they gave Pass-ports and safe conducts on both sides, and a discourse was begun of making a Cessation of Arms in the neighboring places, to the end that the Deputies themselves, and those of their retinue might stay

stay freely, and treat without disquiet or suspicion, which truce was afterwards established and published upon the third of May for four Leagues about Paris, and as much about Surenne; which did so rejoyce the Parisians, who had been so many years shut up and imprisoned within their Walls, that every one might easily perceive how much joy and consolation the peace (if it should follow) would bring to all the people of France. Both parties agreed in this one point, that peace was necessary to raise up France from her present miseries and future ruine; every one praised it, and shewed himself ready to embrace it, but they disagreed absolutely in the means proper to attain it. For the Deputies for the League held, the foundation of all things to be Religion, and that no other agreement ought or could be concluded, wherein the first and chiefest consideration was not about it; and therefore exhorted the Royallists to forsake the Heretick Prince whom they followed, and uniting themselves all to one end, unanimously to chuse a Catholick King, such a one as might be acceptable and approved by the Pope, by whose establishment, the roots of discord being extirpated which sprung up from diversity of Religion, they might joyntly come to settle Policy, good Government, Peace, and the repose of the Kingdom. On the other side, the Deputies on the Kings part maintained, that the foundation of Peace, was the acknowledgment of, and obedience to a lawful Prince, truly French, and called by the Laws: Under whose shadow all of them reuniting themselves, troubles and dissensions might be made to cease; they said, Religion was a second consideration, for Christians anciently had obeyed and acknowledged many Princes that were not onely Hereticks and Schismatics, but also enemies and persecutors of the Church, and the most holy, most learned Fathers of Christendom, nay, even the Apostles themselves had taught and preached that obedience; and therefore they exhorted those of the League to re-unite themselves in the acknowledgment of their King, to whom the Crown undoubtedly belonged, both by a right lineal descent, and by vertue of the Salique Law; for as he would give all kinde of securities, the most full and ample that could be desired for the preservation of Religion; so in time he might also be reduced to embrace and follow the Catholick Doctrine, from which he did not shew himself absolutely averse.

A Truce is concluded and published, for four Leagues about Paris, and as much about Surenne for the security of them that treated; the Parisians rejoyce at it very much.

The Archbishop of Lyons, and the rest of his fellow De-

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1593

puties could not endure to hear this Doctrine, but abhorred and confuted it with detestation, though the Archbishop of Bourges with great flourishes of Learning, Authorities, and Examples, labored to maintain it; but they on the other side said freely, This was the way to make the Kingdom Schismatical, and alienate it from the Fellowship of the Catholick Church, and that they would rather chuse to lose their lives, then consent to so brutish, so pernicious a thing; and then again the Archbishop of Bourges demonstrated, that to be so obstinate upon that point, was a subjecting of the Kingdom to the Dominion, not onely of Foreign Princes, but of its most bitter enemies, and that for their parts (since they knew they might live with Liberty of Conscience, and in the maintenance of their Religion) they would not by any means make themselves guilty of so great a crime. After long disputations, the Archbishop of Bourges proposed, that since they could not frame themselves to acknowledge a King that was not publicly and certainly a Catholick, they would joyntly exhort King Henry to change his Religion and come into the bosom of the Church; for if he should accept of the invitation, and resolve to do so, all doubts and occasions of dissenting from him would cease, and if he should refuse it, then every Catholick would forsake him, and all united together would chuse another Prince of the Blood, that were a Catholick, and one generally approved. The Confederates replied, they neither could nor ought to exhort, nor invite the King of Navarre, who had not onely oftentimes shewed he regarded not, nay, rather despised those invitations, but also having promised them to turn Catholick, had deceived them and abused their credulity; Wherefore if he had made no reckoning of his friends, much less was it to be believed, he would value his enemies, and that having by the Apostolick See been declared a relapsed Heretick, and excommunicated, they could not treat with him, nor meddle with any thing that appertained to his interest. The Royallists shewed, that now he seemed to be of another opinion, and that the invitations formerly made unto him, had been threatening ones, accompanied with force, and therefore he had rejected them, as unseemly to his reputation; but that now he took those exhortations in good part, which were made to him by way of entreaty, and shewed a thousand signs that he would reconcile himself to the

the Church ; that he had not kept his promise by reason of the hinderance of arms and war, for it was fit his conversion should be with decency and honour, and without violence, and that they hoped to see him a Catholick very shortly : to which the others replied, that they should be very glad of his conversion (if it should come to pass) for his own souls sake ; but that these were politick artifices to deceive the simple, nor could they ground any resolution at all upon it.

Divers Sittings were spent in these disputes, without coming to a conclusion ; so that many judged (as they had prognosticated from the beginning) that the Conference would be dissolved without fruit. Hence the Spaniards taking courage, (both because of the resolution which they of the League shewed, that they would never assent to acknowledge any other King then one that was sincerely a Catholick ; and because of the perseverance they saw in the King and his Deputies, to set the point of Religion after the Salique Law and the politick Government of the Kingdom) resolved to make the utmost push for it, and to propose the election of the *Infanta* for the last engine of their attempt. Wherefore the Cardinal-Legate having caused many Processions and Prayers to be made, with no less pomp then devotion, to beg of God that he would inspire the States in the good choice of convenient means for the common safety : There met in his Palace upon the nineteenth of May, besides the Spanish Ambassadors who were to make the Proposition, the Dukes of Mayenne, Guise, Anjou, and Elbeuf, the Count de Chaligny, the Sieur de Bassompierre in the name of the Duke of Lorain, the Sieur de la Pierre for the Duke of Savoy, Lorenzo Tornabuoni for the Duke of Mercœur, Cardinal Pellevé, and the Count de Belin Governour of Paris ; and in the name of the States six Deputies to treat with the Spanish Ministers, the Archbishop of Lyons and the Bishop of Senlis for the Clergy, the Sieurs de la Chastre and Montolin for the Nobility, the Prevost des Marchands of Paris and Estienne Bernard for the Commons. In this meeting, wherein all the spirits of the States, and the very soul of the League consisted, the Duke of Feria began to detest the Conference that was held with those of the Kings party ; saying, that the Cardinal-Legat and he had assented to it onely that they might not fail of any possible means to reduce those that were gone astray into the bosome of the

May the 19
1593 there is a
private meet-
ing in the Le-
gats Palace,
where the
Lords of the
House of Lo-
rain are pre-
sent, and other
Deputies re-
presenting the
three Orders.

The Duke of
Feria in the
meeting pro-
poseth the ele-
ction of the
Infanta to be
Queen; being
Daughter to
Philip the Se-
cond King of
Spain, by *Eliz-
abeth* eldest
sister to *Henry*
the Third, K.
of France.

holy Church, and to the end that the obstinacy of the *Politicks* being more clearly seen, who set Religion behinde the consideration of temporal things, the world might be certified of their wickedness, and of the good intent of the Catholick King, whose principal object was Christian Charity, the safety of Religion, and (with these conditions) the peace and happiness of that most Christian Kingdom; but this trial also having been made, that nothing might be left undone, and to satisfie the curiosity of all men, it was now at last time to dissolve those Treaties, which without hope of any fruit carried with them the danger of many mischiefs, and thenceforth apply themselves to the election of one, who by common consent should possess the Crown; for which end they were met together with so much difficulty, and from so many several places: that as the Catholick King, who had spent so much gold, and poured out so much blood of his Subjects for the upholding of that cause, had never refused any overture of those remedies which he believed might conduce to the general good; so at last he was come to know, that there was no better nor more helpfull resolution for all parts then one alone, wherein both justice and decency, profit and conveniency did joyntly concur; that this was the election of the *Infanta Clara Eugenia Isabella* Daughter to his most Catholick Majesty to be Queen of France, to whom, as born of *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter to *Henry* the Second, whose male line was ended, the Crown justly and lawfully belonged, as by a thousand Authorities, and constitutions of Law and Reason it was easie to prove; that the King wished and desired the consent of the States should concur in that just election for the more general satisfaction, to the end that the gratitude of the French, remembering how much he had done for their service, might agree with the justice of the cause, to establish the common peace and contentment. Here he enlarged himself fully in the *Infanta's* praises, shewing her prudence, worth, and magnanimity, qualities worthy to order so noble a Government; and finally concluded, there were already eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse ready at the States least request to enter into the Confines, and that as many more should be ready within three moneths, all which Forces should be paid by the King till the Wars were ended; and that the Duke of *Mayenne* should have an hundred thousand Crowns paid him every

every moneth to maintain ten thousand French Foot, and four thousand Horfe; that if these were thought less then was requisite, the Catholick King would add so many more as should be sufficient; it being to be believed, that out of the infinite affection he bore his daughter, he should not fail to imploy all his force to make her a free peaceable possessor of the Kingdom; promising and assuring last of all, that the Princes of the House of *Lorraine* especially, and then all the other Lords and Gentlemen should be largely requited and contented, the Clergy brought to their first splendor, the Nobility satisfied, the people eased, and all the several Orders of France settled not onely in full peace and tranquillity, but also in the ancient lustre and glory of their Nation.

The Duke of *Feria* having concluded his speech in this manner, the Bishop of *Senlis*, who with impatience had expected the end of it, without giving time to any other body, whom it concerned by order to tell his opinion, stood up and said scornfully; The *Politicks* were in the right, who had ever said, that interest of State was hid under the cloak of Religion, which he with those of his coate having with infinite labour always endeavoured to confute in their pulpits, he was now sorry at heart to hear from the mouthes and by the confession of the Ambassadors, that it was true, and that the Preachers deceiving themselves and others, had defended and protected a thing that was false; that from thenceforward he should believe the Spaniards were no less politick then the *Navarrois*, but he prayed them for their own honour, and the reputation of the *Holy Union* to desist from that thought; For the Kingdom of France having for the space of twelve hundred years been gloriously possessed by Men, according to the institution of the *Salique Law*, it was not fit now to transferr it upon Women, who by the variety of their marriages, might call in variety of Masters, and subject the French Nation to the dominion of Forreigners. This free unexpected answer made by one of the chief instruments of the League, and of the Kings sharpest enemies, did not onely dismay the Spanish Ambassadors, but many also of the Assembly, doubting that so free a reproof made without any respect might discompose all things, and put them in confusion. But the Duke of *Mayenne* endeavoured with dexterity to excuse the Bishop of *Senlis* his words, ascribing them to excess of zeal, or too much fervour

The Bishop of Senlis though a bitter enemy to the King, answers the Duke of Feria sharply, and opposes his proposition.

The Duke of Mayenne dextrously excuses what the Bishop of Senlis had too freely spoken.

1593

vour of minde, intimating that sometimes he went beyond himself, and shewing that when he was made sensible of reason, and what was fit, he would of himself correct that which being drawn by his first violence he had so licenciously spoken unawares. The Ambassadors took heart again at the encouragement of the Duke of Mayenne, of Cardinal *Pellewé*, and some others; but truly it remained evident, that it was not out of ambition, or for any interests (as many would have had it thought,) but because his conscience so perswaded him that the Bishop of *Senlis* in all the course of those commotions, had so profusely favoured the party of the *Union*, and spoken so sharply, and with such continued Liberty against the person of the present King, and the memory of him that was dead. However it were, certain it is, his words helped to abate the credit of the Spaniards, and his example moved many of those who followed the League not for their own interest, but in respect of Religion.

Juan Baptista Tassis and Inigo Mendoza propose the Election of the Infanta in the publick Assembly of the States.

The Spanish proposition is ill relished by the Deputies, and esteemed unjust.

And yet the Spaniards not losing heart by reason of the Duke of Mayenne's dissimulation, and of the hopes they had in many of the Deputies, demanded publick audience in the Assembly of the States, and having obtained it, upon the six and twentieth day *Juan Baptista Tassis* was the first that spoke, who with a short but very cunning speech, made the proposition of the *Infanta*, and after him *Inigo de Mendoza* with a long disputation divided into seven heads, explained the rights that she pretended to the succession of the Crown; both of them concluding that it was not to put that in controversy, which was to be acknowledged from the voluntary election of the State, but to inform and satisfie them, that he alledged those reasons, to the end that with prudent advice, the free disposal of the Assembly might go along with right and conform it self to justice; the *Infanta* being willing to acknowledge that from them by way of election, which duly belonged to her by rightfull succession. This proposition was no less deeply resented by the major part of the Deputies, than it had been by the Bishop of *Senlis*; many disdain'd that the dominion of Strangers should be proposed to them, as to men who were either slaves to the will of others, or ignorant of their own interests: others laught to see this proposition made without preparations of arms, men, and moneys, as both need and the reputation of the business required: others condemned

demned the Spaniards of little discretion, in having had the boldness to declare their design, without having prepossessed their mindes and disposed them towards it, by the powerful preparative of private interest; and there wanted not of those, who disputed also about the right; and said, that though women should be declared to have right to the inheritance of the Crown, it probably belonged not to her, but to the Kings of England, who were first descended from daughters of France, and with whom there had been so many, and so tedious Wars to reject that pretention, and to uphold the Salique Law, and the legitimate succession of the Males. But they that were most of all displeased at it (though secretly) were the Princes of the House of Lorain who pretended to the election themselves, and the Duke of Mayenne, though he more cunningly dissembled it, shewing in appearance, that he would not dissent from the King of Spains will, nor from what he had agreed upon with the Ambassadors at Soissons, yet he underhand stirred up the Deputies to reject that proposition, as dishonorable to the Nation, dangerous in point of servitude, hurtful to themselves, and to the liberty of those that should come after them, and not grounded upon any present security, but all vainly supported by the uncertainty of future promises.

There was no doubt but the Deputies would unanimously refuse that proposition, yet not to exasperate the Spaniards, and to give matters time to ripen, they answered after many complements, that their desire should be taken into consideration, to the end an answer might be given as soon as was possible; which while it was expected, the Duke of Mayenne, to finde out a way to exclude that business, began to treat with the Ambassadors, what Husband the Infanta should have when the States had elected her Queen, and urged them to declare what Commissions they had from the Catholick King concerning that. Their answer was altogether like the rest of the treaty, for they made no scruple to declare, That the King thought of matching her to *Ernest*, Archduke of Austria, the Emperors Brother, whom he had also appointed to succeed the Duke of Parma in his Country of Flanders. This answer was presently excluded; for all replied with joynt consent, That they would not have a King of a different Language and Nation, and that the ears of Frenchmen could never endure to hear it; and though the Duke of Mayenne for divers respects feigned to ap-
prove

The Spanish Ambassadors answer concerning a Husband for the Infanta:

1593

The Duke of
Mayenne be-
ing assured,
that none of
his Sons
should be
named for the
Infanta's Hus-
band, profe-
cutes the
treary with
the Royallists.

Pretenders to
the Infanta
out of hope
to attain the
Crown.

prove of the Archduke, the rest notwithstanding declared freely they would none of him; which as soon as the Spaniards knew, seeing the Infanta's election would go but in a desperate course, if some considerable prop were not added to uphold it, they said they had Commission in case the States approved not of the Archduke, to propose, that the Catholick King would marry the Infanta to a French Prince, who should be nominated and elected by him within six moneths. This Proposition displeased not all of them in general, because there were many pretenders, among which were the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Nemours, and the Cardinal of Lorain; but the Duke of Mayenne publickly commending the proposition, endeavored to sound, whether they inclined to any one of his Sons, and being sufficiently certified they were not like to consent unto it, because they would not put the Dominion of the Kingdom into his hands, being certain the Infanta should be barely a wife, not a Mistres, he began to draw the contrary way, much more then he had done before, and applied himself to foment the Conference, which had never been intermitted at Surrenne between the Catholicks of both parties.

The King who had notice of all that was in agitation, sought every way by means of the Conference to hinder each resolution of the States; but his Deputies could not do much in it by reason of the important opposition of Religion, nay, rather his own Catholicks were discontented themselves, that his Conversion so much desired, and so often promised, was deferred more and more every day. The Princes of the Blood threatned openly, and now thought in good earnest of taking some resolution, because they saw the Election of a King of another Family was so closely treated of: And every one, even of himself, fell easily into an opinion, that by going over to the League, he might come to marry the Spanish Infanta, and have the protection of the Catholick Kings forces for his establishment; whereupon not onely the Cardinal of Bourbon was extraordinarily moved, but also the Count *de Soissons* newly disgusted, by being put beside the marriage of the Princess *Catherine*; the Prince of Conti reckoned not the insufficiency which was believed of him, to be to his disadvantage, but rather thought the Spaniards would like him the better, to the end that the Infanta remaining without issue, there might some hope continue of uniting the Crowns; and finally also, it was pretended

pretended to by the Duke of Montpensier, a Prince valiant in War, of a most ready Wit, handsome Person, and graceful Behavior : So that the Infanta's election perchance was better thought on among the Kings party, then among those of the League. But particular men, who had not these pretensions, and were onely moved by two respects, That of their own profit, and that of Religion, exclaimed openly, That the Kings stubbornness gave to the Spanish cunning and boldness opportunity of breaking out ; that now at last all the Kings excuses and delays were come to an end ; that even he himself had no longer the heart to alledge any reason, nor propose any excuse ; that it was evident he was bewitched with the subtilties of the Ministers, and fast tied to the Doctrine of his Arch-Hereticks ; that it was fit now at last to think of their Souls, of their Religion, of the safety of themselves and their Children, and not be made instruments to send themselves, and all their posterity to the Devil ; that they should even let him and his desperate Hugonots go to perdition alone, and not carry the whole Kingdom with him for company.

Next after respect of Religion, particular interests immediately succeeded ; every one detested the toil and burden of War, every one had compassion upon himself, upon the sufferings of his own Family, the ruine of his domestick affairs, and the continued expences, that found no end ; every one sighed, every one longed for the repose and quietness of Peace ; and among all the rest, Monsieur d' O, weary of being Treasurer without Money, Bellegarde, St. Luc, Termes, Saney, Gyllon, and all the old Servants of Henry the Third, bewailed themselves, and their ill Fortune, which instead of a King of Gold whom they were wont to have, had given them now a King of Iron ; for the late King poured forth Gold plentifully to the benefit of his Servants, whereas the present King in the narrowness of his Fortune, being no less thrifty in his minde and nature, propounded nothing for reward or recompence, but wars, sieges, skirmishes, and battels : They said, they could no longer sustain the intolerable toils of War, and to live incased between a Back and Brest of Iron, as Tortoises are in their shells ; that they could not abide a King accustomed after the Hugonot fashion, to run up and down day and night, to live by rapine upon what they could finde in the miserable

The Royallists excluded from the hopes of reigning, and weary of their toils, make great complaints against the Kings obstinacy, saying, That whereas before they had a King of Gold, they had now a King of Iron.

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Cottages

1593

Cottages of poor Countrey people, to warm themselves at the flame of an house on fire, to have their horses their Chamber-fellows when they slept, or the stinking cattel of wretched Peasants; that War was ordinarily made for some time to attain peace and quietness: But now they served a Prince, who did not care to end the troubles of War, accounting volleys of shot, wounds, death, and battels, to be the onely delights. These complaints sometimes accompanied with railings and curfings, sometimes spoken among Proverbs, and in *raillerie*, after the French manner, were so publick, that they came to the Kings ears, which were continually filled by the serious advertisements of the Count *de Schombergh*, and the High-Chancellor, to whom was added *Jaques Davy* *Sieur du Perron*, who while he negotiated the Cardinal of Bourbons affairs, had by disputing converted the Baron *de Salignac*, one of the Kings Bed-chamber, whom he long had favored, and by his means had got himself in to converse with the King at idle-times in his most private Lodgings; where sometimes with serious Learned Disputes, sometimes with Eloquent Discourses, sometimes with Elegant Poetry (in which he was very excellent) sometimes with witty, merry talking, had gotten so much favor, that from pleasing entertainments, he was begun to be admitted also to the handling of more weighty matters. This man seeing the way to his own greatness, was much more easie by the Kings Conversion, then in the Cardinal of Bourbons Exaltation, set himself to procure it by most vigilant means, and with all possible endeavors, making use of the present conjuncture, with admirable wariness and discretion.

All these things (but particularly the necessity) which were very well known to the King, at last moved him so, that to begin with some security to declare himself, he gave order to the Count *de Schombergh*, and Secretary *Revol* (who were come to him, to know what they should finally propose in the Congregation at Surenne) that they should sound the mindes of the Catholicks of the League, to finde how they were like to relish and receive his Conversion, if he should truly determine to return unto the Church; which business having been consulted of among his Deputies, they resolved to make overture of it, by demonstrating to them of the *Union*, that the King would observe his promises within a few days; where-

The King persuaded by those he trusted in, and by necessary causes a Proposition to be made in the Conference at Surenne, to finde how his Conversion would be relished, if he should resolve to turn.

wherefore being met at their wonted Conference (in which they had till then contended with great difference, and without concluding any thing to the purpose) the Arch-Bishop of Bourges told them, he brought them good news, and such as would rejoyce every true French heart, which was, that the King touched by Gods inspiration, would within a few dayes comfort all his Subjects, by turning to the Catholick Faith, and reconciling himself to the Church, and that therefore, as they were certain this news would be acceptable to them all, so they prayed them to see what wayes might be taken to favour and promote that Conversion, or to guide it in such manner, that it might bring forth the general peace and quiet. All the Deputies of the League remain'd in suspense at this proposition; but the Arch-Bishop of Lyons, lest that doubtfulness of minde should be discovered, answered readily, that he believed his fellow Deputies would give him leave to say, they rejoyced at the King of Navar's conversion, that they were very glad of it, and that they prayed to God it were true and real; and for the rest he demanded time to consult with them in private, which having done for many hours, because their opinions differed, they at last answered, that (as they had said before) they rejoyced at his conversion, which though it should come to pass, it belonged not to them to know and declare whether it were good and sincere or no; that that was a business which concerned the Apostolick Sea, and the Popes judgement, wherefore they could not so much as think of any thing depending upon that Conversion; the censure whereof was not under their power and authority; and though they persisted in this opinion, yet the Kings Deputies would needs present a writing to them, which contained three points; One an offer of the Kings Conversion; another that in the mean time while that came to pass, the means of securing Religion, and concluding Peace might be treated of; and the third, that while these things were doing, a general cessation of arms might be concluded through the whole Kingdom. The Deputies could not refuse to accept this writing, which being by them brought to be discussed by the Duke of Mayenne and the States, the debates were very long and various; for as the Royalists endeavoured to discover the intentions of the Confederates, so they would not declare what they would do if the King should publicly return unto the Church.

1593

The Arch-Bishop of Bourges tells them in the Conference, that the King inspired by God would turn to the Catholick Religion.

The Deputies of the League answer the Archbishop of Bourges his proposition.

The Kings Deputies present a writing to those of the League which is accepted.

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But

1593

The Spaniards
fearing the
propositions
of the Royal-
ists, offer that
their King
should give the
Infanta in
marriage to
one of the
Princes of the
House of Lo-
raine.

But this Proposition made by the Kings party wrought such a jealousie in the Spanish Ambassadors, that with their utmost spirits they pressed for a resolution to their desire, for the facilitating whereof they were fain to offer that the Catholick King should be content the *Infanta* should marry one of the Princes of the House of Loraine; but this proposition also raised many doubts, because there was no certainty, the *Infanta* being once elected and declared, that either she, or the King her Father would observe that promise, to which any private man can hardly be obliged, much less a Queen or Princess; and again because if that first Husband should dye, she might perhaps take another, either of the House of Austria, or a Spaniard, or of some other Nation; likewise, because she having no children by this marriage, the King of Spain would afterwards pretend right to the Crown; but much more then all the rest, because the Duke of Mayenne saw himself and his posterity excluded from that advantage, whereupon not only this business was protracted without coming to any resolution, but it was determined in the States, that there should be a very moderate answer made to the writing presented by those of the Kings party in the Conference, without untying or breaking off the thread of that Treaty; wherefore both parties being met at *la Roquette*, a house in the field without the *Porte S. Anthoine*, the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* said, that as concerning the Kings Conversion, they wished it might be real and unfained, but that not only they could not hope it was so, but on the contrary, they had great cause to believe it was not without dissimulation; for if it had proceeded from sincerity, so many delays and puttings off would not have been sought, and if he were touched with any inspiration, he would not remain in his Heresie, and in the publick exercise of it, he would not cherish and keep about him the principal Ministers that taught it, nor would he still leave the chief Offices of the Kingdom in their hands; and yet because it appertain'd not to them to approve or reprove that Conversion, they left the Judgement thereof unto the Pope, who alone had authority to determine it; as for the Treaty of Peace, and security of Religion, they could not treat thereof for the present, for many considerations, lest they should treat with the King of Navar who was without the Church, and lest they should give a beginning to the acknowledgment of him, or anticipate the

the Pope's judgement. Then for the point of Cessation, they would give answer to that when satisfaction was given to the two first Articles. Thus neither assenting, nor very much dissenting, they held the matter in suspense till the Duke of Mayenne saw whether the business begun with the Spaniards was like to tend.

But the Cardinal-Legat being wonderfully solicitous, not only because the Spanish negotiation went on difficultly, but much more because he saw mens minds inclined to the Cessation, out of the hope they had conceived of the Kings conversion, and the desire of quiet, used his utmost power to hinder it; and faining himself not well, wrote a Letter to Cardinal Pellevé upon the thirteenth day of June, praying him to go to the States, and in his name to make them a grave Remonstrance of the danger and damage that depended upon the Conference of *Surenne*, and advertise them that not only they could not treat concerning the conversion of the *Navarrois*, but not so much as about Peace, a Cessation of arms, or any other business with him, as well by reason of the Decrees of the sacred Canons, and the Declarations of the Apostolick See, as also of the Oath they had taken, never to assent to, or make an agreement with the Heretick: Which things were set forth in the Letter with great vehemence of words, protesting in the end, that if they should continue to treat of Peace, or a Cessation, he would depart from the City, and from the Kingdom, that he might neither assent to so great an evil, nor disobey the Commissions he had from the Pope. This Letter first read by the Cardinal in the States, and afterward published in print to the knowledge of every one, did something bridle mens mindes, who were running on eagerly toward a cessation of arms.

In the mean time the King knowing how much harm the want of reputation, and the weakness of their Forces did unto the Spaniards, and not being willing to run into the same error, resolved to set himself upon some notable enterprise not far off, with the noise and fame whereof he might increase his reputation, and foment those affairs that were transacting in favour of him: wherefore, having drawn his whole Army together, with great diligence he commanded out all the neighbouring Garrisons, and made plentiful provision of Cannon, Ammunition, Pioneers, and other things proper for a secure resolute

1593

The Card. Legat writes to Card. Pellevé to make protestation in his name unto the States, that they can neither treat of the Kings conversion, peace, nor any thing else, because of the Decree of the Canons and the oath the Deputies had taken.

1593

The King to
give reputati-
on to his par-
ty, besiegeth
Dreux.

The defend-
ants quit the
Town, and ha-
ving fired ma-
ny houses to
gain time to
save them-
selves, retire
into the Castle

resolute designe upon the seventh of June he had laid siege to *Dreux*, a Town but sixteen leagues from Paris, which for its situation, fortification, and the quality of the defendants was accounted very strong. The Suburbs of the Town were valiantly taken the first day, they within who before thought to defend them being beaten back in all places; but when they had lost all hope of making them good, they endeavoured to have burnt them down: The whole Army being quartered with great celerity, they began the next day to throw up four Trenches, which were hastened with so much diligence by the Baron de Biron, and the Sieur de Montlouet, one of the Field-Marsals, that upon the thirteenth day all four of them were brought into the Moat; nor with less diligence were four Batteries planted; one of four pieces of Cannon against the great Bulwark, toward the *Porte de Chastres*, another of six against the *Porte de Paris*, the third of three against the curtain toward the great Church, and the fourth of five Pieces in the *Fauxbourg St Jehan*, which battered a great Tower that stood on that side. The King hastened and encouraged the Works in all places with his presence; wherefore scarce was the *Orillon* of the great Bulwark beaten down, when two Colonels drew near to view the place, which being by order taken by the Army for the beginning of the assault, all the several Nations ran furiously to it, striving in emulation who should be first to give the onset. Whereupon the besieged over-matched by the number and resolution of the assailants, forsook the *Orillon*, in which a Regiment of French lodged and fortified themselves the same evening. The next day all the Batteries continued playing upon the wall, and the breaches being already made, and the Army ready to fall on in four several places, the defendants took a resolution to quit the Town, and retire into the Castle, which while they were doing in disorder, they were overtaken by the Army, which at the same time entered furiously, and were constrained to fire some houses of the Town, that they might gain time enough to retire. But the fire having done very much harm, and burnt down many buildings on all sides, at last by the Kings command it was quenched by the Swissers, who remained last in the battalia near his Person. So upon the eighteenth day, the Town remained in the King's power: and with the same eagerness they began to besiege the Castle; within

within the Out-line whereof, without the circuit of the Walls, there being a great deal of Cattel, many of the Townsmen, and also many Countrey-men who were got in thither; the Baron *de Biron* caused a Petard to be fastned the same night unto the Gate, and with a great slaughter of the Enemies, but not without the Blood of his Soldiers, whereof he lost above an hundred, made himself Master of that Out-line, with all the spoil. But the taking of the Castle, by reason of its situation and strength, proved very difficult, and a very great number of men were slain, till the Count *de Torigny* making them work, notwithstanding any danger whatsoever, had perfected a great Trench, under the favor whereof, the Batteries were planted; which while the King, a despiser of all danger, was carefully overseeing, two Colonels were killed close by him, and the Duke of Montpensier sore hurt with a shot in the chin, which grazing upon his jaw, wounded him also in the shoulder. Over against the Kings Batteries there stood a Tower of an ancient form, and of so perfect a structure, that the Cannon-shot which were made at it did very little harm. Wherefore an English Engineer, considering the great waste of powder that was spent with very little or no fruit, took a resolution to try another means, and having under shelter of certain double Planks lined with Plates of Iron got unto the foot of the Tower, he caused three great holes like Ovens to be digged under it, and putting a Barrel of Powder in each, gave fire to them; which though it wrought a much less effect then a Mine uses to do, yet it threw down part of the Tower, and made such a breach, that the Artillery did better service in battering the rest: Nevertheless the besieged were not dismayed at it, but with valiant constancy continued for some days to make resistance. But so diligent and eager was the oppugnation without, that at last, after many experiments, and many assaults, the defendants, who besides their not having any Commander of Authority to govern them, saw also, notwithstanding the nearness of Paris, that no relief appeared from any place, resolved out of extream necessity to yield themselves, and delivered up the Castle into the Kings hands upon the Eighth of July.

The noise of the Kings victory dismayed the Deputies in Paris, who in this interim had labored no less in their Negotiations, then they at Dreux had done in matters of War; for

1593

The Spanish Ambassadors promise in their Kings behalf, to give the Infanta in marriage to the Duke of Guise, as soon as she should be chosen Queen; which troubles the Duke of Mayenne.

The Sieur de Bassompierre, Ambassador for the Duke of Lorain, demands to have that treaty suspended till his Master were advertised of it.

for the Spanish Ambassadors being resolved to make the utmost trial, met with the principal of them again in Council, and told them, that to take away all obstacles that might hinder the Infanta's Election, the Catholick King would be content, as soon as she was chosen, to marry her to the Duke of Guise, which though it stung the Duke of Mayenne to the quick, yet being taken unawares, and finding no other remedy so upon the sudden, answered, That he returned most humble thanks to his Catholick Majesty for the so great honor he vouchsafed to do his Nephew, but he desired to see the Ambassadors Commission, and to know whether that condition were expressed in it; for by how much the greater and more desirable the favor was, so much the more warily was it fit to proceed in believing and embracing it. The Duke of Mayenne thought verily that the Ambassadors had not that power from the Catholick King, but that they propounded it of themselves, being drawn by the necessity of affairs: But he presently perceived the contrary; for they taking their Commission, shewed an Article, wherein by way of interchange, was contained the election of the Infanta, with expresse condition that she should be married to the Duke of Guise. The Duke of Mayenne was astonished, not knowing any way to untie that knot, nor could he dissemble so well, but that they all perceived the alteration of his countenance: But the Sieur de Bassompierre, Ambassador for the Duke of Lorain, relieved him, who said, that a thing of so great importance ought not to be concluded without making his Master acquainted with it, who as he had been principally interested in the expences and troubles of the War, so was it fit nothing should be concluded without having first his opinion and consent; and here, to give the Duke of Mayenne leisure to think, he enlarged himself in a long discourse of what the Duke of Lorain had done in favor of the League, and of the esteem that was fit to be had of his Authority. The Spaniards, when he had made an end of speaking, answered, that they assented the Duke of Lorain should be informed of all that passed, who they were certain would be well pleased with the honor done unto his Family. In the mean time, the Duke of Mayenne having recollected himself, after he had again thanked the Catholick King and the Ambassadors, said, That he accepted the offer; but as it was not convenient for the Catholick Kings reputation

tation, that the Infanta should be elected, without having first certain means to establish her: So neither was it fit to hazard the State of his Nephew, and of the whole Family, without those conditions, which being acceptable in general, and necessary for the present affairs, were sufficient to maintain and secure him for the future: For that end he demanded time to consult, and to propose those conditions wherewith the design was to be effected. With this delay they parted, the Cardinal Legat and the Ambassadors remaining extremely contented, and as it were assured, that they had steered that Negotiation into the desired Haven.

But the Duke of Mayenne intent by all means to disturb it, began to work upon his Nephew, telling him, he doubted the Spaniards had propounded him, not to effect the business, but to deceive him; he not being able to persuade himself, that they should have labored and done so much to bring the Infanta to the Crown, and should after be content to subject her to an Husband, who being a Frenchman, and encompassed with his own party, might govern her, and be King indeed, while she should only be Queen in title: That no profit, nor advantage of any kinde whatsoever would redound thereby to King Philip and his Kingdom; for if his desire were only to marry his Daughter to a King of France, he might easily compass that with whosoever should possess the Crown, whether he were friend or enemy; but if he aspired to unite the Crowns, this was not the way to do it, and therefore he could not see what advantage could thereby result unto the Spanish Monarchy: Wherefore it was good to think and provide against the deceit that might lie hidden under it: That to elect the Infanta now, and reserve themselves afterward to marry her within a certain time, was to refer it to her choice, either to take or refuse him; and that it was necessary to finde some conditions to secure the Match: But moreover, though the King of Spain should proceed sincerely in that business, it was good to consider (without letting ones self be deceived by passion) what means there were to establish themselves in the Kingdom: That there was no doubt, but the Duke of Lorain, who had hoped to have the Kingdom for himself, or that the Infanta should marry the Cardinal his Son, would be disgusted at it, and withdraw his assistance; which, how much hurt it would do, might easily be comprehended, by rea-

The Duke of Mayenne desirous to disturb the Proposition of the Spaniards, puts many difficulties into the Duke of Guise his consideration;

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1593

son of the opportuneness of his State, through which all the supplies passed that came out of Germany to both parties, that it might be doubted the Duke of Savoy would do the same, who had till now upheld the War in Provence and Dauphine; for being deprived of the hopes he had already conceived of obtaining the Kingdom, or at least some province of it, he would no longer submit himself and his States to the dangers and calamities of War; that the Duke of Nemours was already almost wholly averse from them, and onely the respect he bore to an elder Brother yet held him, which if it were taken away, he doubted not but he would do his own business himself; that the same was to be feared of the Duke of Mercœur, as soon as he should lose the hopes of obtaining Bretagne: Wherefore the forces of the League being diminished in that manner, it was good to think how they should be able to oppose the Kings power, which they could hardly resist now they were all united; that the King of Spain had his hands full with the War of Flanders, and the commotions of Aragon; that his Kingdoms were exhausted, and that he was indebted Two Millions to the Genoueses; that he had no good Commander in Chief, and therefore it was to be doubted he could not perform all he promised; and in conclusion, that this was a * Rubicon which could never be sufficiently thought upon before it was past over.

* Rubicon, the name of a River in Italy which Julius Cæsar passed in the beginning of his expedition against Pompey, whence, To pass the Rubicon, is become a phrase for to enter into a dangerous exploit.

The Duke of Guise, though inwardly of another mind, answers, that he will not digress from his Uncles Counsaile.

To these considerations, the Duke of Guise answered moderately, making shew that he would not digress from his opinion; but in his minde he thought otherwise; whereof his treatise, and manner of proceeding, the concourse of his adherents, the meetings that were made in his house and his Mothers, gave manifest conjecture; wherefore the Duke of Mayenne, not trusting absolutely to him, thought as a second means to propose such high conditions as might terrifie the Spaniards; which were, That the Duke of Guise should be elected King at the same time when the Infanta should be chosen Queen; that the election should be kept secret till the marriage were consummate; to which effect, the States should give authority to the Duke of Mayenne to declare it when it should be time, that in case the Infanta should die first, the Duke of Guise should remain King alone, and govern the Kingdom by himself; that if she were left a widow, she should be obliged to take a Husband of the House of Lorain, with

with the Counsel of the Princes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown; that if she had no issue, the eldest of the Duke of Guise's brothers should succeed, and so the first-born of the Family successively from male to male; that only Frenchmen should be admitted to Offices, Places, Dignities, Benefices, Governments of Provinces, Cities, Castles, and Fortresses of the Kingdom; that the command of the Militia together with authority of Lieutenant-General should be left unto the Duke of Mayenne; that the government of the Provinces of *Bourgogne*, *Champagne*, and *Brie* should be given to him, and his heirs for ever, with power to dispose of the Governments, Offices, and Benefices of them all; that two hundred thousand Crowns should be paid to him in present, and six hundred thousand more within a certain time, for which fit security should be given him; that the debts should be paid which he had run into upon occasion of the present war; that one hundred thousand Crowns Revenue should be assign'd to him for himself and his posterity, as also the principality of *Jainville*, and the Cities of *Vitry* and *St Disier*; and after many other lesser demands, that all the presentations and nominations he had made of Churches, Benefices, Governments, Donatives, Places and Favours bestowed by him as Lieutenant of the Crown should remain valid, as likewise all those he should make or grant, till the consummation of the Marriage and the establishment of the King and Queen.

But these conditions though they were high and difficult, did no way startle the Spaniards, who already were resolv'd to satisfy him, provided they might attain to the *Infanta's* election, being certain they should finde a thousand occasions, and a thousand excuses afterwards, to observe onely what they should think convenient, and being also willing that the Duke of Mayenne should be reasonably requir'd; but he seeing he was excluded from the reward of his labours, and that they thought of giving the Kingdom to others, and not to him and his posterity, though the foundation of all things consisted in his person and endeavours, and finding that the conditions propounded were neither sufficient to divert the resolution of the Spaniards, nor the inclination, or rather the will and desire of his Nephew, resolv'd to set other engines awork, to interrupt the course of those proceedings;

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1593

The Duke of Mayenne fain- ing to be glad, but desiring indeed to hinder the Duke of Guise's greatness, asks exorbitant conditions of the Spaniards.

The Duke of Mayene seeing himself excluded from the Crown, begins a Treaty to bring in the Cardinal of Bourbon,

wherefore having still though but luke-warmly) kept the Cardinal of *Bourbon* in good hopes, he now prosecuted that business with so much heat, that it was brought in a manner to a conclusion. He demonstrated to every one of the Deputies apart, how odious a thing it was to break the *Salique Law*, how difficult to exclude the House of *Bourbon* from the Crown, whose succession they had confirmed when they declared the late Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, by the name of *Charles* the tenth; how dissonant it would be to mens ears, and how unpleasing to mens minds, to hear, treaties were held to introduce the succession of Women, and the assumption of new Families to the Crown, while there were so many Princes in the Royal Family, among which one might be chosen to the general satisfaction; that though the King of *Navar* was obstinate in Heresie, the Prince of *Comy* insufficient for Government, the Count *de Soissons* lost in the love of the Princess *Catherine*, who was no less an Hugonot than her Brother; yet was there the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who had alwayes with his own danger undauntedly opposed the increase of Heresie; that he was a Cardinal, and had ever been obedient to the Church, so that he could neither be excluded by the Pope, nor by the King of Spain; that he was in his manly age, so that he would be a King without a Guardian, and one able to uphold the Government of the Kingdom himself: that no great trust was to be had to the Spaniards, who had failed so much both in publick and in private; that the Ambassadors who promised such mountains of gold, lived themselves very mechanically, and without that decency that befitted the Majesty of their King, and the greatness of those offers they made; that he himself had very great sums due to him, and yet could not get so much as a *denier* from them; that they had seen the gallant exploits Count *Charles* his Army had done; that they had so much to do in *Flanders*, they would have no leisure to minde other mens businesses; that on the other side the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s election would of it self destroy and conquer the King of *Navar*; for there was no doubt but all the Catholicks of that party would follow the Cardinal, and the *Navarrois* would be left alone with the desperate dependence of the Hugonots, whereby the French Forces alone would be able to subdue Heresie, and establish a Catholick King, and a true French-man, without having

having further need of forreign Supplies; that it was needfull to remember the Bishop of *Senlis* his words, and not confirm men in a belief, that whatsoever was past had been done out of interest and ambition, but that it was necessary to shew the world, that the sole respect of Religion had put arms into their hands.

These reasons seconded by his authority, wrought a wonderfull impression in the mindes of the French, of themselves inclined to observe the *Salique Law*, and to reverence the Royal Family; wherefore the Duke seeing he had drawn the major part of the Deputies to his opinion, dispatched the Admiral *de Villars* with a Writing of Articles with his own hand, to confer with the Cardinal of Bourbon, who was at *Gallion*, a house of the Arch-Bishop of *Roüen's*; but he was no sooner gone, when he sent one post after him, to give him order not to make too much haste; for President *Jeannin*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, together with Madam *de Montpensier* had put him in mind of another sufficient means to divert the Spanish designes, without running so hastily to the election of one that was his enemy, who also by the weakness of his understanding, and lightness of his nature, would not be very fit to govern in times of so great distraction; and that he endangered the dividing of his party; for it was very probable the Duke of *Guise* and his adherents, upheld by the Spaniards, would not approve that election; in which case his third party would be the weakest of them all. The remedy they propounded was that of the Parliament, whose authority they thought sufficient to hinder the business in agitation: wherefore Madam *de Montpensier* having excited the first President *le Maistre* to think of some means that the Crown might not fall into the hands of Strangers; he, as a man of good intentions, and who had followed the League for no other end but the Catholick Religion, set himself boldly to the enterprise, and after the managing of it many dayes, assembled all the *Chambers* of the Parliament, and with full consent of all caused a Decree to be made of this tenour following:

The Duke of Mayenne to hinder the Spanish design, gets the Parliament of Paris to make a Decree, that the Crown should not be transferred upon strangers, and to give order to him to hinder all such like treanies.

UPon the Propositions already made to the Court of Parliament by the *Procureur General*, and the business taken into deliberation in the meeting of the Counsellours of all the severall Courts, the said Parliament not having (as it never

1593

ver formerly had) any other intention than to maintain the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, and the State and Crown of France under the protection of a most Christian Catholick French King, hath ordered, and doth order, that this day after dinner President *la Maistre* accompanied by a good number of the Counsellors of this Parliament, shall make remonstrance to my Lord the Duke of *Mayenne* Lieutenant General of the State and Crown of France, in presence of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, who at this present are in this City, that no treaty ought to be held for the transferring of the Crown into the hands of forreign Princes or Princeesses; that the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom ought to be observed, and the Decrees made by the Parliament about the declaring a Catholick and French King executed; that the said Duke of *Mayenne* ought to use the authority that hath been given him, to hinder the Crown from being (under pretence of Religion) transferred into the hands of Strangers, against the Laws of the Kingdom: Moreover, that he ought to provide as soon as may be for the repose of the people, by reason of the extreme necessity to which they are reduced, and in the mean time the said Parliament hath declared and doth declare, all treaties held, or that shall be held for the future, about the establishment of any forreign Prince or Princeess whatsoever, invalid, and of no force or effect, as being in prejudice of the *Salique Law*, and the other fundamental Laws of this Kingdom.

This intimation or remonstrance being made in publick by the President unto the Duke of *Mayenne*, though he made shew to resent it, and with grave words reprehended the boldness of the Parliament; yet it bridled the Spanish treaty very much; for the Assembly of the States (which more then any other body ought to have resented this decree of Parliament as made in prejudice of their authority) shewed on the contrary that they were not displeased at it, and being possessed by the Duke of *Mayenne's* agents, abhorred the attempt of the Spaniards, and inclined to a truce, concerning which they treated now more hotly then ever in the Conference at *Surrenne*. Much greater was the inclination of the Parisians, who tired out with their necessities, and seeing no neerer way to their redress then the conclusion of a truce, the sweetness whereof they had begun to taste in that little cessation of arms that

that had been in those quarters, impatiently desired an accommodation, and raging, threatned the Princes and the Assembly, unless they took a speedy resolution; and being perswaded that the Spaniards would not suffer their army to come and help the necessities of the City by opening the passes, onely because their aim was to curb them, and keep them down, whensoever the Ambassadors went abroad in publick, they were followed with ill language and cries of derision.

The Spanish Ambassadors going through the streets of Paris, are mocked and abused with ill language.

The Kings seasonable resolution absolutely turned the scale of affairs; for he knowing all things that were in agitation, doubted with reason, that if the League should elect the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Catholicks that followed him, would all be like to forsake him, whereof there appeared such manifest signs, and such open murmurings were heard, that it was not at all to be doubted; for the things alledged by those of the *Union* in the Conference at Surenne, had made impression in mens mindes; and not onely the Princes and Lords, but generally all private men grieved and detested to spend their lives and fortunes for the establishment of Heresie, which formerly they were wont to fight against and persecute; and even in the Kings own lodgings there were heard continually the voices of them that cursed their own blindness, and exhorted one another mutually to change their resolutions, showing that since so many promises made to them had been broken, they were obliged to take a course for the maintenance of Religion and their common safety; that it was now no longer time to shed their blood for a Prince obstinate in Heresie, and who abusing their credulity so long, had fed them vainly with words; that it was high time to take notice how by fighting madly, Catholick against Catholick, they did nothing else but prepare the Kingdom, either for the Spaniards or the Hugonots, equally their enemies; that there had been enough done to maintain the lawful Successor of the Crown, but he shewed himself ungrateful for so great services, and obstinate in his error; that he was no longer to be followed in his perdition; but it was fit (reuniting the consciences of the Catholicks) to establish a King who should acknowledge the gift he received from the good will of his Subjects; that there were already so many Princes and Lords, so many Knights and Gentlemen, and so many valiant Soldiers slain in that cause,

cause, that the Kingdom was thereby all wounded, bloodless, and dying, and if some remedy were not applied, they were near sacrificing the very Carcass of France to the wickedness of the Hugonots, and to the pride of the Spaniards.

The Princes of the Blood after many Consultations, were much more-resolute, and the Duke of Montpensier who lay in Bed by reason of his hurt, told the King when he came to visit him, that all the Princes were ready to forsake him, and that he himself in the condition he then was, though he did it with grief of heart, would not yet be the last to save his Soul, and satisfy his Conscience. Lastly, the Count of Schomberg, being advertised by Monsieur *de Villeroy*, told him, the Admiral *Villars* was already upon his way, carrying Articles to the Cardinal of Bourbon, that within a few days he should hear, he, and all the rest of the Princes would be at Paris; that God had given him the victory, and expected the fruit thereof, that having taken Dreux with so much honor in the very face of his enemies, he might now turn unto God, and to the Church, and none could believe he did it perforce. The same did Secretary *Revol* confirm, the same *Villeroy* himself wrote unto him from Pontoise, shewing him, that he could not avoid one of two things, either that the Cardinal of Bourbon being elected King would deprive him of the adherence of his Catholicks; or that the Infanta being chosen with the Duke of Guise, all the strength of the King of Spain would be poured out, and come like a torrent upon him.

The King moved by these considerations, or else interpreting the so urgent conjuncture of affairs, to be as it were a divine inspiration, and thinking himself called by some heavenly and more then humane power, determined to turn Catholick, and sent Messengers with speed on all sides, to call Prelates and Divines to assist and instruct him in his conversion. Among these, he invited some of the Preachers of Paris, whereof some refused to go, and some few, among which was the Curate of St. Eustache (though the Legat advised and commanded otherwise) would yet be present at so solemn an action. All these being met together at Mante, the King having received sufficient instruction in matter of the Articles of Religion that were in controversy, seemed to clear

The King sends for Prelates and Divines from several places, and being instructed at Mante, publishes, that he will go to Mass at St. Denis, upon the Five and twentieth of July.

up his minde, and visibly to apprehend the Hand of God, which recalling him from his Errors, brought him back into the bosom of the Church, and made it be noised abroad, that upon the Five and twentieth of July he would go to Mass at St. Denis.

1593

This news his Deputies brought to the Conference of Surrenne, where the Archbishop of Bourges recapitulating all things past, concluded, That the King had caused the Marquess of Pisany to be sent to Rome, to finde means that his Conversion might be authoris'd by the Pope; but since he had not been received, he would no longer defer nor put off his own Salvation, but would reconcile himself to the Church, that afterwards he might send to render due obedience to the Pope, by a solemn conspicuous Embassie; and that having consulted with the other Prelates and Divines, they had determined, That the King should make himself be absolved *ad futuram cautelam*, and go to Mass, that afterward he might demand the Popes Benediction; and that this for many reasons had been thought the nearest and most secure way, as well not to put the Crown in arbitrement to the discretion and declaration of strangers, as to finde a speedy remedy for the necessities of the Kingdom. The Archbishop of Lyons on the contrary disputed, that he could not be received without the Popes assent, nor absolved without his Declaration, and protested, that they would neither account him a Catholick nor acknowledge him King without order from the Pope, to whom absolutely, address was to be made, before coming to those Acts of Absolution.

The Archbishop of Bourges tells them in the Conference at Surrenne, that the King is resolved to reconcile himself to the Church.

But the report of this Conversion being spread abroad among the people, there was no curb could bridle men from rejoycing, nor their tongues from divulging and arguing, that upon it depended the Pacification of the Kingdom; so that the Cardinal Legat in great perplexity of minde, published a writing to the Catholicks of France upon the Thirteenth of July, wherein he advertised them of the perverse Authority which some Prelates arrogated to themselves of absolving the King of Navar from Censures, and exhorted them not to believe that false Conversion, and the perverse way that was taken about it: And lastly, forbad all men to go to those Conventicles, with danger of incurring the Censure of Excommunication, and of being deprived of those Ecclesiastical

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Benefices

1593

The Duke of Guise tells the Spaniards, that his Election to be K. of France would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himself.

The Ceremonies used in the Act of the Kings Conversion upon St. James his day, Anno 1593. by the Archbishop of Bourges in the chief Church of St. Denis.

Benefices and Dignities they possessed. But it was all in vain; for all mens mindes were in motion, and the obstacle of Religion being removed, every one enclined to acknowledge the lawful Successor, and by that means to pacifie the Kingdom. From this general inclination the great Ones were not averse; who though they would not swerve from the Popes Judgment, and the Declaration of the Apostolick See, thought yet it was not fit to innovate any thing more, till they saw the effect of his Conversion, and the Popes intention; which opinion fomented by the Duke of Mayenne, and forced by the necessity of affairs, was imbraced even by the Duke of Guise himself, who in such a conjuncture, thought his election would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himself; which he himself, being accompanied by the Marshalls *de la Chastre* and *St. Paul*, gave the Spanish Ministers to understand.

In the mean time, half the City of Paris ran to the spectacle of this Conversion, even from the day before the Absolution, which was the Five and twentieth of July, being the Feast of the Apostle St. *James*; which day, the King cloathed all in white, but accompanied with the Princes, Lords, and the whole Court, with the Guards before them in Arms, went to the chief Church of St. *Denis*, the Gates whereof they found shut; at which the High Chancellor knocking, they were presently opened, and there appeared the Archbishop of Bourges sitting in his Chair in his Pontifical habit, and invironed with a great number of Prelates. He asked the King, Who he was, and what he would have? The King answered, That he was *Henry*, King of France and Navar, and that he demanded to be received into the Bosom of the Catholick Church. To which the Archbishop replying, asked, If he desired it from the bottom of his heart, and had truly repented him of his former Errors? At which words the King protesting upon his Knees, said, He was sorry for his former Error, which he abjured and detested, and would live and die a Catholick in the Apostolick Roman Church, which he would protect and defend, even with the hazard and danger of his very life. After which words having with a loud voice repeated the Profession of Faith, which was presented to him in writing,

ting, he was with infinite acclamations of the people, and incessant volleys of shot brought into the Church, and kneeling down before the high Altar, he repeated the prayers that were dictated to him by the Arch-Bishop, and thence having been admitted by him to secret Confession, he came to set under the *Daiz*, or cloth of State, and with general gladness and rejoycing was present at the solemn Masse celebrated by the Bishop of *Nantes*; after which, thow a wonderfull throng of people, and resounding cries of *Vive-le-Roy*, which ascended to the skies, He returned again to his Palace.

In this interim affairs having taken such a different impression, the States gave answer to the Duke of *Feria* and the other Spanish Ambassadors; who being brought into the Assembly, the Duke of Mayenne gravely gave thanks unto the Catholick King's Majesty, as well for the assistance of his past, and the promise of his future Supplies, as for the honour done unto his Family, in offering the *Infanta* in marriage to his Nephew the Duke of *Guise*; and in the end told them, that the Assembly having well considered all things, did not think the time seasonable to make any Election, but that they prayed his Catholick Majesty to stay for the ripeness of opportunity, and in the mean time not to fail them of his wonted protection and promised Supplies.

The Duke of Mayenne tells the Spanish Ambassadors in the name of all the States, that they had determined to defer the election of their future King till another time.

After this resolution, which dashed all the Spaniards, it was determined in the States, that they should follow the conclusion of the Truce: and though the Legat opposed it strongly, and protested oftentimes that he would be gone; yet being pacified by the reasons that were represented to him, and with the offer of causing the Council of *Trent* to be received in the States, he let himself be perswaded to continue in the City, being also uncertain whether his departure would be well taken at *Rome*. So in the Conference at *Su-remme* a general Truce was established thorow the whole Kingdom for the three next moneths, August, September, and October, and it was published with infinite joy among the people in all places; after which the Duke of Mayenne being desirous to dismiss the Assembly honourably, first caused a Decree to be made for the receiving the Council

The Truce is concluded and published for three months; the States are dismissed, and invited to meet at the same place in October following; having first made a Decree for the receiving the Council of *Trent*.

of Trent, and then assembling the States upon the eighth of August, he made them all swear to persevere in the Union; and not to depart from it; and having given order that they should meet again in the same place in the month of October following, to deliberate upon the state of affairs with those Instructions they should have from Rome; he at last dismissed them all, and the Deputies willingly departing, returned to their own houses.

The end of the Thirteenth Book.





THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
CIVILL WARRES
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The Fourteenth BOOK.

THE ARGUMENT.

THis Book contains the means used by the King to make his Conversion more fruitfull: the continuation of the Truce for the two other moneths, November, and December, at the end of which Meaux first of all submits to his obedience: The Sienr de la Chastre follows with the City of Bourges, and the Admiral Villars with Havre de Grace and Rouen: the Count de Brissac Governour of Paris makes a composition, and the King being receized into the City without tumult, drives out the Spanish Ambassadors and Garrison; the Cardinal-Legat departed also, and goes out of the Kingdom. Many other Cities follow the King's fortune; and finally the Duke of Nemours is imprisoned, and the City of Lyons surrenders it self: The Duke of Mayenne renews other conditions with the Spaniard to prosecute the War; he comes to parley with Ernest Arch-Duke of Austria Governour of the Low-Countries, and at last goes into Picardy with Count Charles of Mansfelt and the Army. The King besieges Laon; the Duke of Mayenne
and

The History of the Civill Warres

and the Spaniards attempt to relieve it, there follow many encounters, at last they retire, and the place is yeilded; The Sienr de Balagny goes over to the Kings obedience with the City of Cambray; he is likewise received into Amiens and other Towns in Piccardy. The Duke of Montpensier takes Honfleur. There happen divers encounters in Bretagne, Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné. The King being returned to Paris, is in his own Lodgings wounded in the mouth by a young merchant; he is taken, confesses the fact, and is executed for it, and the Jesuites are banished out of the Kingdom. The King publicly proclaims war against the King of Spain, and renews the negotiation at Rome, to obtain absolution from the Pope. The Mareschal de Biron is declared Governour of Bourgogne. He begins the war prosperously in that Province, takes Autun, Auxerre, and at last Dijon, and besieges the Castles of it. The Sienr de Tremblecourt and d' Ossonville enter to infect the County of Bourgogne (which is subject to the Crown of Spain) and take some places there. The Constable of Castille Governour of Milan, goes to relieve that Province; the King goes likewise to re-inforce those that were besieging the Castle of Dijon. They meet, and fight with wonderfull various fortune at Fountain Françoisé. The Constable retires beyond the river Soane; The King follows him, passes the River, and they fight again, without any great effect. The King returns to the siege of the Castles, which surrender themselves; he concludes a Truce with the Duke of Mayene that they might treat of an accommodation; and makes his entry into Lyons. The Pope resolves to give the King his benediction, the ceremony is solemnized with great joy at Rome; the news of it is brought to the Court, whither there likewise come good tidings from Dauphiné and Languedoc.



He Kings Conversion was certainly the most proper, and most powerful remedy that could be applied to the dangerous disease of the Kingdom; but the Truce so opportunely concluded, did also dispose the Matter, and gave due time for the working of so wholesome a Medicine; for the people on both sides, having begun to taste the liberty and benefits that resulted from concord, in a season, when Harvest and Vintage made them more sensible of the happiness, fell so in love with it, that it was afterward much more easie to draw them, without many scruples, or cautions, to a desire of peace, and a willing obedience of their lawful Prince. As soon as the Truce was begun, men presently fell to converse freely one with another, being not onely of the same Nation, and same Blood, but many of them straitly conjoynd, either by friendship or kinred; in such sort, that discords and hatreds being driven away, or indeed those factions and interests that had kept them so long divided, every one rejoyced to reunite himself with his friends, and again to take up their former love, and interrupted familiarity; and with mutual helps, and assistances to redress those necessities, and calamities, which the length of War had produced. And there being frequent, kinde meetings among all persons, every one related his past sufferings, detested the occasions of such wicked discords, inveighed against the Authors of such pernicious evils, praising and magnifying the benefits that followed Peace and Concord; in which meetings and discourses, the Kings Cause being much more favorable, (by reason of the manifest rights he had to the succession of the Crown, and because scruple of Conscience was in great part taken away by his Conversion) those things that were spoken in his favor, began already to be popularly embraced, and mens mindes enclined to yield themselves to his obedience, rather then continue so ruinous a Civil War, to satisfy the pretensions of the Duke of Mayenne, or the already manifest intentions of the Spaniards. They of the Kings party, talking and discoursing with those of the League, alledged the clemency and goodness of the Prince they served, the sincerity wherewith he had turned to the Catholick Faith, his familiarity, and affability to all his followers, his
valor,

1593

valor and courage in Arms, his prudence and sagacity in Government, his prosperous success in enterprises: And on the other side, asked those that were for the League, if they did not yet perceive the Ambition of the House of Lorain, and the subtilties of the Spaniards? Upbraided them, that they made War against the good true Frenchmen, in favor of the ancient enemies of the Nation, and that with their own bloods they fought to establish the Spanish Monarchy upon the ruines and desolations of France; they deplored so great a blindness, and prayed them, that recovering their wonted charity towards their Countrey, and taking compassion of themselves, they would take shelter under the benignity of that Prince, who stood with his arms open, ready to receive and content them.

These things made wonderful impressions in mens mindes, quite tired with the War, and beaten down with the calamities they had continually endured; and the King behaving himself with his utmost industry, graciously received, and filled with very large hopes, all those that came to speak with him; and under pretence of going to see their houses, and their friends, cunningly made his most trusty Counsellors disperse themselves into several places, laboring with great art to draw men in all places to his devotion. And because the Duke of Mayenne still kept practices on foot, either to conclude the peace, or prolong the Cessation; under this excuse the *Sieur de Sancy*, the Count of *Schombergh*, and *President de Thou* went to Paris, and staying there many days, endeavored both by wary managing the business, and by force of eloquence, to gain the King the most adherents they could possibly. The Archbishop of Bourges went to that City, under colour of visiting his Diocess, to treat with the *Sieur de la Chastre*, whom they had already discovered to be much scandalized with the Spaniards manner of proceeding. The High Chancellor went into the Territories of Orleans under pretence of over-seeing his own affairs. The first President of the Parliament of Rouen went thither, to introduce some treaty with the Admiral *Villers*; for which effect the King himself also hovered about those quarters. The *Sieur de Fleury* went to Pontoyse to treat with his Brother-in-law, the *Sieur de Villeroy*, and the Prelates that had had to do in the Kings Conversion, dispersed themselves into several places, to

to testifie the sincerity of his repentance, and to imprint those reasons by which they argued in justification of that authority whereby they had given him absolution. In this manner the King's businesses went on within the Kingdom, whilest *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, chosen Ambassadour to Rome, set himself in order to go with a gallant Train, to yeeld obedience in the King's name unto the Pope, and at his feet to desire the confirmation of matters already done. The King resolved to send along with him *Claude d' Angenes* Bishop of *Mans*, a man for his learning and experience known in the Court of Rome, *Jaques Davys* Sieur du Perron elected Bishop of *Eureux*, *Loüis Seguiere* Dean of Paris, and *Claude Gouin* Dean of *Beauvis*, both famous Canonists: but because the Duke of *Nevers* both by reason of the quality of his person, and in respect of his indipositions, could not make the journey with so much haste, the King dispatched the Sieur de *la Chielle* poste before, with Letters to the Pope full of humility and submission, wherein he gave him account of his Conversion, and of the Embassy he had appointed to ask his benediction, and render him due obedience. The King thought the Duke of *Nevers* very fit for that imployment, not onely as being a Prince exceedingly famed for wisdom, and a person full of honor and reputation; but also because, being an Italian, besides his readines of laugage to be able to negotiate without Interpreters, he had many dependencies among the Princes of Italy, and much interest with many of the Cardinals: and he added those four Prelats, that with Canonical and Theological reasons they might be able to represent and maintain what they themselves had done in his absolution: But he also thought good to send *la Chielle* before, as well to demonstrate his impatient desire to gain the Pope's favour, as because, being a crafty man, and of a deep reach, he hoped he might opportunely dispose the businessse before the Duke's arrival. Thus did the King set forward the course of Affairs.

Lodovico Gonzaga Duke of *Nevers* is chosen Ambassadour of obedience to the Pope from the King after his conversion, and four Prelates are appointed to accompany him.

But the ends were neither so certain, nor the means of handling them so resolute on the other side; for the interests of the Confederates being various, and often repugnant to one another, matters proceeded not in one and the same way. The Duke of *Mayenne* had given notice to the King's party, that he had embraced the Truce, to expect what should be re-

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1593

solved on at Rome, interposing no other difficulty but the Popes assent about the conclusion of the Peace: And therefore he continued to treat by the means of *Villeroy*, and President *Jeannin*, to whom he afterward added the *Sieur de Bassompier*, to shew, That in all things the Duke of Lorain was united with him, and by means of these, who eagerly negotiated the conditions of agreement, he promised he would send the Cardinal of Joyeuse, and the Baron *de Senecey* to Rome to intercede to the Pope, that approving the Kings Conversion, he would be contented that by acknowledging him, an end might be put to the Civil War; and setting this as a prime foundation, he treated nevertheless of securing the Catholick Religion, and of establishing the affairs of his own Family: But inwardly his thought was very different; for his hopes of attaining the Crown not being yet quite extinct, and attributing all sinister events to the malignity of the Spanish Ministers, and not to the intention of the Catholick King, he speedily dispatched his Wives Son the *Sieur de Montpezat*, with *Bellifaire*, one of his confiding Ministers, unto the Court of Spain to sound the minde of the King, and of his Council, and to labor to remove the jealousies which the false relations of the Duke of Feria, and *Diego d' Iwarra* had begot, and to desire that the Infanta being chosen Queen, might marry his eldest Son, and if the King consented to it, they should settle the conditions, and require such supplies as were necessary to bring the enterprize to a conclusion. For this end he had embraced the Truce, and desired it should continue to give time for the negotiating of this affair, and for those preparations that should be made in Spain.

The Duke of Mayene sends the *Sieur de Montpezat* into Spain, to treat with the Catholick King, that the Infanta being elected Queen of France, might be given in marriage to his eldest Son.

On the other side, the Spanish Ministers were more then ever fixt in their resolution, not to assent to his advancement; being certain, that when he should have attained his intention, he would be most ungrateful for the benefit received, and a most bitter enemy to their Monarchy: Whereupon they not onely continued to honor and favor the Duke of Guise, and to promise him the marriage of the Infanta; but the Duke of Feria, and *Diego d' Iwarra*, plotted how to transfer the Duke of Mayennes power upon him, and to suppress his Uncle by his means; and they went on so far (being drawn by hatred and disdain) that sometimes they thought of taking away his life; but that was contradicted not onely by *Juan Baptista Tassis*,

Tassis, and Inigo de Mendoza, men of more moderate minds, and who measured things more by reason then passion: but even the Duke of Guise himself was not inclined unto it, being a youth of a solid nature, and right intention; who on the one side abhorred to plot against his Uncle; and on the other, knew himself too weak both in reputation and forces to overcome the mature prudence of the Duke of Mayenne, and the well-grounded authority he had settled in his party. They that helped to keep the Duke of Guise's youthfull thoughts in the right way, were the Mareschals de la Chastre, Rosne, and St Paul, who had been long ago bred up by his Father; and both because they had been exalted by the Duke of Mayenne, and because they knew the arts of the Spaniards, dissuaded him from letting himself upon that precipice, offering to his consideration, that he had neither men, moneys, Cities, nor Commanders that depended upon him; that the Spaniards were reduced to extreme necessity for want of money, Count Charles his Army destroyed, the affairs of Flanders in an ill condition, and without a Head that was able to order matters of so great weight; that on the other side the Duke of Mayenne held all the Cities and Fortresses of the party in his own hands, that he had a long settled authority among the people, was highly esteemed for valour and prudence, that all the French Forces depended upon him, that the Duke of Lorain was joyned with him, that the Dukes of Anmale and Elbaens depended on his will, and the Parliament was united with him; so that to let himself be ingaged by the perswasions of Strangers, was nothing else but to expose his own fortune to a most certain ruin, to please two malignant Ministers, who sowed fire and flames, to satiate that hatred which without much reason they had conceived; which considerations added to the weakness and ill-carriage of the Spaniards, made such an impression in the Duke of Guise, that he began to be disgusted with them, accounting himself mocked in the marriage of the Infanta, and being incensed that they should go about to use his youth as an instrument to ruin his Family.

Among these, the Cardinal Legat, as he did not totally assent to what the Spanish Ministers plotted against the Duke of Mayenne; so was he displeased with him for having crossed the election of the Infanta, and of the Duke of Guise; in the invention whereof, he thought he had (to the exceeding

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1593

great glory of his wisdom) found means absolutely to gain unto himself the good will of the Catholick King, with the securing of Religion, and the exclusion and suppression of the King of Navar; which were the three principal points of his designs, and that he had also found a person of the Nation who was liked of by the people, which was the point whereupon he pressed the Pope's Commissions; and now seeing that thought frustrated, and the Truce purposely concluded with the contrary party, he was extremely vexed at it; wherefore still persisting and continuing to perswade the Confederates not to make any reflection upon the imaginary Conversion of the *Navarrois*, (so did he yet call him in contempt) he laboured to make an agreement amongst them, to the end that the States coming to meet again, they might perfect the establishment of the Royalty; for so they called the joynt election of the *Infanta* and the Duke of Guise to be King and Queen of France.

The Pope neither approves of the *Infanta's* election nor marriage, as things not feisable; but only seems to consent unto them not to disgust the Spaniards.

He strove likewise to imprint these opinions at Rome by frequent Letters, pen'd according to his desire; but the Pope, a man of mature prudence, suffered not himself to be absolutely perswaded by the Lagate's intelligence; but being advertised of every particular by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, neither approved the *Infanta's* election; nor her marriage with the Duke of Guise: but seeing the business of it self very difficult, and crossed by so many impediments, he judged it vain, and no way feisable; and therefore cared not to declare himself, seeming onely to give his consent, that he might not alienate the King of Spain from him, with whom he saw it necessary to hold a good correspondence, lest he should precipitate the affairs of Religion and the Church into some dangerous troubles. He could have been contented from the beginning, that one of the Princes of the House of *Bourbon*, that was truly a Catholick, should have been thought fit to be married to the *Infanta*, because by the election of a Prince of the Blood, all the Catholicks of France would have been elected, and had by many wayes given his Ministers notice of his intentions; and to such a Prince he could have been reunited in one body, and by the allyance with the Catholick King, his assistance would have been assured; so that neither the temporal state of the Kingdom would have been in danger of falling into the hands of Strangers, nor the spiritual

ritual of being oppressed by the Hugonots. For these very reasons he approved not the Duke of Guise's election, believing the Catholicks of the King's party would never be brought to acknowledge and obey him, whereby the Warr would become perpetual; and he was likewise of opinion, that King *Philip* would never give his Daughter to a weak, poor, and ill-grounded Prince, with almost a certain danger, that she should never be Queen, more then in name; besides, he perceived, this hated election would gain the King of *Navar* many adherents, and by this means turn more Cities to favour him in one day, then he would be able to take by force in his whole life time. One thing only kept him doubtfull in this thought, which was the unsuitness of those Princes that were nearest in blood; for the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was but a weak man, and very unhealthfull; the Prince of *Conty*, by reason of his natural defects unable to govern, and also (as it was said) to get children; the Count *de Soissons*, though of a good wit, and noble courage, was so drowned in the love of the Princess *Catherine* (the King's Sister, an obstinate Hugonot) that the Catholicks durst not confide in him, and the Duke of *Montpensier*, a youth of exceeding great worth, was more remote in the degrees of Royal Consanguinity; wherefore as soon as he knew that the King was disposed to return to the obedience of the Catholick Church, he began to incline towards him, thinking it the shortest way to settle the commotions, and remove the dangers of the Kingdom. But it was a business not to be resolved on without great deliberation, as well to be assured that his conversion was sincere, and that the heart of a Lion lay not hid under the skin of a Lamb, as because it was not known which way the French would receive that alteration; wherefore there was much to be thought on, both to be by all means possible made certain, that the King was a true sincere Catholick, and that the people would willingly submit themselves to his devotion; for if the King should but feign that conversion for interest of State, Religion would be thereby left in manifest danger; and if the people should not accept him, the Popes own reputation would be in no less danger, for having run to approve the conversion of a relapsed Heretic, more hastily then the common people; besides, the respect which by all means was to be born to the King of Spain (already

Pope *Clement* could have wished that some Catholick Prince of the House of *Bourbon* might be elected to the Crown, and that he should marry the Infanta; but when he heard the Kings intention to turn Catholick, he began to incline to him.

1593

(already possessed of the title of *Defender of the Catholick Faith, and Protector of the See of Rome*;) who very clearly shewed he had spent so much gold, and poured out so much blood of his armies to preserve Religion in the Kingdom of France, counselled that in a matter of high importance he should proceed with great dexterity, length of time, and with well weighed, and perfect maturity; being certain that King *Philip's* supplies had hindred the King from getting the total victory, whilst he was obstinately an Hugonot, and therefore to them was the reward and gratitude due for the Conformation of the *Gallique Church*, and great heed was to be taken not to to establish a fierce and powerfull enemy, who might afterward disturb him very much in the possession of his Kingdom.

Giacopo Sannesio a servant to the Family of *Aldobrandino*, favoured by *Clement* the eighth, was afterward enriched and elected Cardinal.

Arnaud d'Offat Agent at Rome for the Queen Dowager of *Henry* the third.

By these reasons the Pope was perswaded not to yield, nor assent at the very first, but to let himself be counselled by the event of things; and yet to begin his principal intention, he thought good to give some glimpse of hope to those who negotiated secretly at Rome for the King, whom they called King of Navar. The Pope favoured a principal servant of the Family of Cardinal *Pietro Aldobrandino*, named *Giacopo Sannesio*, a man obscurely born in a Castle of the Marches of *Ancona*, who had long served the Cardinal's father (as they said) for a companion of his studies, whilst he was employed in causes in the *Rota Romana*, and because he was exceeding faithfull, and not of too searching a nature, and therefore a man of very few words, the care of all his Domestick affairs lay upon him. This man was acquainted and sometimes held discourse with *Arnaud d'Offat*, a man born at *Anche* in *Gascogne*, of mean parentage, but of a most excellent wit, and most regular course of life, who having been brought to Rome by Monsieur de *Faux* Ambassadour from France, staid afterward behinde in the Family of Cardinal *d'Este*, and besides his singular learning, and eloquence, was by many years experience, exceeding well versed in the Court of Rome. He being a private man, and long time accustomed to be seen in the Court, was not observed by any body, and managing Spiritual busineses for the Queen-Dowager of *Henry* the third, as the erecting of Monasteries, granting of Indulgences, and other such like things, might without shew of any busines of importance, negotiate with *Sannesio* in a corner of the Antichamber

Antichamber, seeming onely to talk of ordinary things; wherefore, the Pope who avoided open proceedings, and desired to draw the thread of the business secretly, gave order to *Sannesio*, that as a friend to this French-man (who was well known to him to be a man of worth) he should begin as of himself, to treat of the Kings affairs, which Treaty being begun thus under hand, proceeded so far, that when Monsieur *de la Clielle* arrived, there had already past many overtures on both sides.

1593

Giacopo Sannesio, a friend of *d' Ossat*, hath order from the Pope, to treat with him (but as of himself) about the affairs of the King of France and the Kingdom.

The *Sieur de la Clielle* was come to Rome, with letters from the King to *Monsignore Serafino Olivario* Auditor of the *Rota Romana*, a Prelate, who because he was descended of French Ancestors, had ever been faithful to the Crown, and desired to serve the King's cause, but saw the passage very difficult, not only to introduce the *Sieur de la Clielle* to have audience of the Pope, as he required, but also to treat in any kind of way, concerning that business: yet being a man of a sweet pleasing nature, both very dextrous, and affable in his discourse, and therefore acceptable to the whole Court, and even to the Pope himself; coming to have audience, under pretence of other businesses he at last brought in that; and in the end would needs shew the Pope the Letter which the King had written to him. The Pope either taken at unaware by *Serafino*, or intending to persevere constantly in his dissimulation, or being troubled to be in a manner constrained to impart his designs to other than those he had determined; shewed himself highly displeased, and would have broke off the discourse of that business, if the Auditor talking sometimes seriously, sometimes in jeast, had not appeased him, concluding finally, That one ought to lend an ear even to the Devil himself, if one could believe it possible for him to be converted. The Pope likewise turning the business into mirth, jeasted a great while with *Serafino*, who pressing him still for an answer, and urging him to hear *la Clielle* not as the King's agent, but as a private Gentleman, from whom perchance to his satisfaction he might learn many secret particulars; the Pope told him he would think upon it. The same evening by the means of *Sannesio* he gave *d' Ossat* directions to go talk with the Gentleman that was come from France, and to give him good hopes of his negotiation, and advertising him (but as from himself) that he should not be dismayed for any difficulty whatsoever he should meet withall.

Monsignor Serafino Olivario having received letters from the King, brought by Monsieur *de la Clielle*, shews them to the Pope.

The

1593

The Sieur de
la Clielle is
brought se-
cretly to the
Pope, leaves
the Kings let-
ters, and de-
parts with no
very good an-
swer.

Cardinal *To-
ledo* treats often
with *la Cli-
elle*, but re-
solves that the
Pope cannot
admit the
Kings desires,
He being a
relapsed He-
retique.

d' Offat gives
order to *la
Clielle* to per-
swade the
King to go on
in shewing
himself a Ca-
tholique.

Divers Trea-
tises are prin-
ted against
the Absoluti-
on of *Henry*
the fourth gi-
ven him by
the French
Prelates.

The next night *Silvio Antoniani* the Popes Chamberlain went to *Serafino*'s house, and taking only the Sieur de *la Clielle* into his Coach, brought him by a private way into the Pope's Chamber, where he having told him that the King of France had sent him to his Holiness feet to present those letters to him, (which he had in his hand) the Pope without staying till he had made an end, brake forth into angry words, complaining that he had been deceived, and that he had thought he should have received a private Gentleman, and not an agent of a relapsed, excommunicated Heretique, and commanded him to depart out of his presence. *La Clielle* not at all dismayed (according to the advertisement that had been given him) added many words of humility and submission, and said that being able to do no more, he would leave the King his Masters Letters, and the Copy of his Commission, which he had brought in writing, and though the Pope angrily bade him carry them away, yet he left them upon the Table, and having kiss'd his foot, was carried back to the place where he had been taken up.

The day following he had order to confer with Cardinal *Toledo*, with whom having had very long discourses three several times, still it was concluded that the Pope could not admit the King's desires, because he had formerly sent to the Apostolique See, and yet had returned to the vomit of heresie, and the Cardinal having taken particular information of the King's businesses, and of the condition of the affairs of France, left the matter so undecided. But the night before *la Clielle* departed from Rome, his answer was with great secrecy given him by the means of *d' Offat*, that the King should go forward in shewing himself truly converted, and should give signs of being sincerely a Catholique, for the Pope was resolved to reject the Duke of *Nevers* to satisfy his own conscience, and to try the King's constancy, yet with the opportunities of times, he should at last obtain his intent.

With this conclusion *la Clielle* went toward France, without having so much as conferred with *Monsignore Serafino*, (which had been given him in charge) the Pope desiring that every one should believe him most averse from approving the Kings conversion, which the greater part of the Court of Rome thought to have passed with some dis-reputation to the Pope, and that a few Prelates had licentiously arrogated that power to themselves which belonged onely to the Apostolique See; whereupon

whereupon there wanted not those who wrote, and printed divers Treatises, wherein they argued that a relapsed Here-
tique, and one declared to be excommunicate, could not be
admitted to a Catholick Kingdom, and that the determinati-
on of the French Prelates to give him absolution was Schisma-
tical and to be censured by the *Tribunal* of the *Holy Office*, for
so they call the judgement of the Inquisition. *Arnaud d' Ossat*
wrote against these Treatises, maintaining with many rea-
sons taken out of the Sacred Canons, and from the Doctors
of the Holy-Church, and with many pious Christian Consi-
derations, that the Pope not onely might, but also that he ab-
solutely ought to approve the King's conversion, and admit
him to the obedience of the Catholique Church; but though
in that discourse there was never any thing found, that was not
manifestly Catholique, and though he wrote with exquisite
modesty, yet could he not get leave to print it, and all he
could do, was to shew some Copies of it to discreet Persons,
which was not onely not reproved, but secretly approved even
by the Pope, who was not displeased that mens ears should by
little and little be made acquainted with this doctrine.

But the Legate being wholly of another opinion, and more
than over-desirous of the proposed Spanish election, was busy
in managing all the engines, that were proper to bring that de-
sign to perfection; and therefore besides many exceeding
long Letters, and many distinct informations sent to the Pope
and to some Cardinals, he at last also dispatch'd *Pier Francesco*
Montorio, to give more exact advertisements, and to crosse
the King's Embassy; but a politick device which he subtilly
made use of, redounded to the exceeding disadvantage of his
design; for *Montorio* falling sick at Lyons, took a resolution to
dispatch his instructions poste to Rome, to the end they
might arrive there before the Duke of *Nevers*: in which the
Legate having written that he thought it convenient, by some
means which should seem fit, to hold the Duke of *Nevers* in
hand, and prolong the business, till it could be known whether,
when the Truce was ended, the Spaniards were like to attain
to the election, and to have sufficient forces in readinesse to
establish it, keeping the King of *Navarre* also doubtful in the
mean time, to the end he might not apply his wonted spirit to
make preparations for warre; this Item served the Pope after-
wards for a pretence to admit the Duke of *Nevers*, who having

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in

1593

d' Ossat an-
swers them,
but cannot
get leave to
print his dis-
course.

1593

The Pope
sends Antonio
Possevino a
Jesuite to tell
the Duke of
Nevers, that
he should not
come to Rome
to execute his
Embassy, be-
cause the King
was not yet
acknowledg-
ed a Catho-
lique: there-
upon the
King goes to
Mantua.

in this interim passed *Langres*, was gone toward Italy, through *Switzerland*, and the country of the *Grisons*, but being arrived at *Poschiawo* a Town in the *Valtolina*; he was met by father *Antonio Possevino* a Jesuite, who was sent to him by the Pope, to let him know, that as he rejoyced in the report of the King of *Navares* conversion, so could he not admit an Embassy, in the name of a King, whom he acknowledged not for such as he stil'd himself, and that therefore he might spare the pains of coming. The Duke not losing heart, though much troubled, went forward, but not the straight way to *Rome*; and being come to *Mantua*, he sent *Possevino* back unto the Pope, endeavouring by many reasons written to him, and the Cardinals his nephews, to obtain permission to execute his Embassy, and the *Marquesse de Pisan*, Cardinal *Gondi*, and the *Monsieur de Metz* Leiger Ambassadour for the King at *Venice* being come unto him, they with a common consent wrote, and treated many things, which were promoted at *Rome* by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors: Cardinal *Toledo* also carrying himself very favourably in the businels.

The Pope making use of the advertisement the Legat had given him, to colour his secret intention, shewed that article of *Montorio's* instructions to the Duke of *Sessa* Ambassadour for the King of Spain, and to many Cardinals depending upon that party, and feigned to let himself be drawn by that respect, and that to that end he would not totally exclude the Duke of *Nevers*; and though both the Duke of *Sessa*, and the Spanish Cardinals stiffly opposed it, affirming, that at the end of the Truce, the Catholick King would certainly have such forces in a readinesse, as should, to the general satisfaction of the confederates, be able to establish the proposed election; yet the Pope took a middle way, which was to admit and hearken to the Duke, not as an Ambassadour from the King of France, but as a Catholick Prince, and as an Italian, and therefore he sent back *Possevino* to him again to *Mantua*, to let him know that his intention, and last determination, and to advertise him that he should come without state; and with but a small retinue, to the end he might not be held, and acknowledged in the degree of an Ambassadour, but of a private Person; which though the Duke thought very hard, and from so difficult a beginning, guessed he should compass no prosperous end of his Embassy, yet he resolved to go forward, as well because he would

The Pope
sends *Posse-
vino* again to the
Duke of *Ne-
vers* to bid
him come on
to Rome
where he
should be re-
ceived as a
Catholique I-
talian Prince,
though not as
an Ambassa-
dour.

would not digress from the Councel of the Venetian Senate, and the other Princes who were the Kings friends, as also to make the uttermost tryal in a business of so mighty importance.

1593

But in France, there happened at this time (besides the ordinary discords) a new misfortune to the League: for the City of Lyons unexpectedly took arms against the Duke of Nemours who was Governour thereof, and proceeded so far that they made him prisoner in the Castle of *Pierre Ansise*. The Duke of Nemours a Prince of great courage, but of a haughty imperious nature, being departed full of pride by reason of his prosperous defence of Paris, and come unto his Government of Lyons, had begun to nourish a design within himself, to reduce it into a free Signiory, together with *Beaniolois* and *Forests*, (which were three Precincts joyntly under his command) and to add unto them as many other places and towns as he could; and his brother the Marquess of *St Sorlin* having the Government of *Dauphine*, he designed to unite that Province also unto himself, and by that means joyning his State to that of the Duke of *Savoy* (from whose house his family descended) to be assisted, and fomented by him; but because he knew that neither the Nobility, nor people would ever consent willingly to separate themselves from the Crown of France, and submit themselves unto his tyranny, he had by long contrivance been raising all those means, which might serve to obtain his intent by force: For this purpose he had under several pretences, driven many of the chief Citizens out of the City; and exposing the Nobility to manifest dangers, was glad to see many of them perish, who were able to oppose his design; nor that sufficing him, he had upon several occasions caus'd a great many forts, and Citadels to be built, which encompassed the City of Lyons with a Circle, having begun at *Toissay*, *Belleville*, and *Tisy*, and then continued at *Charlien*, *St Bonnet*, *Mombriou*, *Nirieu*, *Coindrien*, *Vienne*, *Pipet*, and lastly to perfect that circumference, he treated with the *Sieur de St Julien*, that for fifty thousand Crowns he should let him have *Quirien* to raise another Fort there likewise, and passing from the circumference unto the center, he meant to rebuild the ruined Citadel of Lyons, and designs and platforms were already drawn for that purpose. In these strong places he kept Garrisons of horse and foot, that depended upon his pleasure, and

An insurrection in the City of Lyons against the Duke of Nemours, who being Governour plotted to make himself absolute Lord, but being discovered he is imprisoned, and the Government given to the Arch-Bishop of the City.

1593

not having enough to maintain them of his own, fed them with extorting from the people, and with a pernicious licence of plundering, and spoiling the Country. To these actions were added outward shews not unlike them; for he kept about him a great retinue of Strangers, undervalued and abused the Nobility of the Country, and in his publick writings no longer used the title of Governour, but barely of Duke of *Nemours*, as an absolute Lord. In this interim the time of holding the States at *Paris* being come, he though invited would neither go, nor send thither, still speaking dishonourably of the authority and actions of the Duke of *Mayenne*; his brother by the mothers side, and when the Truce was concluded, though he declared that he accepted it for as much as concerned the Kings party; yet nevertheless would he not dismiss the least part of his Souldiery, but rather entertaining and raising new every day, kept the Country more oppressed in the time of the Cessation than it was before in the heat of War. The Principal men and the people of *Lyons* moved by all these things, resolved to complain of it to the Duke of *Mayenne*, who for the safety of the City, and the maintaining of his own reputation, thought it good to withstand his brothers ambitious designs, and therefore under colour of desiring that the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* should go to Rome with Cardinal *Joyeuse*, he caused him to go unto that City, giving him Commission to maintain the peoples liberty, and to give him notice of every particular, to the end he might seasonably provide against danger. This Remedy hastened the breaking out of the mischief; for the Duke of *Nemours* having no good correspondence with the Arch-Bishop, and seeing the Citizens ran popularly after him, thought to draw some companies of Souldiers into the Town, either for his own security, or to bridle the people, who were already half in an uproar; But this news being come amongst the Citizens increased by the wonted additions of the report, they no longer delayed to rise, and having taken arms barricadoed up the City, and shut the Duke into a corner of the Town, who having in this necessity desired to speak with the Arch-Bishop, whom before he had not cared to see, the event proved different from his design; for the Arch-Bishop making then no account either of his words, or complements, (which he knew proceeded but from necessity) continued to exhort the people to defend their own liberty; and told them

which

which way they should manage their business; so that, finally the baricadoes being made up close, and a greater number of men being in Arms, they of the Council went armed unto him, and told him that for the security of his person, the people being in a mutiny, and for the safety of the City that was in danger to be sacked, they intended he should retire into the Castle of *Pierre Anse*, which not being able to contradict, he was at last brought thither, and with more severe guards diligently looked to; and the chief men having assembled the Council, made a Decree whereby they deprived him of the Government, and likewise the Marquess his brother (though from him they confessed they had never received any injury at all,) and gave the authority of governing the City unto the Arch-Bishop, which was afterward confirmed upon him by the Duke of *Mayenne*.

By a decree of the chief heads of the City of Lyons, the Duke of Nemours is put out of the Government and the Marquess of S. Serlin out of that of Dauphiné.

But this news being come to Paris, many were exceedingly troubled at it, the Spanish Ministers grieving that they had lost one of the chief instruments of their power; but *Madam de Nemours* being afflicted much more for the danger and ruine of her Son; and many there were who perswaded themselves that all the mischief proceeded from the Duke of *Mayenne*, who not onely had desired to abate the arrogance of his Brother, but had also done it to get Lyons into his power, and joyn it to his Government of *Bourgogne*, that he might remain Master thereof, whatsoever the event of things should be; it being known to every one that in the Treaties he held with the King, and also with the Spanish Ministers, he had demanded that Lyons and *Bourgogne* should joyntly be granted to him; wherefore though he laboured to seem discontented and angry at the accident that had happened unto his Brother, there was not any body that believed him, seeing he not onely omitted to treat of freeing him indeed, though he talked much of it; but also that he had confirmed the authority of Governour upon the Arch-Bishop, which those Citizens had conferred upon him.

This new dissention opened a passage to new troubles, which at that time were like to have steered a more prosperous course; for the Duke of *Mayenne* had at last reunited himself, and composed matters with the Duke of *Guise*, their common friends having made them perceive that their discord would in the end be the ruin of them both; whereupon the Duke of

The Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Guise* united themselves in affection, and agree joyntly to favour each other in the election to be King.

Mayenne

1593

Mayenne to free himself from the aspersions of crossing his Nephews advancement ; and the Duke of Guise, not to shew himself regardless of his Uncle's labour in upholding the party, were mutually agreed that if the Duke of Mayenne found means to attain the Crown for himself, the Duke of Guise should be obliged to keep united with him, and assist him with all his Forces ; and in case the Duke of Mayenne could not obtain the Kingdom for himself, or for one of his Sons, he should likewise be obliged to help the Duke of Guise to attain it either by the marriage of the *Infanta*, or some other way.

Tassis being returned from Flanders, treats with respect and confidence with the Duke of Mayenne.

This accommodation did infinitely displease the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d' Jvarra*, who saw themselves deprived of the proper instrument to keep the Duke of Mayenne in jealousy, and to be able when occasion should require by that means to keep down and suppress his greatness ; and yet *Juan Baptista Tassis* being returned from Flanders, who had been there to conferr with *Don Pedro Enriquez* of Toledo *Condé de Fuentes*, who held the Government of the Low-Countries till the arrival of the Arch-Duke *Ernest*, began to treat of piecing up again with the Duke of Mayenne, such being the opinion and desire of that principal Minister, who perceiving well that without his help and consent, all other attempts would prove fruitless ; and though the Spanish Ministers at Paris thought themselves deceived, and ill dealt withall by him, yet the *Condé* did not judge it a fit time to take revenge, but to mannage things with patience and dissimulation, since they had seen by experience, that the principal Deputies of the States, depended upon the will and authority of the Duke of Mayenne. At *Tassis* his arrival they began to treat, the Legat also interposing, though he was much more inclined to the Duke of Guise, but not being willing to digress from the King of Spains resolutions, not only by reason of his ancient inclination, but also because in that State of affairs there was no breaking friendship and good correspondence with him, without indangering Religion.

Tassis began with letting him know the good will the *Condé de Fuentes* bore him ; then he went on himself condemning the perverse carriage of his Collegues, and in the end intimated and implied, but did not affirmatively declare, That the

the Catholick King would be content to give the *Infanta* to one of his Sons, provided they could but agree in other matters. After this conference the other Spanish Ministers began to change their manner of proceeding, and to bear more respect to the Dukes person and authority, and the Cardinal Legate himself to do the same; so that it was easie for him to believe there were new orders come from Spain in favour of him; as it was true, King Philip being finally resolved, to procure the *Infanta's* election with any Husband whatsoever, and having conceived an opinion, that the Duke of Mayenne standing fixt in his design of attaining the Crown for his posterity, would consent to most profitable conditions for his Kingdom.

The King of Spain, provided the *Infanta* might be elected, resolves to give her any husband.

But that which made the business difficult was the present weaknesse of the Kings condition; for his Treasures being wonderfully exhausted, he could not make those great preparations that were necessary to uphold so great an enterprise; and he was brought so low that the Merchants would no longer accept his bills of exchange, and the *Genoises* to whom he was indebted many Millions, refused to make new payments; this weaknesse was with all possible care concealed by his Ministers, and they continued to affirm that against the end of the Truce, twelve thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse should be in a readinesse to enter into Picardy, and one hundred thousand Crownes should be paid to the Duke of Mayenne every month to maintain as many French forces; and, to gain the greater belief they strained themselves to pay him twenty thousand in present, and give him bills for sixty thousand more upon their credits, striving in all things to winne, and still to increase new hopes in him every day more and more.

This piecing up with the Spaniards, besides the accommodation with the Duke of Guise, was the cause of interrupting the Treaty of peace which had been continued many dayes with the King's Deputies, in which though not only Monsieur de Villeroy, but also President Jannin had laboured very much, yet was there not any Conclusion agreed upon; for the King was grown jealous, that the Duke of Mayenne treated but feignedly, without any desire to conclude; and this suspicion grew from some of the Legate's Letters to the Pope, which were intercepted, wherein though he spoke very ill of the Duke

1593

Duke of Mayenne, and imputed it to his ambition, and malignity that the *Infanta* and the Duke of *Guise* were not elected; yet he affirmed he had tyed him up in such a manner, that he should never conclude an agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and that he had taken a secret oath to that purpose in a writing signed by him, the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbeuf*, the Count of *Brissac*, the Marshalls of *Rosne*, and *S. Paul*, and many others of the principal men, a copy of which writing was inclosed in the same Letters, wherefore *Villeray* going to the King to treat on still about the peace, he would do nothing else but shew him the Letters, and the writings, whereof he also gave him a copy to shew the Duke of *Mayenne*, who not being able to deny, but that the oath was true, excus'd himself yet for it with saying, that he had always intended to conclude the peace with a reservation of the Popes consent, and if he should approve it, he was then immediately loosened from the obligation of that oath; nor did the sight of the evil which the Legate wrote concerning him, at all withdraw him from his resolution; for he interpreted those to be old opinions, and that the new orders from Spain, had varied all things; wherefore applying himself to joyn close with the Spanish Ministers, from the treaty of peace, he came to negotiate the prolonging of the Truce, to give things time to ripen; nor was it hard to obtain the lengthning of it, for the other two months; *November* and *December*: because the King also desired, before he moved any farther, to know the event of the Duke of *Nevers* his Embassy, and the Popes resolution.

The Truce is prolonged for two months more.

But this accommodation made up betwixt the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Spaniards, made the Pope more way-ward to the Kings entreaties, not being willing to admit his reconciliation, whilest he doubted the French of the League would not follow his judgement, but continue the Warre, being united with Spain; it being fit for the reputation of the Apostolique See, for the security of Religion, and for the satisfaction of the World, that he should be the most wary, the most constant, and the last man that should approve the Kings conversion; lest those mischiefs which might proceed from the establishment of a King not yet well settled in his Religion, should be imputed to his lightness and credulity; wherefore the Duke of *Nevers* being come near to Rome, he sent *Posservino* to him again, to let him know, he intended not he should stay above

The Pope sends the Duke of *Nevers* word he intends not he shall stay at Rome above ten days

above ten dayes in the City, and that he had forbidden all the Cardinals either to see him, or treat with him; which things though they seemed wonderful hard to the Duke; yet being resolved to prosecute the businesse to the utmost, and believing all these were but shewes to set a higher price upon his favour, he went on and entered privately into Rome, at *Porta del Borgo* upon the twentieth day of November.

He went the same evening privately to kiss the Pope's feet, and at the first audience desired only that his time might be prolonged, the term of ten days being too short to treat of a matter of so great moment, and that he might have leave to visit the Cardinals; and to deliver the Letters he had to them from the King, offering to treat of that businesse in the presence of the King of Spain's Ambassadors and of the Duke of Mayen's Agents, and to shew them that a King of France could not but be received, who humbly suing, and being converted, desired to return unto the obedience of the Church. He had no other answer from the Pope but that he would consult with the Cardinals, and with their Councel would resolve; but in his following audiences the Duke endeavoured with many reasons and great eloquence to perswade the Pope, first of all that as being Pope, and the Vicar of Christ, he could not reject one who being converted return'd into the bosome of the Church; and then that as a prudent experienced Prince, he ought not to refuse the obedience of the stronger, and more powerful party; and finally that as Protector of the Common liberty, he ought not to permit that the Kingdom of France by the continuance of a ruinous desperate Warre, should run the hazard of being divided and dismembred, with manifest danger of the liberty of all Christian Princes, and particularly of the See of Rome. He enlarged himself upon the first point with proofs of Scripture; and with many examples, and authorities of the primitive Church, and the Fathers; but knowing the difficulty did not consist in that, he enlarged himself much more in the other two; and thinking the Pope persisted to be so obdurate, particularly because he doubted of the King's forces, and that the Catholicks of the League united with the King of Spain were strong enough to suppress him, he took much pains to shew that the major part of the *Parliaments* of France, all the Princes (except those of the House of *Lorain*,) the flower of the Nobility,

The Duke of
Nevers being
entered pri-
vately into
Rome, goes
the same even-
ing to kiss the
Popes feet.

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1593

The Duke of
Nevers knew
that he could
not prolong
the term of
ten days, and
that he could
not admit the
Prelates who
came along
with him to
his presence,
unless they
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themselves to
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ero Maggiore
who is the
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solve a Peni-
tent.

The Pope lets
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solve a Peni-
tent.

lity, and two thirds of the Kingdom followed his party, that his adversaries were few and of mean quality, disagreeing among themselves, and full of desperation; so that to the King's perfect establishment, and the total quiet of the kingdom, there was nothing but the content of the Apostolique See and the benediction of his Holiness. He reckoned up all the Kings Victories which did indeed proceed from his valour, but also from the power and strength of the Nobility and people that followed him, and he exaggerated the weakness of the Spaniards who might well keep the Civil dissensions alive by art and industry, but could not sustain them by force of Arms. He strove to show the artifice and artifices they used, and that their aim was to usurp the Kingdom, as they had lately discovered their secret in the proposition of the *Infama*: he excited the piety and justice of the Pope; not to make himself author of violating the *Sacque-lain* and the other fundamentall ones of the Kingdom; not to assist those who laboured to dispoyle the lawful blood of the Crown; and finally not to permit, that discords should be sowed under his name to the utter ruine of the foundations of a most Christian Kingdom, and first-born of the Holy Church. Last of all he concluded that he brought along with him some of those Prelates who had given the King absolution; and who desired to present themselves at his feet, to give him an account of what had been done, their minds giving them that they should make him clearly see they had not swerved from the obedience of the Apostolick See, nor from the rites and customes of it, and that what they had done was conformable to the Sacred Canons, and the minde of the Holy Church.

The Pope was constant in his determination, and though the Dukes reasons moved him, yet being resolved howsoever not to be too hasty; and so much the rather because the Duke seemed to urge that the absolution given to the King in France might be confirmed and approved, but not to propose the submitting of the King to the censure and judgement of the Apostolique See; he said he would think upon an answer, and two dayes after not having the heart to talk any more with the Duke, and to answer his reasons, he let him know by *Silvio Antoniani* that he could not prorogue the term of ten dayes, lest he should discontent those Catholiques who being obedient to the Church, had ever, and did yet uphold Religion, and that

that that time was sufficient, having nothing else to treat of; that it was not fit he should speak unto the Cardinals, having been admitted as a private man, not as an Ambassadour; and that as concerning the Prelats that came along with him, he could not admit them to his presence, unless first they submitted themselves to Cardinal *Santa Severina* the chief penitentiary to be examined by him.

1593

This was the Popes last resolution: for though the Duke obtained another audience, yet could he not alter his determination, but he sent Cardinal *Toledo* to let him know the same things, with whom having had many long discourses, the substance of the business varied not; and though the Duke, very much troubled with a Catarrhe, was of necessity faine to stay beyond the time of ten dayes, yet could he not prevail any thing at all; and finally being brought to his last audience in the Popes presence, after having at large repeated all his reasons, he fell upon his knees, and beseech'd him, that at least he would give the King absolution in *Foro Conscientiae*: but neither could he obtain this, and departed exceeding ill-satisfied, having finally with more liberty and spirit then he was wont, aggravated the wrongs that were done unto the King, and the injuries that were put upon his own person, who forgetting his want of health, his age, and quality, had taken the pains to come that journey, for the safety and quiet of Christians.

The Duke of
Nevers falling
upon his
knees beseech-
es the Pope at
least to give
the King ab-
solution in
*Foro Conscien-
tia*, and it is
denied.

After he was gone from his audience, Cardinal *Toledo* came to him again, and told him, that if the Prelates did so much abhor the face of Cardinal *Santa Severina*, they should be heard by the Cardinal of *Aragon* Chief of the Congregation of the *Holy Office*; but the Duke answered, that they being come as Ambassadours in company with him, he did not mean they should be used as criminals, but that the Pope should admit them to his presence; for to him as Head of the Church they would give a good account of their actions: but the Cardinal replied, that it was not decent for them to contend and dispute with the Pope; the Duke added, that he would be content if the Pope would but admit them to kiss his feet, and that then they should render an account to Cardinal *Aldobrandino* his Nephew.

But neither would the Pope accept of this condition; whereupon the Duke of *Nevers* having distinctly set down in

X x x x x x 2

writing

1593

The Duke of
Nevers goes a-
way discon-
tented from
Rome.
The Duke
comes to Ve-
nice, where
the French
Prelates print
a book of the
reasons that
moved them
to absolve the
King.

writing all that he had done, departed from Rome taking the Prelates with him, and went to the City of *Venice*, where the Bishop of *Mans* published a little book in print, wherein he set forth the reasons that had moved the Prelates to absolve the King; one of which was, that the Canons permit the Ordinary whom it concerns to absolve from excommunication, and every other case when the Penitent is hindred by a lawful cause from going to the Popes feet himself; and another, that in the point and danger of death the penitent might be absolved by any one; in which danger the King manifestly was, being every day exposed in the encounters of war, to the peril of his enemies; and besides that, conspired against a thousand wayes by their wicked treacheries, to which reasons adding many others he concluded, they had power to absolve him *ad futuram Cautelam*, reserving his obedience and acknowledgment to the Pope, which he at that time fully rendered him.

When the Duke was gone, the Pope having assembled the Cardinals in the Consistory, declared that he had not been willing to receive the King of *Navar's* excuses and obedience; because his conscience would not suffer him to lend his faith so easily to one that had formerly violated it; that to admit one to so potent a Kingdom without great regard, and due caution, would have been a very great lightness; and being certain that others would have believ'd, and followed his judgement, it was not fit proceeding blindly, to make himself a guide to the blinde, and to lead the good French-Catholicks to the ruinous precipice of damnation; and that therefore they should be assured he would continue constant, and would not accept of false dissimulations and politick tricks in a matter of so great consequence. Thus the Spaniards remained satisfied, and the Catholicks of the League contented; yet was not the King moved with all this, or turned aside from his first intention, the *Sieur de la Chelle's* relation having applied an antidote to that so bitter potion.

Pierre Barriere a Vagabond fellow having conferred with two Fryers resolves to kill the King, but being discovered, he is taken, tortured, and put to death.

The King at this time was at *Melun*, in which Town one *Pierre Barriere* was taken and put in Prison, who had conspired to kill him; but by whom he was instigated is not well known; he was born obscurely in the City of *Orleans* and followed the profession of a Waterman in those boats that are wont to go upon the *Loyre*, but being known for a man of a brutish cruel nature

nature he had been made use of in the acting of many villanies; from which, and the dissoluteness of his carriage being grown to a vagabond kind of life, he was at last fallen upon a thought of this fact, which having imparted to two Fryers, the one a *Capuchin*, the other a *Carmelite*, he was (as he said) earnestly perswaded to it by them; but being yet doubtfull and uncertain in his minde, he would needs reveal his Secret also to *Seraphino Banchi* a Dominican Frier born in Florence, but living in Lyons. This man struck with horror, to hear the boldness, and wicked intent of this fellow, dissembled nevertheless, and told him, It was a thing to be well considered, and not to be so soon resolved on, and bade him come again the next day for his answer, which he would think upon and study to know how he should determine the question; in the mean time thinking how the King might be warily advertised of it, he intreated the *Sieur de Brancalion* a servant of the Queen Dowagers, who was then in the City, to come to him the same day and hour he had appointed, and they being both of them come at the same time, he made them stay, and talk a great while together, to the end that *Brancalion* might know *Barriere* perfectly; then having told him he could not yet resolve what counsel he should give him, because the question was very full of difficult doubts, he dismissed him, and discovered the whole business to *Brancalion*, to the end that giving the King notice of it, the mischief might be prevented. *Barriere* going from Lyons, and coming not many dayes after to Paris, conferred about it first with the Curate of St *André*, and then with his father *Vadare* Rector of the Jesuites, who (as he affirmed) perswaded him to do the deed; wherefore he departed resolved to attempt the execution of it, and being come to St *Denis*, lingered after the King to finde an opportunity to effect his design. But being come with the King to *Melun*, *Brancalion* also came thither, by whom being known and pointed out, he was put in prison by the Archers of the *Grand Prevost*, and being examined and brought face to face with *Brancalion*, he confessed that he was once minded to have killed the King, and that he had conferred about it with the Dominican Fryer at Lyons; but that afterward having heard of his conversion, he was resolved not to do it; and that he was going towards Orleans, in which City he was born, being determined to put himself in-

1593

to a Monastery of Capuchins; but these things he spoke with so much insolency, and contempt, as plainly shewed him to be guilty, having also a great two-edged knife about him, which gave proof of his intention to commit the fact; whereupon having been many times examined, and tortured, he was by the appointed Judges condemned to die; which sentence being told him, with perswasions to a sincere confession of his crime, he confessed the whole business, and related all the particulars distinctly; thence being brought to the place of execution, and having ratified all he had said before, he suffered the usual punishments, as a reward for his audacious rashness.

In the mean time the term of the Cessation was almost expired; and the Duke of Mayenne, intent to gain the most time he could possibly, had again dispatch'd the *Sieur de Ville-roy* to the King, to get it prolonged; but he not having been able to obtain any thing, he after him dispatched the Count *de Belin*, who was perswaded he should compass it; but the King was utterly averse from that intention, knowing certainly that they desired to gain time, not to expect the resolutions from Rome, but indeed the supplies and preparations from Spain; and therefore he was determined to lose no more time, but since his adherents had held many practices through the whole Kingdom, he made haste to let the war break out, that he might see whether those Mines that were prepared, would take effect. Wherefore though the Duke of Mayenne, besides others, used also *Sebastiano Zametti* (who of a Merchant of Piedmont was become a man of great businesses in Court) and though the President *de Thou*, and the Count *de Scombergh* met with him at Paris, yet was it not possible by any conditions how large soever to perswade the King to prolong the Cessation, no not for a few dayes.

But no sooner was the term of the Cessation expired, when the effects of the Kings conversion, and of the practices his Ministers had opportunely set on foot, began to shew themselves; for Monsieur *de Vitry* Governour of *Meaux*, who being deep in arrears had in the time of the Truce been with the *Condé de Fuentes* to get them paid, and having not onely failed of that which he thought it most reasonable to demand, but also waited many dayes before he could be admitted to tell his

his businesse, a thing absolutely intolerable to the French impatience; he came back full of spite and discontent, often repeating those words, which are almost grown a Proverbe, ** Point d'argent, point de Vitry*; wherefore taking occasion from his inability to pay the Souldiers himself, he called the people of the Town to a party, and told them he had constantly followed the party of the League as long as the businesse was matter of Religion; but now the King was turned Catholick he would not deny him due obedience, nor follow them, who for ambition and interest would prosecute the warre, and therefore delivered up the keys of the Town into their hands, and leaving them at liberty to dispose of themselves, went straight to put himself on that side which he manifestly saw was in the right, and putting on a white scarfe, and making all his Souldiers wear the same colour, was going to march out of the Town; but the people excited by those few words, and the example of their Governor, cryed out unanimously, *For the King, for the King*, and presently chose four Deputies to goe and deliver the Towne into his power.

** No Money, no Vitry.*

Monsieur de Vitry, Governor of Meaux goes over to the King's Party, and cause the Townsmen to send Deputies to the King to deliver the place into his hands.

This place was exceeding opportune, as well by reason of its nearnesse to Paris, as because it shut up the passage of the river *Marne*; but the example of it to all the other Towns of the League, was of much greater consequence; for being the first that submitted it self to the King's obedience, it was likely to open a way to a novelty of such importance, that the sum of affaires consisted in it; wherefore the King deliberating (as his custom was) in his Counsel what course was to be held, and what conditions should be granted to it, was in a little suspence, because the opinions of his Counsellors were different among themselves; some of a more fierie nature (who could not so easily forget the past insolencies of the Common people, and the inveterate enmity of the factions) with the adherents of the Hugonots, (for yet some of them came to Council) would have had them that returned unto their obedience, bridled with severe conditions, and that they should redeem their former faults, and offences by sharp repentance being desirous to wreak their long settled hatred, and proudly to triumph upon the enemies which they already accounted conquered. But the more wise and moderate men considered that these return'd unto their obedience

1593

The Duke of Alva by granting a strict ambiguous pardon to the Flemmings alienates more Cities from the Catholick King then his former punishments and rigours had done.

The Deputies of Meaux are graciously received by the King, who grants them many Priviledges, and confirms the Government upon Monsieur de Vitry, and his Son.

ence, neither through the necessitie of a Siege, nor for fear of force, but out of the instinct of their own will, and that it was therefore fit, the example should be such as might invite and allure other places of greater importance to follow it, that this beginning was to serve for a rule to other Compositions, and Agreements; wherefore since the King used all possible endeavours to win the People to acknowledge him, it would have been a crosse Counsel, now to reject, and fright them with sharpness, and severity; that it was necessary to help this first motion to bring forth a happy obedience; to accommodate ones self to the imperfections of the Subjects, and with the baite of good usage to promote those wavering thoughts: they called to minde how pernicious the pardon granted to the Flemmings by the Duke of Alva had been by reason of his strictness, exceptions, ambiguities, and want of sincerity in the conditions, whence it came to passe, that that strictnesse and doubtfulnessse of pardon alienated more Cities and more People from the Catholick King, then so many punishments, so much blood, and so many violences had done before; therefore they exhorted the King to grow wary at his Neighbours cost, and not to run into those errors which they heard the Spaniards reproached with every day.

This opinion being without doubt the best and most fruitful, suited wonderfully with the Kings nature inclined to gentleness and clemency, and with the necessity of his affairs, and the knowing that his enemies, though weak and divided, were not yet suppressed, and utterly ruined, induced him to consent unto it, and to resolve to open that so large gate, that all others might runne willingly to passe in at it; wherefore having received the Deputies with kind demonstrations, he graciously granted the Citizens of Meaux all conditions they knew how to ask, among which that the exercise of the Catholique Religion alone should be allowed in their Town; he granted them also exemption from many impositions, the confirmation of the offices and benefices granted by the Duke of Mayenne, and the continuation of the immunities and ancient Priviledges of the Place; he confirmed the Government upon Monsieur de Vitry, and after him upon his eldest Son, and gave him a certain summe of money to pay his debts, and also paid the Souldiery that followed him, and entertained them in his service.

This

This blaze of liberality, and clemency spread a wonderful lustre through all parts of France, so that upon the same there- of many others resolved to follow the example, and to try if they could finde more quiet in the King's goodnesse, than in the troubles of the Warre; and so much the rather when they saw the King's Edict published upon the fourth of January 1594. wherein with a great and specious flourish of words, he confirmed the foresaid Conditions; which Edict was also received without any kinde of delay, and approved of in the Parliament.

1593

About the same time the Sieur d' Estrumel Brother in law to Monsieur de S. Luc, and Governor of Peronne, Mondidier & Roye made agreement for himself; and those three principal Towns of Piccardy, to put themselves under the King's obedience; but to make his revolt more specious, he would first make a Truce for many months, whereby those aforesaid Towns remained neutral. The same did the Sieur d' Alincourt and Monsieur de Villeroy with Pontoyse; for the King was content they should remain neutral by a particular Truce, that he might make use of Villeroy in drawing on the treaty of Peace, which was yet kept alive with the Duke of Mayenne.

The Sieur de Estrumel and Monsieur de la Chastre, compound with the King for themselves and their Government.

But Monsieur de la Chastre one of the principal men of the League declared himself for the King freely, and without any pretence in the beginning of February; for having in vain demanded supplys of men and mony from the Spanish Ministers, being incensed at the repulse, and weary of the discords, which he saw in his Party, he agreed with the King, by means of the Archbishop of Bourges; for himself and the Cities of Orleans and Bourges, obtained for them the same conditions that had been granted to Meaux, and for himself the confirmation of the degree of Marehall of France, conferred upon him by the Duke of Mayenne, and of the Governments he had in possession, which after him were to come to his Son the Baron de la Maison.

In the same month happened the composition with the City of Lyons; for the people of that place having expected that the Duke of Mayenne should either come thither in Person, or send a man of great authority to accommodate the business with the D. of Nemours, and to remove him from that government by giving him a convenient recompence, he not being able to leave Paris in the condition it was in, and not having an equivalent

The City of Lyons declares for the Kings party.

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recompence

1594

recompence to offer, (for the Government of *Guienne* which the Duke of *Nemours* would have accepted, was already promised to the Duke of *Guise*, and the Marquess of *Villars* who commanded there, would not hear of submitting himself to any other body,) he could neither remedy the popular Commotion, nor oppose the force of the Marquess of *Sorlin*, who to recover his Brother, molested the whole Country of *Lyons* with exceeding great plunderings, and also straitned the City; wherefore after the people had in vain expected many months, not knowing what resolution to take, they at last called Collonel *Alfonso Corso* who was near that place with a good number of men, and having brought him into the City, publickly set up the Royal Standard, having thrown and beaten down all the Arms and Monumentes of the League every where.

The City of
Aix in *Pro-*
vence besieg'd
by the Duke
of *Espenon*
being not re-
lieved sub-
mits to the
King's obe-
dience.

A while before the City of *Aix* in *Provence* being straitly besieged by the Duke of *Espenon*, and seeing they could receive no relief neither from the Duke of *Savoy* nor from any other part, the Count de *Cassey* being in it, who had married a daughter in law of the Duke of *Mayenne*, and was Commander in Chief of the forces of that Province, took a resolution since the King was turn'd Catholic, to submit himself to his obedience; but upon condition that the Duke of *Espenon* should not come into the Town, to whom both the Citizens and the Count himself professed a particular enmity, in which point they were satisfied by means of Monsieur *Lies-dignieres* and of Collonel *Alfonso Corso*.

In this so violent a motion of the principal Heads and Cities of the *Union*, part whereof had already agreed to obey the King, and part talked of agreeing, the Cardinal's Legate was in great fear and trouble: for he having promised at Rome that there should follow no alteration upon the King's conversion, was now in great perplexity for fear the Pope should account him either a light, or a negligent man, and having perswaded and urged that the King's Embassy might not be received by the Apostolique See, he doubted now that all sinister events would be imputed to his evil counsel, and was extremely vexed that so much labour, and so great endeavours used by him to bring the affairs of the League to the end he pretended, should now prove vain and unprofitable, and that all the engines of his contrivance should be

be overturned in a moment ; wherefore being fallen into a profound consideration, he after long consultation resolved to set forth a writing wherein he informed and assured the people of France, that the Pope judging the King of Navar's conversion to be feign'd, and counterfeit, had neither approved it, nor admitted the Duke of *Nevers* as his Ambassadour, but as an Italian Prince, and a private person. He protested moreover, that the Pope would never approve of that conversion, nor admit the King into the bosome of the Church : upon which ground he exhorted all Catholicks not to swerve from the judgment and union of the *Apostolick See*, nor from the obedience of the Pope. With this writing he thought he might stop the motion of mens minds, that inclined to submit themselves to the King, and judged that the scruple of Conscience would be stronger to withhold them, then the consideration of temporal Laws to spur them on ; but this counsel produced a contrary effect ; for most men were incensed, that so great a Prince should be refused to be received to repentance, whereas the Church is wont with so much pains to endeavour, and with so much tenderness to embrace the conversion of every meanest sinner ; and the people being perswaded by a desire of Peace, and rest, and abhorring civil discords which had produced so many mischiefs, both in publick and in private, were much the more ready to take a resolution, and shelter themselves under the Kings obedience ; and yet the Legate, either persevering in his old opinions, or his heart not suffering him to unsay what he had writ and advised at Rome, continued firmly to uphold the League, as well with the Pope, as among the French Lords themselves, with whom he was every day at close consultations.

The substance
of a writing
set forth by
the Cardinal
Legat to keep
the Catholick
League on
foot.

Equal to his was the trouble and terrour of the King of Spains Ministers, who seeing some of them were fallen off, whom they accounted the most confiding men ; and though pieced up, yet not totally trusting to the intelligence they held with the Duke of Mayenne, not seeing that the Duke of Guise himself was very well satisfied, they knew that all their hopes would vanish, if the present need were not speedily succoured, which was very difficult, as well by reason of the want of money, as the ill conditions of the affairs of *Flanders* ; and though they bestirred themselves with all their power, they could neither find any that would pay their bills of exchange,

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nor

1594

nor that would have to do with them; and to be fain to stay for those provisions that came slowly out of Spain, was a remedy too late, and too far off; they resolved therefore to make use of the nearest assistance, which was that of Flanders, and dispatched many messengers to hasten the advance of the Army, and at last *Juan Baptista Tassis* went thither himself: but besides that, there was no way to pay their Forces; for want whereof, some Spanish *Tertias* and a great many Italian Horse had mutined. Count *Charles* of *Mansfield* also who was to command the Army (desiring for his own interests, not to stir from Flanders, either because he inclined not to obey the Duke of Mayenne, or else not thinking that with so few men, and no money he could come off with honour,) interposed many delays, and many hinderances, so that the Spanish Camp, small in number, ill provided, and disagreeing, durst not advance from their own confines.

The Duke of Mayenne waver-
ing in so
many adver-
sities thinks to
make his
peace with
the King.

But the Duke of Mayenne was more afflicted and troubled then all the rest. He saw the Count *de Carisy*, and the Marechal *de la Chastre* lost, in whom he was formerly wont to confide more then in any others; the City of *Lyons* gon, to which place he had resolved, what ever happened, to reduce the reliques of his fortune; his Brother the Duke of *Nemours* no longer Prisoner to the City, but to the King himself; *Meaux* and *Pontoise* in the Kings hands, which Town so nearly bridled the City of *Paris*, the people whereof allured on the one side by the benefits of Peace and Plenty, and on the other spurred on by their ancient inclination, and respect of Conscience, wavered in their resolutions, and it was uncertain to which Party they would at last incline. For all these causes he was many times thinking to make his peace with the King, before he was forsaken of all, to which the *Sieur de Villeroy* perswaded him with frequent Letters, proposing to him honourable and advantageous Conditions; which he shewed him, that when he was brought lower, he could not be able to obtain; but would be forced to capitulate, not as the Head of the *Union*, nor as Lieutenant General of the Crown, but as a particular Prince, and private person; but on the other side he knew not how to quit his old hopes, in which the Spaniards did all they possibly could to confirm him; besides that, to make his Peace without the Popes consent, to whose judgement he had referred himself, seemed to him so undecent

a thing, and so contrary to his reputation, that he could not accommodate his minde unto it, and whatsoever the event of busineses should be, he was resolved rather to perish, then shew that the past War had been imbraced by him, out of an ambitious end, and not for the maintenance of Religion; and he made less reckoning of his own ruine, and the destruction of his Family, then of the loss of his honour and reputation, which he thought he should lose, if he digressed in never so small a matter from the will and determination of the Pope, and the Apostolick See; for which reasons he depended wholly upon those informations that were expected from Rome, and from the Court of Spain, and in the mean time had sent Monsieur de Rosne into Flanders, not onely to hasten that Army, but also that by him he might be sincerely advertised of the quality of those Supplies which he might certainly hope for from thence.

In this interim Cardinal Joyeuse, and the Baron de Senecey sent last of all by him to the Pope, and the Abbot of Orbais sent by the Duke of Guise, were come to Rome upon the two and twentieth of January, and being brought to have audience of the Pope, after the narration of all things that had past (the sinister course of which they imputed to the evil Counsel, and the too evident covetousness of the Spainards,) they beseeched him that he would be Mediator, to know King Philip's last resolution, and firm determination; and that he himself would be pleased with men and money to succour the danger of Religion, and the urgent necessity of the League, as his Predecessors had done; to which Propositions the Pope, after having related what had past with the Duke of Nevers, answered, That as concerning the Catholick Kings determination, he would endeavour to know what it was, and to confirm him in the good intention of defending the Faith, and upholding the League; but as for his assisting with men and money, he began to excuse himself from that, by the emergent occasion of the Warr with the Turk in Hungary, in which he was necessitated for the universal safety of Christians to imploy the sinews of his strength; and yet he said that in as much as he was able he would not fail to lend his assistance also to the affairs of France. It was not very difficult for the Ambassadors, and particularly for the Baron de Senecey, a man of a quick understanding to apprehend the Popes meaning, he

The Pope being sued to by the Duke of Mayenne's Ambassadors for supplies of men and money, excuses himself by the War of Hungary against the Turk.

1594

he being very backward to spend money, and not well satisfied in the affairs of the *Union*; wherefore they wrot unto the Duke of Mayenne that he must think to furnish himself by other means; for from the Pope there was nothing to be hoped for, nor was he to depend upon him for the obtaining of any considerable Supplies.

The King of Spain shows the same coldness in assisting the League to the Sieur de Montpezat.

In the like course also went the negotiation in Spain; for the Sieur de Montpezat having after many delays treated with the King himself, and besought him, that without referring himself to his Ministers that were in France, he would declare his pleasure as well in matter of the election and marriage of the *Infanta*, as of the supplies of men and monies for the establishment of the Princes that should be elected, and also of the Conditions he would grant the Duke of Mayenne, he could never draw any other conclusion from him, save that he would write to Rome, and to the Arch-Duke *Ernest* to settle what should be resolved on, and done, and that it was necessary to expect the informations and answers from both places, which coldness and irresoluteness openly shewed that the King either through weariness, or weakness was little inclined to go on with the War; but on the other side *Don Bernardino Mendoza* by his long abode there, well versed in the affairs of France, having before this written to the Sieur de *Rombouillet* that if any body were sent to the Court of Spain to treat in the name of the House of *Bourbon*, it was very probable that the Catholic King would agree to Peace, the King not passing by that occasion had caused the Sieur de *la Varenne* (a Gentleman of great understanding, and deep reach, and one whom he trusted) under pretence of going to see that Court, and travelling through several parts of the world (as the French use to do) to joyn himself even with the company of Montpezat, and to go to the Court of Spain along with him, where having conferred often times with *Mendoza*, and others of the Council of State, he brought back word at his return, that the Spaniards would certainly conclude a Peace, if means could be found that it might be propounded and negotiated with their reputation; which though it was attributed to the arts of that Counsel to make use of the same engines against the Duke of Mayenne that he used against them, yet being come to his knowledge either purposely, or by chance, it confirmed him in the suspicion he was fallen into by reason of the doubtfull

full answers which his Ambassadour had received from the King's own mouth. But whilst at Rome they referre the resolution of affairs into the Court of Spain, and in Spain they are referred to the advertisements from Rome and Flandets, the humour of the French which was not capable of so much patience, wrought so effectually in favour of the King, that all things were in great commotions, and the Union of the Confederates dissolved of it self in all places. The people of Paris murmured, and kept a noyse being reduced to exceeding scarcity, and the benefit they had felt a while before during the Truce, made their present sufferings more troublesome, more intollerable, the dearth grew every day more necessitous, and the interruption of commerce, and the decay of trading had brought the common people to extreme misery for want of victual, insomuch as that powerful incentive failing, wherewith the Chief among them were wont to keep them to the League, which was the danger of Religion, since that by many signes the King's conversion was seen to be real and unfeigned; every one inclined to free himself from trouble; and by peace to make an end of the continued sufferings of so many years. They saw that in those places that submitted themselves to the King's obedience, the Catholick Religion was maintained, the Clergy-mens goods restored to them, Garrisons taken away from those places that belonged to Churches, the exercise of the Hugonot Religion excluded, the Corporations maintained in their priviledges, the Catholicks had their Offices confirmed upon them, the Governments put again into the hands of the same Commanders, and that there appeared no innovation nor danger of any kind whatsoever. The fame of the King's devotion flew abroad, and his inclination to the benefit of the Catholick Religion, that his Council was composed of all Prelates, and persons bred up in the same Faith; his clemency and benignity were exalted; his minde farre from revenge commended, and besides all this, the plenty and quiet they of his party enjoyed, were envied by those of the League in the extremity of their sufferings. The covetousnesse of the Spaniards, and the ways they had gone in, had filled every one with discontent, the discords that rained among the Heads of the Faction put every understanding man in despair of expecting any prosperous end after so long toyle, and

The Parisians murmur by reason of their sufferings which they begin again to feel, and so much the more because the point of Religion being taken away, they every day see the Kings good usage of the Catholicks.

1594

and labours; wherefore the people began to make many Conventicles and Meetings, and the *Politicks* failed not to represent fitting considerations to all degrees and qualities of Persons; nor did the Count *de Belin*, who as Governour had the charge to hinder the progresse of this inclination, seem to take any care of it: either because he was indeed unsatisfied with the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Spaniards; or because he thought it impossible longer to withhold the City from revolting, and therefore agreed to get the King's favour, that he might by him be confirmed in that Government.

The Count de Belin is removed from the Government of Paris, and the Count de Brissac elected in his place

The Count de Belin is removed from the Government of Paris, and the Count de Brissac elected in his place

But the Duke being present, it was not hard for him to find out what way the Governour went, and being indiged by the importunities of the Legate, and Spanish Ambassadors, he resolved to remove him from the Government, which when it was known the Parliament opposed it stiffly, but in vain, because the Duke of *Mayenne*, after having severely reprehended the Councellours of Parliament, would by all means have the Count *de Brissac* accepted, whom he desired to satisfy by that means, his wonted Government of *Poitiers* having been violently taken from him a while before by the Duke of *Enghien*, in which change the Duke was very much deceived; for *Brissac* (though he depended upon, and had antiently been bred up in his family, yet) having spent all his own, to follow the Duke's fortunes, he had also lately been deprived of that Government which he only loved; whereupon he was full of secret discontent, and was not likely to omit those occasions that should represent themselves to set his fortune right again; nor was the Government of *Paris* proposed to make him amends; for besides the expence which the splendour of that charge carryed along with it, which was very unproportionable to his present ability, he was also certain that he should not continue in it, for there was a treaty already of giving the Government of the Isle of France to the Marquess of *S. Sorlin*, and though they talk'd that it should be given him excluding the City of *Paris*, yet was it very probable that by the importunities of his Mother he at last would obtain it.

The Duke of Mayenne being resolved to lye no longer idle to the lessening of the reputation of his Parry, goes from Paris.

But the Duke after he had settled *Brissac* in the Government, confiding absolutely in him, resolved to go from *Paris* to *Soissons*, and from thence to the Army, beleiving (as it was true) that his lying idle lessen'd his reputation, and gave the people greater conveniency to revolt; and yet at his departure

departure many things crossed him, and he was put in a suspicion of the new Governours fidelity, and of the intelligence which the *Prevost des Marchands* held with many *Politicks* that were affected to the Kings party. The Legate, and the Spanish Ambassadors exhorted him likewise not to go, but their words were not taken in good part, he thinking they desired his abode in the City that they might confer the charge of the army and of managing the war upon the Duke of *Guise*; indeed he was something moved by the persuasions of his Mother *Madam de Nemours*, she telling him that the sum of all things consisted now in the conservation of *Paris*, and that she had discovered some practises that past between the *Politicks* of the City and the new Governor; but neither was that able to dissuade him from his departure; for it diminished his reputation, and prejudiced the course of affairs too much to stand with his hands at his girdle, and let himself be straightned to the last necessities without seeking any remedy; and he considered, that if the King being Master of *Pontoise* and *Meaux*, and by consequence also master of the Rivers, and having *Dreux*, *Orleans* and *Chartres* in his power should have a minde to besiege *Paris*, he should be locked up in the City, and not be able to do any thing to relieve it, and having notice that the King had made a Levy of Six thousand *Switzers* which were ready to enter into the Kingdom, and knowing that the Queen of England was sending new supplies of Men and Ammunition, he thought it necessary to draw the forces of the Confederates together, to make opposition in the Spring time, if the King should take the field with a great Army, which could not be done unless he himself in person were active in the business, not judging the Duke of *Guise*, or the Duke of *Aumale* either for authority or experience sufficient to raise, or command the Army, in which charge the secret intentions of men, now more suspected by him then ever, would not suffer him to trust any other person. Moved by these reasons, and not being able to persuade himself that the Count *de Brissac* would forsake him, and change that Faith which he, his Father, and his Grandfather had ever constantly kept, he at last departed and took his Lady, and his son with him; leaving his mother, his sister, the Cardinal Legat, and the Spanish Ambassadors at *Paris*.

But he was no sooner gone, when the Governor finding himself alone, and little valuing all the rest that were in the

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City,

1594 City, thought that occasion for the raising of his fortune again, was not to be lost; wherefore having drawn *Jehan Viller*, the *Prevost des Merchands*, and the two chief *Eschevins*, which were *Guilliaume du Ver*, *Sieur de Neret*, and *Martin l'Anglois*, *Sieur de Beauripaire* unto his party, he went on to deal with the first President, and the other Counsellors of the Parliament. These were displeased with the Duke of Mayenne, because in many occasions, and particularly in the last of changing the Governor, he had (as they said) used them sharply and ingratefully, and openly derided and abused them, and much more were they disgusted at the Spaniards, by reason of the Proposition of the Infanta, against whose election they had shewed themselves openly; but that which imported most of all, was, That the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parliament, (as men distrusted and disaffected) were ill used by the Catholick Kings Ambassadors, and by the Garison of Italians, Walloons, and Spaniards, which depended on them so, that they not onely heard proud threats, and opprobrious speeches against themselves to their very faces, with often mentioning the name of *Brissson*, but their Servants, and Caterers were abused in the Markets by the Soldiers, even to the violent taking away from them whatsoever they bought; for which they having often complained to the Duke of Mayenne, had not gotten any remedy, but onely perswasions to be patient; but at last from this long sufferance, they turned to fury, which wakening mens mindes (as it was wont) had made them see how near they were to the hated servitude of strangers, and how much better it was to secure their own fortune with the stronger party, and free themselves at last from anguish and trouble; wherefore it was not hard to draw them to the opinion of the rest, and bring them to consent to submit the City to the Kings obedience.

The Count de
Brissac pre-
sently begins
to deal with
the chief men
of the City, to
perswade
them to sub-
mit to the
Kings obedi-
ence.

Things being thus settled within, and the Governor thinking himself to be in such a condition as to dispose of the people his own way, began to treat with the King by means of the Count de *la Rochepot*, with whom he had an exceeding near affinity and friendship, and being come from the beginnings of a Treaty, to agree upon the conditions, the Count de *Schombergh*, Monsieur de *Bellieure*, and the President de *Tbon*, were employed in the business, who within a few days concluded what was to be done as well to satisfie the Count de *Brissac*

Brissac, as to gain the City without tumult, or blood-shed, and finally the Count himself having conferred in the field with the *Sieur de St Luc*, who had married one of his sisters, under pretence of treating about her Portion, about which they had been long in suite, it was joyntly agreed upon, That in the City of *Paris*, the *Fauxbourgs* thereof, and ten mile round about, there should be no publick exercise permitted, save of the Roman Catholick Religion, according to all the Edicts of former Kings. That the King should give a general pardon to all of what state or condition soever, that had in word or deed upheld and fomented the League, stirr'd up the people to sedition, spoken evil of his person, written or printed against him, thrown down or despised his Royal Arms, or the Arms of the Kings his Predecessors, or that were guilty in any kind whatsoever of the past seditions, excepting those that had traiterously conspired against his Person, or that were accessary to the murder of the late King; That the goods and persons of the Citizens, should be free from violence and plunder, all the Priviledges, Prerogatives, and Immunities confirmed, and kept in the same degree they were wont to be in the times of former Kings; That all Places, Offices, and Benefices into which the Duke of *Mayenne* had put men when they were vacant by death, as well within the Parliament as without, should be confirmed unto the same persons, but with an obligation to take new Patents from the King. That all the present Magistrates of the City should be confirmed if they would submit themselves to the Kings obedience. That every Citizen that would not stay in the City, might have free liberty to depart, and without further leave carry away his goods. That the Cardinal-Legat, Cardinal *Pelleve*, and all the Prelats with their servants, might with their goods, and furniture freely stay, or go, how, and when they thought it seasonable. That the Princesses and Ladies that were in the City, might stay, or go in like manner with full liberty and security. That the Spanish Ambassadors with their attendants, goods, and families, might also have Pass-ports and safe conducts, from the King, to go securely whither they pleased. That the Souldiers of the Garrison, French and strangers of any Nation soever, might march out of the City armed in rank and file, their Drum's beating, Colours flying, and light march, to go whither they thought good. That two hun-

Conditions of agreement concluded between the King and the Governour of *Paris*.

Particular
conditions
concluded in
the favour of
the Count de
Brissac.

dred thousand Crowns should be paid to the Count de Brissac in recompence of his expences, and losses, and that he should have twenty thousand Francks of an annual pension, the Charge of Marshall of France conferred upon him by the Duke of Mayenne should be confirmed, and the perpetual Government of Corbie and Mante granted to him; which things with many other of less moment being agreed upon, both sides applyed themselves to the execution of them.

The King desires to be crowned; some object that it cannot be done but at Reimes where the *Sainte Ampoule* or holy vial is kept which (they say) was brought from Heaven by an Angel to annoint King *Clouis*.

The King at this time was at Chartres, where he had caused himself to be crowned, and anointed, or (as they call it) *Sacré*; about which there had been many difficulties, which nevertheless by the authority of the Council were seasonably removed; for he, that he might take away the doubts of scrupulous minds, desiring to his Conversion to add this Ceremony, which is wont to be used to all Kings, some objected that the Consecration by an ancient custom could not be but at the City of Reimes, nor by the hands of any other then the Arch-Bishop of that Church; but having diligently overlooked the History of former times, the learned found that many Kings had been consecrated in other places; and since that City was not in the Kings power, reason consented not that he should therefore remain without that due Ceremony which they thought necessary for his perfect Establishment. This difficulty being removed, there succeeded another, how the King could be anointed without the oyle of *S. Ampoule*, which was kept in the Cathedral of that City, and which (as fame reports) was brought down by an Angel from Heaven, purposely for the consecration of King *Clouis*, and the other Kings of France his Successors; but neither of this was there any other necessity save bare tradition: whereupon it was determined that neither the City, nor the Oyle being in the Kings power, the oyle should be brought that is kept in the City of Tours, in the Monastery of the Friars of *S. Martin*, of which there is a report (confirmed by the authority of many writers) that it was likewise brought from Heaven to annoint that *Saint*, when, falling from the Top of a ladder, all his bones were broken, and shattered in pieces; wherefore Monsieur de *Sourray* Governour of Tours, having caused that vial to be brought out in Procession, by those Monks that had it in keeping, and having placed it under a rich Canopy of State, set round pompously with lights, in the top of a Chariot made

made expressely for that purpose, and guarded by four Troops of Horse, he himself going before it all the journey, brought it along with him to the City of *Chartres*, and with that oyle they anointed the King at his Consecration, causing it afterward to be carried back to its place, with the same ceremony and veneration.

1594

There arose also a competition among the Prelates, Which of them should perform the act of consecration; for the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* pretended, that function belonged unto him, as Primate; and on the other side, *Nicholas de Thou* Bishop of *Chartres*, alledged that the Ceremony being to be celebrated in his Church, it could not be taken away from him. The Councel sentenced in favour of the Bishop of the Diocess; and so upon the twenty seventh of February the King was consecrated with great Solemnity and Pomp, both Ecclesiastical and Military, the twelve Peers of France being present at the Ceremony; six Ecclesiastical, and six Secular, which were, the Bishop of *Chartres*, *Nantes*, * *Mans*, *Maillezays*, *Orleans*, and *Angiers*, representing those of *Reimes*, *Langues*, *Laon*, *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, and *Chalons*: and for the Secular Peers, the Prince of *Conty* for the Duke of *Bourgogne*, the Duke of *Soissons* for the Duke of *Guienne*, the Duke of *Montpensier* for the Duke of *Normandy*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* instead of the Earl of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Retz* in stead of the Count de *Toulouse*, and the Duke of *Vantadour* in stead of the Count de *Champagne*; the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* did the Office of *Grand Aumosnier*, the Marshal de *Matignon* of High-Constable, the Duke of *Longueville* that of High-Chamberlain, the Count de *S. Paul* that of *Grand-Maistre*, and the High-Chancellor *Chiverny* holding the Seals in his right-hand, fate on one side of the Cloth of State.

* The French says *Dinan*.

The King according to the custom of the Kings of France, upon the day of this Solemnity, received the Communion in both kinds, took the oath which all the Kings of France are wont to take, to maintain the Catholick faith, and the authority of the Holy Church, and at his coming out of the Church, touched those that had the Kings evil, to the number of three hundred; from the Church he went unto the feast, where according to the custom fate the twelve Peers that had been Present at the Ceremony, the Princess *Katherine*

The obligation of France upon the day of their consecration.

1594

the Sister to the King, with the other great Ladies that were at Court, and the Ambassadors of the Queen of England, and the Republick of Venice. After dinner the King went to *Vespers*, where he received the order of the *St Esprit*, renewing his oath for the conservation of the Faith, and the persecution of Heresie; which Ceremonies as they filled the hearts of his own party with great joy and gladness; so did they the more move the inclination of the others to acknowledge and obey him.

In the mean time the Treaties in Paris were ripening for the reducing of that City, being mannaged with great dexterity and secrecy by the Governour, the *Prevost des Marchands*, and *President le Maistre*; but thwarted more then ever by the violent perswasions of the Preachers, who ceased not to cry from their Pulpits, that the Kings conversion was feigned and dissembled, and that no body could acknowledge him with a good conscience. The business was likewise crossed by the practices and boldness of the *Sixteen*, who since the accident of *President Brisson*, having remained with small credit, and less power, being now fomented by the Legate and the Spaniards, and no less by the Dutcheſſes of *Nemours* and *Montpensier* (who had turned their sails according to the wind) they began to rise again, meeting frequently, often stirring up commotions, and proceeding audaciously against those that were suspected to be of the King's party; but the Governour making use of his authority, and also of the Duke of Mayenne's name, laboured to dissipate and suppress them, under colour that he would have no Conventicles, nor armed insurrections in a time of so great suspicion: and finally, having accorded with the Parliament, they caused publick Proclamation to be made, that upon pain of death, and confiscation of goods, none should go to any meeting, except in the Town-house, and in the presence of above five Magistrates: Upon the foundation of this Decree, the Governour sharply using force, did within a few dayes destroy and take away the opposition of the *Sixteen*, insomuch, that being at last in such a condition, that he was able to dispose of the City, he resolved that he would receive the King upon the 22 of March in the Morning; and to this end, having spread a report that the Duke of Mayenne was sending Men and Ammunition from *Soissons* to re-inforce the City, and that it was necessary

By an artifice of the Governour of Paris a Proclamation is made that upon pain of death, and confiscation of goods, none should assemble but in the Town-house. The Count of *Brissac* having received the King into Paris, sends forth the forces he distrusts, faining that the Duke of Mayenne was sending Supplies, and that it was necessary to meet them.

necessary to send to meet them, he caused Colonel *Giacopo Argenti* to go forth the day before with his French Regiment, in which he confided not, sending them toward Beauvais, by which way he said those Supplies were coming; *Martin l'Anglois* had already dealt with, and by the promise of a great sum of money, drawn St. *Quintin* over to his party, who commanded the Tertia of Walloons that was in the Town: But the suspicion of it being come to the Duke of Fera, he caused him to be laid hold on upon the One and twentieth day, and removed that whole Tertia, as likewise that other of Spaniards into the quarters near his own house, which being about the Rue St. Antoine, in the remotest place from that part where it was intended the King should be brought in, it proved very much to the purpose, that the strongest Forces were quartered at so great a distance. The Neopolitan Tertia commanded by *Alessandro de Monti* was sent by the Governor into that part of the City which lies beyond the River, saying, He would keep them there in a readiness to receive a great quantity of victual which was to be brought in on that side the next day. Onely the Germans were retained toward the quarters of St. Honore and St. Denis as being more easie, either to be perswaded, or defeated; the Governor not being willing by emptying that quarter utterly, to increase the suspicion that already began to spread hotly in all places.

The Evening being come, the Governor having at his house assembled the *Prevost des Marchands*, and those Heads and Magistrates of the People, which he hoped would consent, laid open to them his intention, the Articles of Agreement made with the King, and the necessity they were reduced to of freeing themselves by peace from those sufferings and dangers which had no other remedy; and having found them all unanimously disposed to follow his advice, he exhorted them to do it freely, and with a good heart, and to provide, that the alteration of things, and the introducing the King might be effected without stir or tumult; to which every one there present being ready, they about nine of the clock at night dispatched Tickets subscribed by the *Prevost des Marchands*, to the greater part of the Masters of the several Wards, whom they had changed and chosen their own way, advertising them that the Peace was made, and that the accommodation being to issue the next morning, they should take care there were no uproar,

1594 roar, but that every one embracing peace, which was so necessary, and so long desired, should raise no tumult, the safety and goods of the Citizens being certainly secure.

The manner
used by the
Governor to
bring the
King into the
City of Paris.

This order being given (which past with infinite secrecy, and was willingly executed by all) the Governor went to Porte Neufue about midnight, and having brought the Germans thither, set them in order with their Arms, and in a short time caused the Earth to be taken away wherewith that Gate had been damned up long before. The like did the *Prevost des Marchands* at the *Porte St. Denis*, where having left *Martin l' Anglois* to guard it, he went to meet with the Governor at Porte Neufue. The night had been exceeding rainy, and with thunder and lightning very stormy and dark; wherefore the King having marched with his Army from Senlis to St. Denis the night before, was two hours after the time appointed before he appeared; and in the interim the whole City being in a Commotion, the noise was heard by the Spanish Ambassadors, of which the Duke of Feria presently drew the Infantry that lay about him into arms, and *Diego d' Ivarra* riding hastily on horse-back to Porte Neufue, asked in his wonted haughty manner, what was doing there? But the Count *de Brissac* no less haughtily answered him, That he was not obliged to give him an account what was done: But in courtesie he would tell him, that the Men and Ammunition which were coming from the Duke of Mayenne were to be received there; for that to avoid falling into the Kings hands, they were come a by-way on that side, and therefore he might be quiet, and go take his rest. *Diego* either believing this, or knowing there could not be any opposition, went also to the quarter of the Spaniards.

The manner
how the King
and his forces
entered into
Paris.

It was already four of the clock in the morning, when Monsieur *de St. Luc* arrived with the first Troops of the Army at the *Tuilleries* without the Gate, and having given the sign by three Rockets that were fired in the Air, as they had agreed, the Count *de Brissac* advanced to see if it were he, and to speak with him; and being come back to the place where the *Prevost des Marchands* staid, they presently caused the Gate to be set wide open, at which Monsieur *de St. Luc* entred first of all, marching on foot with his Pistol in his hand, and placed Captain *Favas* with an hundred armed men in two rows to

to guard the same Port, and he himself with the *Sieur de Vic*, and Four hundred Soldiers of the Garison of St. Denis possessed the Rue St. Thomas; then followed Monsieur d' *Humieres* and the Count *de Belin* (who was already gone over to serve the King out of anger for being put out of his Government) and Captain *Raullet* all on foot with their Arms ready, and advancing with 800 men, made themselves masters of the Pont St. Michel. Thirdly, entred Monsieur d' *O*, Governor of the Isle of France, and destined to be Governor of Paris, who with the Baron *de Salignac*, and Four hundred Soldiers marching along the Wall, went to possess the Porte St. Honore; the Mareschal *de Matignon* who led the Switzers, having at his entrance seen the German Foot in Arms, cried out to them aloud to throw down their Arms, which they refusing to do, he having commanded those that followed him to charge their Pikes, caused about twenty of them to be slain, and as many cast into the River; whereupon the rest throwing down their Arms, were taken and brought by him to St. Thomas Church; from whence he spread himself with his Switzers as far as the Croix de Tiroir in the midst of the Rue St. Honore. After him entred the *Sieur de Bellegarde*, and then the Count *de St. Paul* with two other Squadrons, who made a stand before the Louvre, spreading themselves as far as St. Germain's Church. After these marched the King himself on foot likewise, compleatly armed at the head of Four hundred Gentlemen, and inclosed between two rows of the Archers of his Guard; and having found the Count *de Brissac* at the entry of the Bridge, he presently took off his own white Scarf he wore, and having put it over the Counts shoulder, embraced him closely; and at the same time the Governor crying out aloud, *Vive le Roy*; the word was taken up first by the *Prevost des Marchands* who stood behinde him, and then from one to another was doubled thorow all the Wards of the City; and even they themselves that were not privy to the business joyfully reiterated the same cry. The King passing on in the midst of a Lane made by his own men, commanded that none upon pain of death should do injury to any body, and with the same attendance went strait to the Church of Nostre-Dame, where he was received by the Priests with no less applause then he had been in other places. The last that came in, was the Mareschal *de Retz*, who advancing in excellent order to the utmost parts of the City, to secure those

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quarters,

1594

After eight years space (or so long it was since K. Henry the Third fled from thence) the City of Paris returns into obedience, and Henry the Fourth enters into it.

The Count de Brissac cries Vive le Roy, and the same cry runs thorow the whole City.

1594

The people
strive who
shall mark
themselves
first with
white Rib-
bands and
white Crosses
in their Hats,
and open
their Shops,
the City be-
ing quiet
within two
hours.

quarters, met *Diego d' Ivarra*, who with two Companies of Spaniards was coming towards the tumult ; but the Kings Forces coming in so much a greater number, they retired where the rest of them were, and the Mareschal possessed the Rue St. Martin ; that of St. Denis being already possessed by Monsieur *de Vitry*, and the Sieur *de la Noüe*, who entred at that Gate. At the Kings coming out of the Church, the people already certain of what was come to pass, and assured of their own safety, took up the cry of *Vive le Roy* again, more joyfully then before, and began with very great emulation of one another to put on white Ribbands, and Crosses of the same colour in their Hats, striving with joy and gladness who should be the first to open their shops ; so that within two hours the City was as quiet, as if there had been no innovation at all.

The Cardinal
Legat goes
out of the
Kingdom.

Before the King went to the Louvre, he sent Monsieur *du Perron* (a while before returned from Rome) unto the Cardinal Legat : Letting him know, that it was in his own liberty, either to go or stay ; but that he prayed him to finde out some means that they might confer together, since the Pope had refused to admit Ambassadors ; to which he answered, that since he was at liberty, he would not onely go out of the City, but quite out of the Kingdom, which though the King endeavored to dissuade, yet was it not possible to hinder him, as well because he would not be constrained to treat any thing with a Prince that was not acknowledged by the Pope, as because of his old inclination ; which even when all things were in desperation (perhaps to shew himself constant) he could not dissemble ; and yet being used with great respect he staid six days in the City, and thence being accompanied by the same *du Perron* as far as Montargis, he continued in his way to go straight out of the Kingdom.

At the same time the King entred, Cardinal *Pellevé* was drawing his last breath, who having heard the resolution of busineses, said angerly, that he hoped yet the arms of the Spaniards and good Catholicks, would drive that Hugonot out of Paris, and as soon as he said those words, he departed out of this life.

The Count *de Brissac* went to the Spanish Ambassadors, and gave them charge from the King to set St. *Quintin* at liberty, which they refused not to obey, and having recalled
Alessandro

Alessandro de Monti to joyn with the Spanish Forces, they resolved to be gone the same day; wherefore in the afternoon being accompanied by *Monfieur de S. Luc*, and the *Baron de Salignac*, they came in the midst of their Forces, which marched in order toward the *Porte S. Martin*, at the entrance whereof the King stayed on horse-back to see them depart. They bowed down exceeding low, and were courteously saluted by him again; so without more words they went forth of the City, and being convoyed by the Kings Forces as far as *Bourget* they took the way toward *Soissons* and so travelled to the Frontiers.

The King with the same affability sent the High-Chancellor, and *Monfieur de Bellieure* to visit the Dutcheffes, and to make his excuse if that day he had not time to visit them in person, who having accommodated their affairs, departed, being very civilly used and honourably accompanied; the King with his courtesie exceeding the obligation of his promises.

The Bishop of *Senlis*, one *Orleans* an Advocate, *Boucher* a Curate, *Nicholas Varade* a Jesuite, *Christophle Aubre* Curate of *S. Andre*, *Pelletier* the Curate of *S. Jaques*, *Jaques Culli* Curate of *S. Germaines*, *John Hamilton* Curate of *S. Cosme*, Father *Guerin* a Franciscan, and divers others of the Preachers, and *Eschevins* of the City went away, some with the Legat, and some with the Spanish Ministers, all the rest of the people, and many of those that had been the Kings bitter enemies remaining, against whom (according to his promise given) he suffered not any commotion at all to be made.

Many out of
jealousie de-
part with the
Cardinal-Le-
gar, and with
the Spanish
Ambassadour.

The *Bastile* remained in the enemies hands, governed by the *Sieur du Bourg*, who for the first and second day was so far from making any shew of yielding, that on the contrary with many Cannon-shot he laboured to infest the Town; but after that a Batterry was rais'd against him, and that he found he wanted victual and ammunition, he surrendered it the fifth day, and having left it in the Kings power, followed the journey of the rest.

The Bastile
after five days
resistance is
surrendered to
the King by
the *Sieur du
Bourg*.

Thus without tumult, without difficulty, and without blood, the City of *Paris* was recovered absolutely to the Kings obedience, who having caused a general pardon to be published, sent his Army forth of the Town, to quarter; recall'd the Parliament, open'd the wayes for provisions, to the publick comfort of men of all qualities; and within a few

1594

dayes setled the City again in its former populoufnesse and ancient splendor.

Monsieur de
Villars Govern-
our of Rouen
submits him-
self to the
King obedi-
ence.

The Example of *Paris* was followed by Mounfieur *de Villars* Governour of *Rouen*, who having treated and concluded by the means of *Maximilian de Bethune* Sieur de *Rosny*, agreed about the same time to acknowledge the King, bringing with him the free navigation of the *Seine*, *Harfleur*, *Havre de grace*, and all the coast of upper Normandy. The Treaty of his agreement had been something difficult; for *Villars* demanded the confirmation of the degree of high Admiral, which office he executed in the party of the League, and the Baron *de Biron* who a while before had obtained that dignity of the King, was very unwilling to let it go; but in the end it being clear that those who returned to the Kings obedience, were to be allured by the confirmation of the offices, and governments whereof they were in possession, the Baron was fain to quit it, receiving in stead thereof the degree of Marechal, which his Father had held very long; and yet was it not without his exceeding great discontent, though the King made him a gift of 20 thousand Crowns, and promised him many governments, he pretending his merit to be the chief in all the Kings Victories, and that it was not fit to deprive him of his honour, and revenues to give them to Enemies; which though he with his wonted freedom of speech exaggerated often-times, saying he would give his office of Marechal for a Nag of fifty Crowns, yet could he not divert the Kings determination, whereupon he conceived so great disdain, as in after times brought forth wonderfull great inconveniences. But *Villars* having got the charge of Admiral, the confirmation of his Governments, entertainment for the *Provençal* Souldiers that followed him, and the Government of *Havre de Grace* in reversion for his brother the *Chevalier d'Oyse*, declared himself in the end of March, and put those places under the Kings obedience, which obtained all things fit, as well for the maintenance of Religion, as their particular interests.

Thus the whole Province of Normandy being come into the Kings Power, there remained onely *Honfleur* in the lower Province which held for the Party of the League. That Town stands in a corner which like a *Peninsula* thrusts it self forwards and advances into the Ocean Sea, over against *Havre de Grace*, lying on the other side just in the place where the

the River *Seine* falls into the Sea, so that between the two Fortresses there is nothing but the current of the River which receiving the flux of the Sea, and largely overflowing, is two great French Leagues in breadth. The Commander of this place was *Commendatory Grillon*, who as being a *Provençal* had got thither a great Garrison of that same Country, and there being with him in it one of the Sons of the *Sieur de Fountaine Martel* a principal man in the Country of *Caen*, Captain *la Tour*, a valiant and expert warriour, Captain *Glaise* Nephew to the Governour of *Caen*, one *Truville* a Curate, who from a Priest was become a famous Commander, and many other Souldiers and Gentlemen who followed the same faction, they had made it a principal retreat, and overrunning and pillaging the Country, and taking any prisoners without regard, imposing taxes upon rich men, and with a good number of barks well manned, making prize of those vessels that past at the mouth of the River, had filled the place not onely with store of souldiers, and all preparations for war, but also with abundance of riches: wherefore the Duke of Montpensier, desiring to take away that obstacle, that stood in the midst of his Government, and to free the neighbouring people from those sufferings, resolved to besiege it in the beginning of April; wherefore he summoned in the Gentry of all the Province, and with two thousand English Foot that were newly landed to go into *Bretagne*, eight hundred Germans who had served in those parts a great while, four French Regiments drawn together out of the Garrisons of that Province, which amounted to the number of three thousand, three hundred Harquebussiers on horse-back, and eight hundred Gentlemen marched from *Lisieux* upon the tenth of April, and appeared before the Town upon the eleventh in the morning.

The Town on the land-side, is encompassed with a moat of forty paces broad, through which the Sea ebbs and flows, and over it stands a spacious bridge, upon Pillars of stone, but covered above with planks, and timber which the Duke had designed to possess himself of, at his first arrival; wherefore while the Army drew near with an easie march, Colonel *la Liferne* advanced with his Regiment towards the Bridge, being seconded by Monsieur *de Ferwaques* with two hundred and fifty Horse, but they of the Town foreseeing the design, had

The Duke of Montpensier layes siege to Honfleur which was the onely Place that held for the League in that lower Normandy.

1594

* *Tarling* is
small peeces of
Iron, for which
kind of Charge
the narrow
bore of Falcon-
nets is not very
proper; and
therefore Tra-
therghes they
were Portiers,
which are com-
monly used for
that purpose.

had Placed two Falconets upon the Bridge, and had given the charge of making it good unto *Truville* the Curate with one hundred Foot; whereupon at the arrival of the Kings Infantry, they began a fierce skirmish; to which Captain *la Tour* coming on the Towns side with another hundred of the stoutest Souldiers, *la Litrnes* Foot began to retire, when the Sieur *de Fervaques* (perchance with more courage then discretion) ran full speed to beat back the Enemy, who already was advanced into a large place without the narrowness of the Bridge; but *Truville* and *la Tour*, when they saw him so far engaged, that he was come within shot of their Falconets, made so seasonable use of them, that being laden with * *Tarling*, they killed above twenty of his men at a clap, and wounded twenty more, among which *Henrico Davila* who wrote this History having his Horse killed under him, was in very great danger of being slain; But *Fervaques* wheeling off, the English came up to the skirmish, which (being reinforced sometimes by the French Foot, sometimes by the Harquebusiers on horse-back, sometimes by *Fervaques* with his Horse again,) lasted that whole day, without being able to beat the defendants from the Bridge.

Monsieur *de Surrenne* one of the Field Marshalls, caused a Fort to be cast up that night, over against the Bridge; which though the Artillery from within annoyed it very much, was yet made defensible the next day, and having planted four peeces of Cannon in it, they played so hot upon the Enemies, that *Truville* the Curate being killed with a Culverin bullet, they were forced to forsake the Bridge; but they shewed so firm resolution, that they would not leave it to retire into the Town till they had seen all the wood-work burnt, or thrown into the water. The three dayes following, the Artillery were planted, which to the number of fourteen Pieces battred from the Gate to the Sea-shore on the west-side; but they were so much despised by the besieged for some few days at first, that Captain *la Tour* feared not between shot and shot to appear upon the wall, nor, for all the Cannoniers could do, (who interpreted that action to be in scorn of them) was it possible either to hit him or daunt him; and yet within five dayes they had made so great a Breach with their Artillery, that upon the two and twentieth day, the Foot advanced to give the assault.

The

The Moat had been very ill discovered (a thing more pernicious then all others in matter of assault) and the Commanders believed it had been full of Sand, brought up by the flowing of the Sea, that might have been able to bear the weight of those that should fall on; so that watching the opportunity of the tide, the English and the French, when the water was at the lowest, gave on in several places of the Moat; but though they found firm Sand at the first, and so went on; yet being come into the middle, they sunk in so deep, that many of them stuck fast, without being able to get out, and so like wilde beasts caught in a Net, were with cries and hisings pelted to death with small shot by the enemies that were upon the Wall. Captain *Gasconet* was slain there with eighty French; and of the English above 150, with their Lieutenant Colonel.

1594
The Kings
Forces going
on to the As-
sault without
having well
discovered
the Moat, are
killed in it
with showers
of Musket
Bullets.

But the Duke vext at this so great mischance, would needs after that be present himself in all busineses, and with very great art, and no less diligence caused certain Bridges to be made of a middling length, which reached from the edge of the Moat as far as the Mud, each having in the Front of it a little Gabion filled with Earth, under favor whereof, casting great brush Faggots, Stones, and other rubbish into the hollow of the Moat, they labored to fill it up by little and little, though it was done with evident danger, and the loss of a great many of the best Soldiers, by reason of the continual shouring of Musket-shot, Stones, Fire-works, and other inventions, with which the Defendants used incessantly to offend them. But the work being finished in four days, they found the enemy had cast up a great Trench within, wherewith they had made up and covered all that space of the Wall that was battered: Whereupon the place being viewed, it was judged very difficult, and in a manner impossible to enter it. Wherefore the Duke making all their endeavors to be employed that same night at the Bridge which was broken down, caused it to be so pieced up with new Beams and Planks, that it might be passed over, though with some difficulty, and but few in Front, which was effected beyond every ones belief; for the night was short, and they wrought in the dark, except onely the light the Defendants made by throwing great stoff of Fire-works to discover what was doing. The same night five pieces of Cannon were drawn thither from the next Battery, and

1594 and they began furiously to give fire by break of day, in such manner, that they beat down the Tower of the Gate, and a great part of it before the besieged had time to make any
 * Or Cuttings off. * Retrenchments. Scarce was the breach so wide, that two or three might enter abreast, when the *Sieur de Pompiere* and the *Baron d' Ailly*, with two valiant Squadrons ran furiously to the Assault; but finding a no less valiant resistance from the besieged, there began a short, but furious conflict, wherein they of the Town prevailing, by reason both the Commanders that made the Assault were sorely wounded, the Infantry within half an hour drew off from the Wall; which that it might not be repaired, the Artillery began to play again without intermission; so that toward the evening *Colonel la Liferne*, and *Colonel Colombiere*, two Brothers, renewed the Assault in the same place, which though constantly sustained by those within, yet the stoutest Provençals being slain, Captain *Glaife* wounded, *Fountaine Martel* lamed, their Fire-works spent, and four of the best Pieces they had broken, *Commandatory Grillon* began to think of surrendering; so that news coming thither opportunely by Sea, that the *Admiral Villars*, and the City of *Rouen*, *Monti-villier*, *Honfleur*, and *Harve-de-Grace*, standing on the other side of the River, had embraced the Kings party; being by that means deprived of all hope of being relieved, he bent his minde to think of saving the abundance of riches they had there gotten together: For which purpose it was necessary to make composition, and not stay till they were brought to the utmost weakness. Wherefore having sent to parley with the *Sieurs de Ferwaques* and *Surene*, he at last concluded to surrender upon condition to go forth, their goods and persons safe, laying down Twelve thousand Crowns for the payment of the Army, and to march on the other side of the River, to those Towns that held yet for the League. Thus the Town being put into the hand of the *Sieur d' Aleret*, Governor of *Tuques*, a Servant of the Duke of *Montpensier*, the whole Province of Normandy remained in the Kings obedience; for *la Fountaine Martel*, who was Governor of *Neuf-Chastel* in the County of *Caux*, submitted himself in like manner about the same time.

Honfleur is delivered up to the Duke of Montpensier.

But already the people, and the Governors being weary of the troubles of War, and allured by the Kings clemency, and the liberal conditions he gave, who with full satisfaction content-

contented the desires of all those that came over to his Party, made haste in all places to acknowledge him; and the Court was full of those that negotiated the Peace, either of their Friends and Dependants, or of the Cities and Towns that came into the Kings obedience. *Abbeville* and *Montreuil* followed this counsel in the Province of *Picardy*: *Trois*, a great City, and well-peopled in the Province of *Champagne*; *Sens*, a City and Archbishoprick in the confines of *Brie* and *Bourgonne*, *Agen*, *Ville-neufue*, and *Marmande*, in the confines of *Guascogne*, and finally, the City of *Poitiers* was reduced to the Kings devotion by *Seevole de St. Marthe*, Treasurer of France, a man no less adorned with excellent Learning, and sweetness of Eloquence, then with Experience and Civil Prudence.

Places that yield themselves to the Kings obedience.

Charles de Lorain, Duke of *Elboeuf*, compounded also by means of the same *St. Marthe*, to come over to the Kings Party, with promise, that the Government of that Town should be reserved for him, and that he should have Thirty thousand Franks in Pension. But he desired the Agreement might for some time be kept secret, hoping that even the Duke of *Mayenne* also would come in within a while, and desiring, if it were possible, not to separate himself from him.

The Duke of *Elboeuf* is the first of the House of *Lorain* that makes his peace with the King.

But the Duke of *Mayenne* was quite of another minde; for being still intangled in his long settled hopes, or thinking it so befitted his reputation, he was resolved to look Fortune in the face, and not to come by any means to terms of agreement, unless the Popes judgment and consent preceded. Wherefore after he went from *Paris*, going straight to *Soissons*, he began with infinite diligence to reunite his Forces, and set them again in Order, and had sent to the Duke of *Lorain*, that together with the Dukes of *Guise* and *Aumale*, he would come and confer with him in some convenient place, to take some resolution about their common affairs; judging, that if they would keep united with him, they might gather so many Forces again together, as being assisted with Supplies from *Spain*, they might easily, either set their own Fortune on foot again, or advantage themselves in a Beneficial and Honorable Accommodation, in case the Pope should resolve to approve the Kings Conversion.

The Duke of *Lorain* came to *Bar-le-Duc*, in the confines

B b b b b b b

of

1594

The Lords of
the House of
Lorain meet
at Paris to treat
of their com-
mon interests.

The Duke of
Mayenne see-
ing the Lords
of his Family
were inclined
to Peace, per-
mits the Duke
of Lorain to
treat of it in
all their
names, and in
the mean
time endeav-
ors to rein-
force himself,
that being
armed, he
might obtain
the better
Conditions.

of his State, and there were the Dukes of Mayenne and An-
male; but the Duke of Guise could not be at the meeting, be-
cause the Province of Champagne was all in a tumult, not only
by reason that the City of Troys had driven out his Brother the
Prince of Joinville, and declared for the King, but because
the Count *de St. Paul*, anciently bred up in, and depending
on his Family, was suspected to plot new designs: Where-
fore not to leave those places that yet acknowledged him, he
was fain to stay in the Province, and to send *Pellicart* his
Fathers old Secretary in his name unto the Meeting. There
the opinions disagreed; for the Duke of Lorain, weary of the
War, to the end, that he might not see his state more de-
stroyed by the continual passing of Foreign Forces, inclined
wholly to Peace. But on the contrary, the Duke of Anmale,
a man of a fierce obstinate nature, was more then ever inflamed
to follow the War, and had determined rather to put himself
and the place he held in his hands, under the Dominion of
the Spaniards, then submit himself to the discretion and obe-
dience of the King. The Duke of Guise kept his opinion
the more secret by not being present, and his Secretary with
excuse of giving him information of the things in Treaty, and
of expecting his Orders thereupon, held his sentence ambi-
guous and unresolved. But the Duke of Mayenne, in whom
the sum of the business consisted, and who was able to turn
the rest to his opinion, as he was firmly resolved not to make
Composition without the Popes consent, so thinking that
might without much difficulty be obtained, if it were but en-
deavored, was in that case uncertain what he should demand;
and whether it were better counsel to follow the hopes of the
War, or accommodate himself to the security of Peace: But
because he saw the Duke of Lorain, and thought he found the
Duke of Guise more inclined to Peace, he took a middle Re-
solution; and permitting the Duke of Lorain to manage a trea-
ty of Agreement in the name of them all, he caused them all
joyntly to determine that their Forces should draw together,
and that Supplies from Flanders should be earnestly labored
for, that they might have means to expect what end the Popes
judgment would have, and that by the reputation of their
strength, and by force, they might extort more advantageous
conditions of Agreement. Wherefore the Duke of Lorain
presently dispatched *Monsieur de Bassompier* into France, to
treat

treat with the Count *de Scombergh* and *Villeroy* of an agreement, and at the same time gave order that two hundred *Lanciers*, and three hundred *Harquebusiers* on horse-back should go to *Laon*, to joyn with the forces of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who having till then by the means of *Monfieur de Rosne* treated with the Arch-Duke *Ernest*, who was newly come to Govern the Low-Countries, going now to *la Fere*, he sent the *Vice-Senechal de Montlimar*, and his Secretary *Des Portes* to him.

The opinions of the Spanish Ministers were no less entangled, yet very different from what he believed; for Count *Charles* of Mansfelt, and Count *Peter Ernest* his Father, a man of long experience, and much reputation, President *Riccardotto*, and the major part of the Flemish Councillours, were of opinion, that at last, giving over the vain and ruinous hopes of France, and agreeing with the King in some advantageous resolution, they should apply their utmost forces to their own interests in the Low-Countries, where the united Provinces with the opportunity of the Armies being diverted, and of the Commanders being far off, had in a few years made exceeding great progresses, so that the Catholick King according to the common saying, lost his own State by attempting to get another's; but on the contrary the *Condé de Fuentes*, and the other Spanish Counsellors, wrong informed of the affairs of France by the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d'Ivarra*, persisted still in the thoughts of getting the *Infanta* elected, or at least to make themselves masters of many places, and get firm footing in *Picardy* and *Bourgogne*, Provinces confining upon Flanders, which in the end should either remain to the Crown of Spain, or if the King of France got them by composition, he should be necessitated to lay down money in exchange, and to piece up the vast expences which the Catholick King had profusely been at for the space of so many years. While the mindes of the Councillours were in this doubtfulness, came the news of the loss of *Paris*, which made the Arch-Duke resolve upon this last Counsel of the Spaniards; for now all hopes failing that the League should be longer able to subsist, having lost the City of *Paris* its first *Basis* and principal foundation; and on the other side, not judging that the Catholick King, either could very easily obtain, or for his reputation ought to demand Peace, he thought it a very prudent Counsell (disintangling themselves from the ingagement and impe-

1594

The Arch-Duke Ernest at the news of the loss of Paris resolves to think no longer of the Infanta's election but to seize upon some places in the Provinces, confining upon Flanders to make amends for the past expences

The Vice-Seneschal for money put a Spanish Garrison into *la Fere*. The Duke of Anmale for forty thousand Crowns Pension revolts unto the Spaniard with the places under his Government.

The Arch-Duke Ernest informs them in Spain of the State of affairs, and lets them know his determinations.

diment of the League in which it was necessary to spend without measure, to maintain many who at last proved either faithless, or almost fruitless) to make war in King Philip's own name, to imploy all their forces in one place and spend for their own interests, and since to talk longer of the Infanta's election would be but ridiculous, to endeavour at least with the present opportunities to get possession of the places of *Picardy* and *Bourgogne* that they might be a limit to the affairs of Flanders, and serve partly to make amends for their past expences.

With this resolution he presently dealt with Monsieur de Rosne, who agreed to serve the Catholick King for eighteen thousand Crowns of annual pension, and without much difficulty compounded also with the Vice-Seneschal de Montelimar, that for the recompence of thirty thousand Crowns, and retaining the title of the Government for himself, he should bring a Spanish Garrison into *la Fere*, the principal Fortres of all *Picardy*. They treated at the same time with the Duke of Anmale who was inclined more then any other to follow them, and with the establishment of forty thousand Crowns Pension they brought him over with the Towns he possessed, and with an hundred Curassiers, and two hundred light-horse; nor did they fail to work with the other Governours in both Provinces, and to give warmth unto those practices; the Arch-Duke gave charge to Count Mansfelt, that drawing the Army together without delay, he should advance, and make war resolutely upon the Confines of *Picardy*.

The Arch-Duke wrote all this distinctly to the Court of Spain, shewing that this was the most profitable and most expedient resolution; but offering to consideration at the same time, that it was necessary to reinforce the provisions both of men and money, to maintain it; that till then they had spent unprofitably to feed the instability of the French, who as long as they had been able to suck their milk, had made themselves fat at the expences of others, and now they saw the brest dry, revolted another way, and returned to their own nature; that their natural enmity with the Spanish Nation and their own lightness, could never consent they should think of any thing either profitable, or honourable for the Crown of Spain; that the proposition of the Infanta though born of

a Daughter of France, and gotten by that King who had emptied his Kingdomes to succour their necessities, seem'd to them as strange and monstrous, as if the Dominion of a *Scythian*, or an *Indian* had been propounded; that when to mitigate it, they propounded that she should marry a French-man, to shew clearly there was no designe of subjecting them to the Spanish Empire, the discords and ambition that reigned amongst them had not suffered them to consent; but they had rather thoughts of making peace with their common enemy, then to yeeld to one another; that the little resistance which had been made in not satisfying their devouring greediness profusely with Spanish gold, had in a moment not onely disgusted them, but put them in an uprore; for their naturall impatience had brought so many Cities, and so many great Lords to submit themselves without regard to the faith and discretion of their Enemy, that already the principall foundations of the League were fallen away; the Cities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Roüen*, *Bourges*, and *Lyons* revolted; the Admiral *Villars*, the Count *de Brissac*, the Marechal *de la Chastre*, and the Sieur *de Vitry*, principall Heads of the *Union*, and who had sustained the weight of the late warre, were gone over to the Kings obedience, and already the Duke of *Elbænf* of the very House of *Lorain*, notwithstanding his sharp inveterate enmity to the House of *Bourbon*, either treated or had concluded an Agreement; that therefore it was no longer time to referre the Infanta's rights to the arbitrement of the French, but to uphold them by force of Arms, and prosecute the enterprize under his own name, and with his own hopes; that already in *Bretagne* (a member apart, in which the *Salique Law* had nothing to do) the forces of the Spaniards were vigorous and powerfull, which (if they were assisted, and by help of the Sea opportunely recruited) would be able to maintain that Province; that in *Picardie* they held many places gained by means of the Duke of *Amale*, *Montelimar*, and *Rosne*; that endeavours should be used to draw the Duke of *Mayenne* to serve in the same manner, not as Head of the League, but as a Commander for the King of Spain; and by his means the attaining of many places in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne* should be attempted; that the same should be done with the Duke of *Guise* for the places of *Champagne*, and with the Marquess *de S. Sorlin* for those of *Dauphiné*; that the

Sieur

1594

Sieur de Montpezat might be treated with in Spain to obtain some places, to get footing in *Provence*; that Count *Charles* was already advanced with the Army to the Confines of *Picardie*, in which Province they might make very great progress before the King could draw an Army together sufficient to oppose them; but that it was necessary to cut off delays, to hasten the raising of moneys, to make Leavies in Italy and Germany to encrease the Army, and to labour now in good earnest to do themselves service, and no longer to uphold the pretensions and interests of others; that by possessing themselves of many places, especially upon the Confines, where they might be relieved and maintained, a Warr would be prepared for the King of France, who would be fain to spend many years in the regaining of his own, and by keeping him busie at home, that might hinder him from having time to think of the affairs of the Low-Countries, and of the recovery of the Kingdom of Navar: and finally, if it should be convenient for the Crown of Spain to desire peace, the King by having that pawn in hand, might make himself be partly satisfied for his expences and losses; so that the profit and reputation which would ensue from that Counsel being present and manifest, the Expedition likewise ought to be present, and the Supplies quick and resolute.

The Arch-Dukes resolutions are approved and embraced in Spain.

These Letters, very conformable to the humour and designs of the Spaniards, prevailed to cause a resolution in the Court of prosecuting the enterprize according to this determination: Wherefore, though the *Sieur de Montpezat* strove to get a favourable return to the Duke of *Mayenne's* demands, he was answered much more resolutely then before; that Orders were given to the Arch-Duke, and that determinations were to be settled there, at which the Duke of *Mayenne* being near might be present himself: And King *Philip* was so pleased with this Counsel, that applying his whole minde unto it, and with a more then ordinary brevity dispatching the execution of business, in which he was wont to be very slow, he gave fitting Commissions in Flanders, Italy, and to his own Councill, concerning what should presently be done.

But this design which (by many conjectures) was found out by the Duke of *Mayenne*, made him more solicitous then before, seeing himself reduced between two extremes, to the hard necessity

necessity, either of agreeing with the King, without expecting the Popes determination, or else to put his own liberty and the places that depended upon him into the hands of the Spaniards, contrary to what from the beginning he had firmly resolved. On the one side, it afflicted him that the Duke of *Elbeuf* had made his peace with the King; on the other, that the Duke of *Anmale* had made a Composition with the Spaniards, and in this doubtfulness sometimes he inclined to follow the Duke of *Lorains* counsel, and conclude *Bassompier*s treaty; sometimes to meet with the Archduke, who had invited him to come to Mons, and there joyntly to treat of their common Affairs; but before he determined to make peace with the King, he thought best to stay for new informations from the Cardinal of Joyeuse, and the Baron of Senecey; and before he treated with the Archduke, he desired to see a new dispatch from *Montpezat*, that might certifie him what was resolved on in Spain; and amidst these ambiguities he was well pleased that *Madam de Guise* should treat for her son with her sister the Duchess of Nevers, to the end, that she might interpose to make his peace with the King; and he was glad to hear that the Queen Dowager was gone into Bretagne, to treat an Agreement with her Brother the Duke of Mercœur; nor did it displease him, that his Mother *Madam de Nemours*, and his sister *Madam de Montpensier*, being departed from Paris, where they had often discoursed with the King about the present affairs, were come to him to propound Conditions of Peace. But in all these things, he not onely interposed delays, but secret obstacles and impediments, to the end, that businesses might be drawn out at length, and that between Peace and War, the Progress of Arms, and the Resolutions of the Towns that remained of his Party cooling, might allow him the benefit of time, to which, being by nature a friend, he now thought it the onely remedy for the safety of the present conjuncture. But that which kept him most of all from inclining absolutely to an Agreement with the King, was, the obdurateness of the Pope, who though (after the Duke of Nevers his departure, lest he should utterly break off the Treaty of the Kings Absolution) he had given way that Cardinal *Gondi* might come to Rome, yet had he done it with express command, that he should not open his mouth concerning the Affairs of France, whereby the Popes secret intention being hid.

1594
The Duke of Mayenne seeing the thred of his hopes broken, and knowing himself to be constrained to one of two Resolutions, wavers in determining, and interposes obstacles to gain time.

The Pope permits Cardinal *Gondi* (who had stayed some time in Florence) to come to Rome, but with a command, not to speak a word about the Affairs of France.

1594

The Date of
 Mayenne was
 ing the third
 of his hopes
 broken, and
 knowing him
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 firmed to
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Count Charles
of Mansfelt
enters into
France with
his Army,
and besieges
la Cappelles.

hid, it was in appearance manifest, that he continued in the thought of rejecting the Kings earnest desires. And on the other side, that which withdrew him from agreeing with the Spaniards, was the obstinate persecution of him by the Duke of Feria, and *Diego d' Ivarra*; who after their departure from Paris, had discoursed with him at Laon; and attributing all things that had come to pass amiss to his fault, used him scurvily and openly threatned him, which he not enduring, but imputing the ill success of things to their imprudence despised and abused them no less both in words and actions.

But the Duke of Mayennes doubts were removed, and he necessitated to take some resolution by Count Mansfeld's entry into Picardy with Ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and a convenient Train of Artillery; and though the Duke of Anjou counselled him to advance into the Province, and besiege Corbie, yet he resolved to fall upon la Capelle, a place near the Frontiers of the Duchy of Turtiache, accounted reasonably strong, but at that time (as they had intelligence) in as great want of Ammunition, as it was full of abundant store of Victual; so that they hoped the taking of it on the one side would prove very easie, and on the other very profitable for the future sustenance of the Army.

La Cappelle, situate in a spacious Plain, is of a Quadrangular form, of no great circuit, and flank'd in the Angles with four Bulwarks: It hath a deep Moat, and full of Water, which coming rather from a Rivulet than a River, that runs through the Field, is swelled and rais'd by a Bank or Dám, placed upon the edge of the Moat: It was likewise encompass'd with a covered way, and a Counterscarp after the Modern Fashion; so that if to the strength of the place, there had been store of Ammunition, and constancy in the Defendants, it would have held the Spanish Army long in play. But the coming of the enemies having been altogether unexpected, (for first, it was not believed they would come into France without the Duke of Mayenne, and then it was thought they would sit down before Corbie) the Defendants had so little Courage, or so little Conduct, that at the very first arrival, *Agostino Messias* Terria of Spaniards, and the Marquess of *Trevicoe* Terria of Italians, made themselves Masters

sters of the Counterscarpe without dispute, and yet not having lodged themselves in the place where the dam of the Water was, they fought two days with very great loss of men, before they could possess themselves of it; for the besieged having placed their greatest hopes in the defence thereof, strove with store of Cannon shot, Fire-works, and an incessant Hail of Musket-bullets, to keep the enemy far from thence. But the third day Colonel *la Berlotte* advancing suddenly with his Walloons in another place, came at last to the dam, and having broken the Engine that stopt the Water, and by the help of Pioneers made a descent to drain the Moat, it remained quite empty within a little time; wherefore the two following days, the Trenches were made, and perfected; and with a Platform which it was easie to raise in respect of the softness of the Earth, they planted Fourteen pieces of Artillery, Ten that battered right upon the Wall, and two at each Flanck, that cleared and took away their defences. The Artillery plaid twelve hours together, and the breach having been viewed, *la Berlotte* with his Walloons advanced to fall on; but they within having thrown down a certain old Tower, and made the ruines of it fall into the Moat, the water was thereby stopt in such manner, that rising in an instant, it drowned above seventy of the assailants, and the rest had much ado to save themselves, being plaid upon in their retreat with three Falconets laden with Tarling, which the Defendants had turned toward the breach. The next day they labored to make a new passage for the water to run out; which though it was effected more easily then before, yet there were slain seven Captains, and above one hundred Soldiers; but the defence of the water being utterly taken away, and a very great space of the Wall being beaten down, the *Sieur de Mailleraye*, Governor of the place not staying for the utmost force of the Army, resolved to surrender, and marching out with his Garison, their Goods and Persons free, delivered up the place into Count *Charles* his hand.

The *Sieur de Mailleraye*, Governor of *la Cappelle*, surrenders it to Count *Mansfeld*.

In the interim the King labored with infinite diligence to set the affairs of Paris again in order, for the establishment whereof to the general satisfaction, it was necessary to encrease the number of the Parliament, and of the other Magistrates; he not being willing to break his word, or pay them

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1594

* The Court of
Accounts or
Exchequer;
there is one of
them in every
Parliament.

The Parlia-
ment of Paris
Decrees, That
the King
ought to be
obeyed as
lawful Prince,
Declares them
Rebels that
disobey; and
takes away
the Duke of
Mayennes Of-
fice of Lieu-
tenant General.

The Colledge
of Sorbonne
declares the
Kings Absolu-
tion valid, and
the Doctors
thereof come
to do him so-
lemn homage
at the Louvre.

sh. 10. 6. d.
to be paid
to the
College of
Sorbonne
the 10. of
April 1594.

with ingratitude, who having been nominated by the Duke of Mayenne, held the degree of Presidents or Counsellors, and who had lent their effectual endeavors, as well in excluding the Election of the Infanta, as in reducing the City to his obedience: And on the other side, not thinking it fit to put out them who in the worst times had kept the Parliament in the City of Tours. Wherefore President *le Maistre* who had held the first place, yielding to President *Harley* and his other Seniors, took the seventh place; and *Jehan Huillier*, *Prevost des Marchands* was created President of the * *Chambre des Comptes*; as *Martin l'Anglois* *Sieur de Beaurepaire*, and *Gwillianne du Ver* *Sieur de Neret*, obtained the degree of Masters of the Requests of the Palace Royal. The Parliament being settled, and reformed, and the High Chancellor with the Officers of the Crown sitting in it, it was solemnly decreed, That obedience ought to be yielded to King *Henry* the Fourth, as lawful Successor of the Kingdom, declaring all those to be Rebels, who should deny to acknowledge and obey him; and with another Decree they deprived the Duke of Mayenne of the Office and Title of Lieutenant General of the Crown. The like Decree was made by the Colledge of Divines of *Sorbonne*, who to the number of Seventy, declared the Absolution that was given the King to be good, and valid; and that, without mortal sin, none could deny him the obedience that was wont to be yielded to the other most Christian Kings of France; and going to the *Louvre* with the same company they did him solemn homage, *Jaques d'Amboise* Rector of the University speaking for them all; which ceremony was the more welcome to the King, because they were the men that had ever oppugned the lawful Title of his Succession.

But the affairs of Paris being settled, he received news that Count *Charles* had besieged *la Cappelie*, and having presently dispatched the Marshalls of *Biron* and *Matignon* to draw the Army together, he himself with Monsieur de *Guiry*, Two hundred Gentlemen, and Four hundred Light Horse went towards *Picardie* the same day that he was advertised of it. But being come to *Chauny*, word came to him that the place was lost; to make amends for which, he began to think of setting himself upon some enterprize. If the news of the siege and taking of *la Cappelie* was very sad

sad and displeasing to the King, it was not much more welcome to the Duke of Mayenne, who apprehended cleerly, that since the Spaniards had not made any application to them, they were resolved for the future to manage the warre of him, selves : which thing greiving him extremely, because it not onely deprived him of the remainder of his hopes, but also took away from him both his reputation and force, by means whereof he thought to better his condition for the accommodation, which he might have occasion to make with the King, and judging that all proceeded from the sinister relations of the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra*, he resolved at last, laying all respects aside, to have an enterveiw with the Arch-Duke, and try to set his affairs right again with the Spaniards.

The Arch-Duke likewise desired this interview, not for the same end the Duke of Mayenne had, but to see if he could induce him to put himself under the Catholick King, as the Duke of *Aumale* had done, and to deliver up into his hands those Towns and fortresses, which yet depended on him : and therefore with courteous friendly letters, and with messages full of trust and confidence, invited him to come to *Bruxelles*; which not being longer to be deferred, the Duke leaving his second son the Count *de Sommerive* at *Laon*, with part of the Forces commanded by Colonel *du Bourg* (he that came out of the *Bastile*) went with the remainder as far as *Guise*, where having left all his Souldiery, he passed on with a train of onely threescore Horse to meet the Arch-Duke, who having received him with all the most exquisite demonstrations of Honour, in other matters shewing himself very averse from the beginning, to the demands which he made. The Duke thought that the same Spanish Ministers, who had crossed him in France, did so likewise in his present Treaty ; and therefore being in private with *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and President *Riccardotto*, he began at large, with the narration of all particulars, to shew that the adverseness of businesses had proceeded wholly from the imprudence, and perverse managery of those Ministers ; to whom it not being obscure what was imputed to them by the Duke (for they were provoked to clear themselves of many things) they went on so far in anger, that they began to counsel the Arch-Duke to keep the Duke of Mayenne prisoner, and trust the managing of affairs of France un-

The Duke of Mayenne goes to Bruxelles to treat with the Arch-Duke.

The Spanish Ministers advise to keep the Duke of Mayenne prisoner in Flanders,

1594

to the Duke of *Guise*, accusing the Duke of *Mayenne* of perfidioufness, and too crafty and dissembling a nature, and that onely minding the object of his ambition, he was much a greater enemy to the Catholick King, then to the King of *Nawar*. But the Arch-Duke not onely thought that a counsell too unworthy, and such an one, as he believed, would gain him the general hatred of all men; but also judged that in many things the Duke had reason on his side, and that those Ministers had indiscreetly abused him beyond measure; nor did it seem strange to him, since the Spanish Ministers had treated of making any other man King of France, without consenting to his person; that he on the other side paying them in their own coyn, should think of any other resolution, rather then to content and satisfie the Spaniards; and as he was a Prince of great vertue, and a friend to what was just and fit, he counted it too great a fault, to deny the principal recompences and honours to so principal a head, and, one that had done so much for the common benefit; Besides, he was of opinion that those Ministers counselled very crossly, to take away the management of affaires from a man of so great reputation, and such experienced wildom, to put it into the hand of the Duke of *Guise*, a young man, and though of a high spirit, yet by reason of his youth, and want of experience, little able to rule so great a weight. To all this he added the continuall treating of the Dutchesse of *Guise*, to make her sons peace with the King, which besides that it was known in the Arch-Dukes Court, was likewise dexterously mentioned by the Duke of *Mayenne* at convenient times; for which reasons, there having been many meetings between the Princes, the businesse in hand began to change its form, the Arch-Duke knowing that the Duke of *Mayenne* was not in so weak a condition, as that he would easily submit himself to the Spanish yoke: and on the other side, that he abated much of his former pretensions by reason of the urgent necessity which pressed him at that present; so that both of them reserving themselves for the opportunitie of after times, determined that the Duke of *Mayenne* should go with his forces to joyn with Count *Mansfelt*, and that joyntly with a common consent they should manage the warre, to oppose the Kings proceedings, deferring till another time, both the establisshing of conditions, and the manner how they should order matters for the future.

It is resolved
at Bruxelles,
that the Duke
of *Mayenne*
shall joyn
with Count
Mansfelt to
oppose the
King together

The

The King (to whom the Duke of *Nevers* (lately returned out of Italy) and the Duke of *Bouillon*, were joyned) was already marched from *Channy* with twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, with intention to besiege *Laon*; where besides the Duke of *Mayenne's* young Son, there was also the greatest part of his personal estate; but to come upon it the more unexpectedly, and catch the defendants unprovided, he marched with the Army before, and by the way of *St Quintin* and *Cressy*, came neer to *la Chappelle*, making show as if he would assault the Spanish Camp; but while standing near and facing the Enemy, they were skirmishing with one another, he gave order that the Rere led by the Marechal de *Biron* should march off, and go back to besiege *Laon*, whither not many hours after, having first sent away the *Sieur de St Luc*, and then the Baron de *Salignac*, he with the Duke of *Nevers* departed the next morning, and came last of all before the Town.

The King besieges *Laon*, in which the Duke of *Mayenne's* son was, with much of the Dukes wealth.

In it with Colonel *du Bourg*, and the Count de *Sommerive*, there were many Commanders of note, 600 French Foot, 200 Germans, 300 Neapolitanes, sixty Cuirassiers, and two hundred light-Horse, and besides the Souldiers of the Garrison, the Townsmen also concurred willingly to defend the place; they had great store of Ammunition and fire-works, and the Commanders (who had suspected a siege) had prepared and fortified all convenient places in such manner, that the siege seemed like to be of great difficulty, and uncertain event; and so much the rather, because the Spanish Camp being near, it might keep the King's Army in jealousy many ways; nor was it to be doubted, but that the Duke of *Mayenne* would use his utmost Forces to relieve and disengage his Son. Wherefore the King, intent before all things to shut up the passage against the relief which might come from many places, sent Monsieur de *la Chastre*, with the Troops under his command to lie upon the way that leads from *Reims*, and the other places of *Champagne*, doubting that the Duke of *Guise* with the Forces he had in that Country, and perchance reinforced by the Duke of *Lorain*, might come on that side: on the other side, the Duke of *Nevers* places himself upon the other way that leads from *Soissons* right unto the Town; the Duke of *Longueville* with his Troops of the Province, quartered upon the way of *Noyon*, and of *la Fere*, and all these causing

1594

sing the field to be scowred with infinite diligence, were ready to oppose and fight with them that should advance to bring either victual or other relief to the besieged. The principal Pass by which the Spanish Army might come directly remained yet, upon which the King lay himself; and because the way was incumbred with an hill that had a Wood upon the right hand, and a great Village upon the left, he took up his Quarters within the Village, and made Count *Soissons* and the *Sieur de Vic* encamp on the other side, at the entry of the Wood; and upon the top of a hill, where the way was, *Monsieur d'Humieres* lay in the field with three hundred *Cuirassiers*, and the *Baron de Ginry* with five hundred light-horse: besides, to the end the Enemy might not come unexpectedly, he sent the *Sieur de Clermont* of Amboise with five Companies of *Harquebusiers* on horse-back to lie at *Cressy*, and strengthened the Garrison of *St Lambert*, a Castle standing upon the same way the Enemies might come directly.

The Passes secured in this manner, five Redoubts were begun to make approaches to the moat; of the first of which the *Mareschal de Biron* had charge, *Monsieur de St Luc* of the second, the *Baron de Salignac* of the third, *Monsieur de Montmartin* of the fourth, and the Count *de Grammont* of the last; and in every one of them the Infantry being set on work, besides many of the Country people, they laboured with wonderfull great diligence, though they of the Town both with their Artillery and strong Sallies strove to hinder their Works in every place; insomuch that the two first dayes, before the Besiegers had time to recover themselves, there were above four hundred Souldiers slain, and among them the *Sieur de Forcade*, one of the *Mareschal de Biron's* Lieutenants, and there were wounded the *Baron de Termes*, who lost a leg, and the *Marquess de Cœuvres*, who within a few dayes died of his hurt.

Count Mansfelt having received order from the Arch-Duke to relieve Laon with his Forces as the Duke of Mayenne should think fit, marches within a league of the Kings trenches

But in the mean time the Spanish Army (which had received order from the Arch-Duke resolutely to relieve *Laon*, according as the Duke of Mayenne should think fit to manage the business) having left *Cressy* and *St Lambert* on the left hand, took upon the right, and came upon the thirteenth day of June within a league of the Kings trenches: the Duke and Count *Charles*, as soon as the Quarters of the Army were entrenched and fortified, intended to make themselves Masters of the

1594

the violence of the Spaniard. At the same time the King also came up, who though the Trees and Hedges hindred him very much, would needs have the Baron *de Guiry* advance with all his Horse, to attack the Lorain Cavalry, which being gallantly received, for the D. of Mayenne himself was there in person, the conflict was as difficult, as bloody; and supplies hastening upon both sides from all parts, Count *Mansfelt* came into the Wood, and the *Sieur d'Humieres* went down from the Hill, so that the business grew to a certain kinde of battel, in which though all fought not, yet the major part was either engaged or hindred by the unfitness of the place. The fight lasted with various success, and several encounters till the evening, at which time, the King having caused all his Infantry to lie upon the very way near the Wood, to fortifie against the Front of the enemy, and stop up their passage, sent back his horse to their wonted quarters. But the Duke of Mayenne, and Count *Mansfelt* considering that the most part of their Foot were advanced to make good the Wood; whereby their quarter was left so weak, that it might with danger be assaulted by the King in the Rear; and so much the more, if he should resolve upon it by night, they quitted the Wood by little and little, and drew off their men to the Camp, the Wood being left free, and exposed to the incursions, and skirmishes of both Armies.

The Kings
forces take a
great deal of
Vidual and
Ammunition
which were
brought from
Noyon, to be
put into
Laon.

While they fought here and kept the Kings forces busied, the Duke of Mayenne had given order, that *Nicolo Basti*, and the *Sieur d'Eschuseaux*, Colonel of a French Regiment, should move from Noyon with abundance of Victual and Ammunition, to put it into Laon, for the relief of the place; but the D. of Longueville who scoured the ways on that side, having notice of it, laid an ambush for them not far from the Town, which though it was discovered by the Scouts that went before, yet the Convoy being either affrighted at that unexpected encounter, or thinking all the Kings Cavalry was there, took a resolution to retire, which not being able to do without time, and much confusion, by reason of their carriages, the *Sieur d'Eschuseaux*, who was in the last Ranks, as soon as his men were routed remained prisoner; the Powder was divided among the Soldiers, and the carriages of victual burnt, but *Nicolo Basti* got back safe to Noyon.

The greatest difficulty of the Spanish Camp was want of victual,

viſual, without which they could not lie long in that place, where while they ſtaid, they did ſo incommode the King, that he could not proſecute the beſieging of the Town; wherefore the Duke of Mayenne had cauſed great ſtore of proviſions to be made at la Fere, having determined to have them brought to the Camp, the ſtraight way, which was in a manner behinde them; for this purpoſe Six hundred Spaniſh foot, a thouſand Italians, and an hundred Light-horſe were gone thither, the Commanders thinking that guard ſufficient, becauſe they believed not the King would dare to paſs by their Camp, and leave it behinde him, to go to a place, ſo far off, and ſo dangerous to fall upon them; but the thing proved otherwiſe, for the Mareſchal de Biron, taking with him the Sieur de Montigny, eight hundred Switzers, and as many French foot of the Regiments of Navar, and St. Ange, two companies of Engliſh, the Baron de Ginry with the Light-horſe, and four hundred horſe of the Count de Torignyes, and the Sieur de la Curres, departed by night from the Camp before Laon, and being come with wonderful ſilence within a League of la Fere, cauſed the horſe to lie hid in two little Woods, which were on each ſide the way, and he with his foot hid himſelf in the fields, which being full of Corn almoſt ripe, gave them conveniency to lie unſeen. The Spaniſh Camp was not above two Leagues from that place, and people going continually from thence to la Fere, they were often like to have diſcovered the ambuſh, if the Mareſchal very patient, beyond his own nature, had not with marvellous ſilence withheld his men, who many hours being already paſſed, began to be hungry, and were with much ado kept in by him; yet they perſevered ſo long, that towards evening certain Carriages began to appear; having intended to have gone under favor of the night: Much more difficult was it then to withhold the Engliſh from falling upon the enemy before the time; but in the end, part of the Carriages being paſt, they roſe up furiously and aſſaulted the Guards on all ſides. The Van which was of Italian foot, made reſiſtance valiantly, and the ſame did the Battel which was of Spaniards; but the Reer finding themſelves nearer la Fere, faced about precipitately to retire; but with ſo ill fortune, that falling among the Horſe, which was already come out of the Wood, it was in a moment cut in pieces. The defeat of them was a wonderful diſadvantage

The Mareſchal de Biron having placed himſelf in Ambuſh, falls upon and takes great ſtore of victual, which were going from la Fere to the Enemies Camp.

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1594

to the rest of their companions, who drawn into a Body, bravely withstood the fury of the Kings Infantry; for being left unguarded in the Rear, they were assaulted also on that side by the Harquebusiers on horse-back, and yet facing every way, and sheltering themselves with their carriages, they made it good a great while, and that with no small loss to those of the Kings party, among which Colonel *St. Ange*, and Monsieur *Faveroles* Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of Navar were wounded, and still marching on fought valiantly with their Pikes and Swords, being partly defended and covered by their carriages, till the *Mareschal de Biron*, fearing least the noise of it being heard, the whole Spanish army should fall upon their backs; and therefore making haste to put the business to an end, caused the Gentry to alight, and advancing at the head of the Switzers, charged with so great violence, that the less number, not being able longer to resist the greater, the Italians and Spaniards stoutly defending themselves, were all slain upon the place: The Horse that fled were pursued by the *Baron de Givri*, even to the Gates of *la Fere*; and of all those that were about the Carriages, very few were taken prisoners. On the Kings side were killed above two hundred, and few less wounded, among which, in the last brush the *Sieur de Canisy*, Son-in-law to the *Mareschal de Matignon*, and the *Sieur de la Cuvée*. In this place also *Henrico Davila* (who was one of those that alighted from their horses with the Count *de Torigni*) put his Anckle out of joynt with getting over one of the Carriages, and was in very great danger, of being lamed for his whole life. The *Mareschal de Biron* considering, that by reason of the enemies nearness, he might be assaulted every moment, set fire on the Carriages to the number of Four hundred; and having spoiled some, and bringing away others of the Teams that drew them, retired with infinite celerity the same night.

But the Spanish Army failing of this hope, the Commanders were no longer able to subsist, and therefore determined to take some resolution, before they were further straightened by the necessity of hunger; but they disagreed among themselves, about the manner of their retreat; for Count *Mansfelt* for the greater security, would have raised the Camp by night; and the *D. of Mayenne* fearing both confusion, and dishonor, would needs have the retreat made by day: And because

Mansfelt

Mansfelt persevered in his opinion, he was content, that the Vanguard led by the *Sieur de la Motte*, and the battel commanded by the Count himself should march away, with the greater Artillery before it was light, and he with the Rere undertook to make the retreat by day. In this occasion both the discipline and valour of the Duke of *Mayenne* (qualities for the most part obscured by ill fortune in his military enterprises) appeared clearly; For being to retire four leagues, through an open Country, in sight of the enemy, who had so much a greater number of gallant horse, he did it with so great order and resolution, that he received no damage at all in his retreat. He placed eight *Corps de Garde*, part Italians, and part Spaniards, commanded by *Ceccho de Sangro*, and *Don Alonzo Mendonza*, and behinde these he put the flying Squadron, in the Rere of which he himself with his pike in his hand, and with him the Prince of *Avellino*, the Marquess of *Trevico*, *Agostino Messia*, *Don Antonio de Toledo*, *Don Juan de Bracamonte*, and above 100 Reformadoes, and a little before *la Berlotte* retired with his *Tertia* of Walloons, who had six field-pieces with them, ready to be turned against the Enemy: As soon as it was broad day light, the Walloons began to march; and after them the flying Squadron; at which time the King (who had notice of it from *Parabere*, being encouraged by the *Mareschal de Biron*, who affirmed he had left so many broken Carriages, and so many dead bodies upon the way, that the Enemies would finde it extreme difficult to make their retreat) advanced with his Cavalry to fall upon them in the Rere: but the eight *Corps de Garde*, who were the last that moved, retired with admirable expertness; for as soon as the Wings of Musketers had given fire, they fell off into the Rere of the Pikes without facing about, but fronting still towards the Enemy, and in the mean time the shot played that were among the Files, who had no sooner ended their volleys, but the hinder Wings were come to be the Front, and while they gave fire the Squadron retired without turning their backs: after which the second following, and after the second the third, and so the rest one after the other, drew off all by little and little to the Rere of the flying Squadron; which when the Baron *de Ginry* was come up unto, with the Count *de Soissons*, and the rest that were at the Head of the Kings Cavalry, they fiercely charging their Pikes, and powring forth

The Duke of Mayenne makes his retreat by day in the face of the Enemy, much superior to him in number, with so good order, that he receives no loss at all.

1594

a terrible thick hail of Musket-shot, repulsed them in such manner, that they wheeled about, not daring to charge in amongst them; which having been done several times, the retreat went on with particular honour to the Duke of Mayenne, who, very tall of stature, and compleatly armed, stirred up the courage of all by his words and example, and also with his own hand over-turned the *Sieur de Persy* upon the ground, who with a Troop of Light-horse had the boldness to charge his Squadron. But being come (already tired with service, and with heat) unto a narrower way, *la Berlotte* presented his Artillery placed on each hand upon the banks of ditches, in such manner, that the Kings Horse were constrained to make an halt, letting the whole Camp march off safe unto *la Fere*: Nor did the obstacles alledged by the *Mareschal de Biron* prove any hinderance; for the retreat proceeding slowly and warily, without hurry or confusion, the Pioneers had time to free and clear the way.

But the enemies Army being gone, the King returned unto the Seige, and began to batter the Town; and while the Artillery played upon it, from every redoubt they made a mine, to blow up the Ramparts, and make a breach with more speed and Security; but the besieged, not being willing to lose themselves, without making due resistance, sallied out at the *Skyt-gates* upon the first of July, and fell into the *Mareschal de Biron's* and the *Sieur de Montmartin's* trenches, with so much violence, that making themselves masters of the redoubts, they made a very great slaughter there, eleven Captains, and above two hundred Souldiers being left dead upon the place; But the *Mareschal de Biron* coming happily at the noise, and the souldiers running armed from all parts into the trenches, the enemy was at last beaten in again, who taking another course, made a furious counterbattery, from whence they dismounted and spoiled many pieces of Cannon, and yet all things being repaired with marvellous diligence, there was already a great part of the wall beaten down, after which the rampart appearing high, it was necessary to stay till the mines and works under ground were brought to perfection; which while they were about, the *Baron de Guiry* who with extreme diligence hastened the work, was shot in the head with a Musket in the flower of his age, and to the infinite grief of every one, lost his life; a Gentleman of great courage,

The Baron de
Guiry slain.

courage, and exceeding worth, but of so sweet behaviour, and so pleasing a witt, improved with additions of Learning, that forcing a general affection, he was praised and beloved by his very enemies; The mines (which had been many days in hand) being perfected, had very different effects; for the *Sieur de S. Luc's* proved fruitlesse, because the water got into it; the *Count de Grammont's* had vent given it by the besieged; the *Sieur de Montmartin's* threw down the wall, but did no hurt at all to the rampart; only the *Mareschal de Biron's*, and the *Baron de Salignac's* wrought very great effects, and yet being assaulted, one by *Colonel Grillon*, and the other by the *Count de Torigny*, they were valiantly made good by the defendants, who having at the same time sprung * a *Fougade*, and blew up many of those, who inconsiderately were advanced upon the Rampart; The next day the assaults were redoubled severall times, the *Duke de Bouillon* and the *Mareschal de Biron* having the care of them: in which though the assailants could not lodge themselves upon the Rampart, yet the besieged lost so many men, that without relief it was not possible for them to hold out longer; wherefore they began to parley, and upon 22 of July Capitulated to surrender, if within twelve dayes the *Duke of Mayene* did not either raise the Siege, or put at least six hundred Foot into the Town: but in such manner that the besieged might not assist the releife any way, except onely in opening the gate to it when it came, nor might receive lesse then three hundred Foot at a time; Which articles being made known unto the Duke, the King sent the *Duke of Montpensier*, the *Admirall Villars*, and the *Sieur de Balagny*, (who had newly submitted himself to his obedience) to possesse the wayes as far as *la Fere*, and hinder the passage of relief, which not being come within the time prescribed, the *Count de Sommerive*, *Colonel de Bourg*, president *Jeannin*, and the whole Garrison marching out with their armes, and baggage were convoyed as far as *la Fere*, the King honouring the *Duke of Mayenne's* young Son with great demonstrations of courtesie.

The mines are sprung, Laon is assaulted and valiantly defended.

* Fougade is a kinde of mine of about eight or ten foot square, covered with stones, pieces of timber, bricks and such things as may do mischief, being fiered when they come upon it.

The number of the defendants being diminished, they not longer able to hold out, Capitulate and Surrender

The besieged of *Laon* had hoped the *Duke of Guise* would bring them some relief by the way of *Champagne*, and the King had suspected the same; but the affairs of that Province were so distracted, that it was not possible for him to think of stirring

1594

stirring at that time ; for there were not onely practices on foot in every Town, but with every Governour in favour of the King ; and not onely the people were inclined to acknowledge him, as had been cleerly seen in the Commotion at *Troyes* ; but more pernicious thoughts reigned even among those of the very party.

Monfieur de St Paul, a man of mean parentage, had by all the degrees of War raised himself to the Office of Colonel in the time while the Duke of *Guise's* Father was living, and had served him with so much valour and fidelity, that he deserved not onely to hold one of the first places in his favour, and also to be advanced to higher charges of Command ; but being favoured by his protection, had, by the marriage of a very rich Widow, settled himself in a gallant and plentiful fortune. He, after the accident at *Blois*, having as one of the principal dependants, taken part with the Duke of *Mayenne*, continued to serve with so much diligence, and so prosperous successe, that he not onely was appointed Lieutenant to the Government of *Champagne*, which Province was governed under the name of the Duke of *Guise*, though a prisoner ; but also in process of time he was by the Duke of *Mayenne* created and declared Mareschal of France : He, when *Paris* was besieged, having gathered together great store of victuall in the Province of *Brye*, put them happily into the City, while the King stood facing the Duke of *Mayenne*, and he thence drew so great a profit, that, added to the dowry of his Wife, he made himself possessor of very considerable riches, which together with his pay from the Spaniards, (who at first proceeded with an open free hand) gave him conveniency to gain many followers and dependents, and to set himself in a condition of high reputation. His prosperity of fortune was accompanied (as it is wont) with pride of minde, and haughtiness of carriage, in so much, that the Duke of *Guise* being at liberty, and come into the Province, he who was accustomed to rule of himself, did very unwillingly hear of submitting himself to his command : and since the obligation of benefits received, and the greatnesse of his blood did not permit him to refuse obedience, he endeavoured at least to keep at a distance from him, and interpreting his Orders and Commissions his own way, onely executed what suited with his own fancy, and excused himself for the rest under several pretences.

ences. The declining of the affairs of the League increased his Pride and his Ambition; and seeing the Princes of Lorain disagreed among themselves, and were ill-grounded, he took the greater boldness, and in his thoughts went on to a design of making himself Master of certain places, whereof he had the command.

He began with seizing upon the Dutchy of Retel, belonging to the Duke of Nevers, and with intolerable arrogancy assumed of himself the title of Duke of Reteloy; nor stopping here, he went on plotting which way to make himself Master of Vitry, Rheims, Rocroy, and St. Disier; and he was the more fixt upon this thought when he saw the Spaniards intent upon gaining the French Lords and Commanders, and getting them into their pay; intending, as soon as he was in possession of those places, or some of them, to put himself under the protection of the Spaniard, and labor to establish himself in his usurped greatness.

To this end he began to introduce a Garison of his adherents into the City of Rheims, and to design the building of a Citadel, which might serve for a curb to keep the Citizens in obedience, who not being accustomed to be commanded by a Militia, fearful of losing their liberty, and of being made subject to many burthens and insolencies of the Soldiers, (to keep whose affection St. Paul cared not, though they plundered and oppressed the people) oftentimes took recourse, and made their complaints thereof unto the Duke of Guise, who having written also about it many times, and seeing he was not obeyed, not onely took a wondrous great disgust at it; but also began to perceive St. Paul's arts and his intentions. Wherefore departing from Paris after the Truce was expired, and being come into that Province with an intent to remedy so great a danger, he wrote resolutely that there should be no more Soldiers brought into that City, the fidelity whereof he suspected not: But St. Paul continuing his design, without making reckoning of the command he had received, and the complaints of the Citizens multiplying, the Duke went thither well accompanied to bridle the insolency of the attempt; but so far was St. Paul from forbearing, that on the contrary, being either in greater necessity or suspicion, he persisted yet to call some Companies into the Town; which being come to the Dukes knowledge, and he inflamed with

Col. St. Paul takes upon him the title of Duke of Reteloy, and while he plots to get also the City of Rheims, he is killed by the Duke of Guise.

1594

with a generous disdain, not thinking to endure it, was the cause, That coming one morning out of the Church, and meeting with *St. Paul*, who daigned not to company him, he asked him the reason, Why contrary to his Orders, he yet brought more Soldiers into the City; to which he answering, That he did it for the common security, and because he had notice of some practices that were on foot in the Town; the Duke seeking to make a quarrel, replied angerly, and with high injurious words, That those were inventions of his own; but that he would teach him to obey. *St. Paul* being incensed with these contumelious speeches, and not enduring such a publick affront, told him, That being Marechal of France, he acknowledged no superior in Matters of War: And in saying those words, whether by chance, or by way of boasting, put his hand upon his Sword; at which action, the Duke running upon him with his Sword drawn, and thrusting him quite thorow the body, instantly took away his life: With him fell his ill grounded greatness; but the Soldiery was displeased at it, which by reason of his indulgence to them, and of the profit they made under his command, loved and honored his name; nor were the Citizens (though they rejoyced at his death) any way satisfied afterward; for the strength of the League still declining, the Duke of Guise resolved both to keep the Soldiers there, and prosecute the design of making a Cittadel.

But the example of Rheims stirred up all the other Cities, and many Governors of the Province; in such manner, that all of them were in a commotion, and had an inclination to put themselves under the Kings obedience to free themselves from imminent dangers. So that scarce could the Duke of Guise withstand the troubles of his own Government, much less was he able to succor or assist the necessity of others: Nor was his stay there, and his diligent care sufficient to keep them all faithful; for the *Sieur de Peschay*, Governor of Chasteau-Thierry, at the same time when Laon was surrendered, made composition with the King, and with the same conditions the rest had, keeping his Government, went over unto his party.

Almost about the same time happened the revolt of the City of Amiens; for the people stirred up by the Kings adherents, who told them that the Duke of Aumale having made

The *Sieur de Peschay*, Governor of Chasteau-Thierry submits himself with their place to the Kings obedience.

made agreement with the Spaniards, was likely to put the City under the dominion of strangers, attempted to drive out the Duke who was in the Town without a Garrison; for the inhabitants alledging their priviledges, would not receive any; but the tumult having lasted four dayes without any certain resolution, the Duke of Mayenne came thither, who being admitted only with the company of his Guard, appeased (as he thought) the tumult, and reconcil'd the Chief Citizens to the Duke of Aumale; but after he was departed to return again to the Army, the people took up armes afresh, crying out openly, *For the King, for the King*; and having brought Monsieur d'Humieres into the City, drove out the Duke of Aumale, who having lost the hope of being able to uphold himself, chose to depart before he should enter into a thought of seizing upon his person.

The Citizens of Amiens raise a tumult against the D. of Aumale and put themselves into the King's hands.

The Sieur de Balagni was before this gone over to the King's party, with the City of Cambray; which having been in the power of the French, ever since the time of the Duke of Alençon, and after his death possessed by his mother, as inheritrix of what her sonne had gotten, had been put under the government of the Sieur de Balagny, who, the Queen being dead, and the revolution of France following, chose to take part with the League, to the end the Spaniards might be kept from troubling him; and of Governour, by little and little made himself absolute Master both of so noble and famous a City, and of its most fertile Territory; but now the affairs of the League declined, he desiring to keep that dominion, held a treaty with the King, that if he would declare him Prince of Cambray, and after his declaration protect him from the Spanish forces, he would submit himself to his obedience, and to the sovereignty of the Crown of France, and that moreover he would receive the King's Garrisons into the City, and Castle, obliging himself to serve him in time of warr with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, and that on the other side the King should pay seventy thousand Crowns every year to maintain the Garrison at his devotion. It was not hard to obtain these conditions from the King, aswell because of his desire to keep the supream dominion of that Principality unto himself, as to oppose such a difficult encounter unto the enemy upon the frontiers; and though these reasons were manifest and apparent, yet many stuck not to say, that the King

The Sieur de Balagny who had had the Government of Cambray from Q. Katherine as Heiress to the D. of Alençon, and after adhering to the League, had made himself Master of it, makes composition with the King, upon very large conditions.

E e e e e e e

condescended

1594

condescended to grant *Balagni* that Principality which was already in the power of the French, to please *Madam Gabrielle d' Estrée*, whom he ardently loved, and who was nearly allied to *Balagni*: However it was, the King having caused the Patents to be dispatched, and allowed in the Parliament before he went from Paris, sent the *Mareschal de Retz* about this time to make him be elected, and declared Prince of Cambray by the City, confirming the title to his Wife, his Sons, and his posterity, and after the taking of Laon, he entred personally into the Town with his Army, received the homage of obedience, and having settled a Garrison, and the affairs of the City, returned to Amiens, where being received with wondrous pomp he granted the same conditions to the Citizens, which with his wonted liberality had been granted to the other Cities. In this expedition, the King created two *Mareschals* of France, the Duke of Bouillon, and the *Sieur de Balagni*, intending to make use of them both in the War, which he already designed to make against the Spaniards.

The news of the Kings prosperous successes which from several parts came successively to Rome, moved, but did not much trouble the Pope; for having already secretly given the King hopes, that he would give him his Benediction, and signified so much unto him, not onely by the *Sieur de la Cluelle*, but also by words that might receive a double interpretation, intimated as much to *Paulo Paruta*, the Venetian Ambassador, a prudent man who was well able to apprehend the Pope's intentions; he was pleased to hear businesses went on in such a way, that he might not prevent but be prevented by the motion of the people; and that he might come to his last determination, in such manner, as he might seem to be drawn unto it by necessity, and that the Spaniards might not condemn him of too inconsiderate forwardness, nor accuse him of want of inclination to the interests of their greatnesse; For this cause he had from the beginning of the year, permitted Cardinal *Gondi* to come to Rome, and though he did it with a manifest injunction, that he should not open his mouth about the affairs of France, yet secretly in their private meetings he gave him leave to alleadge and repeat all the King's reasons to him, to represent the disorders, and wants of the Clergy, to put him in minde of the causes, why Religion would be in danger, if he should not satisfie the King, and finally to inform him

him of every small particular, that he might make use thereof to the advantage of his design; For this same cause (though he knew it) he was not offended at the Decree of the Divines at *Paris*, in favour of the King, but rather was well pleased, those very men, who had made the preamble and way to make him be excommunicated, should now be as active in smoothing the passage to his reconciliation; and though upon all occasions he shewed anger and disdain in his words, in his private actions he did not so, but rejoiced as often as he heard that his perseverance was interpreted obduracy, telling the Spaniards aswell Cardinalls, as Ambassadors, who were at his ear every day, that he suffered much, and exposed his own reputation to a general blame, because he would not dissent from their desires; In the mean time he also satisfied his own conscience by making himself certain of the Kings constancy, and of the truth of his conversion, and by means of *Sannesio*, and *d'Offat* had let him know, that many conditions were necessary to his rebenediction, and particularly, that he not having any lawful heir male, the young Prince of *Conde*, who was nearest to the Crown, should be taken out of the hands of the Hugonots, and bred up in the Catholick Religion, to the end that what ever should happen, they might not fall again into the former dangers and inconveniencies; which having been also intimated by way of discourse, both to Cardinall *Gondi*, and the Venetian Ambassador, the King was not only advertised of it, but counsel'd to take away that scruple, because it might hinder the progresse of what was in Treaty; wherefore he began to think by what means he might get him out of the Hugonots hands, who after the Kings conversion, esteemed him much more dearly, that they might breed themselves up a Head, and support unto their faction.

Cardinal *Gondi* being returned to *Paris* commands as superior of the Clergy of that City, that they should use again the prayers that were wont to be made for the K. of France, and that they should acknowledge *Henry* the 4th, their lawfull King.

But Cardinall *Gondi* thinking himself informed of all those things that might take away the Popes doubts, and facilitate the Kings reconciliation, resolved to returne into France, and to endeavour the execution of them, by speaking with the King himself in person; so being come to the Camp before *Laon*, he was two dayes in close conference with the King, and going from thence to *Paris*, feared not to command the Clergy to use those prayers again, which were wont to be made for the most Christian Kings, and absolutely to acknowledge *Henry* the fourth for their true and

1594

Words of
Pope Clement
the eighth to
the Duke of
Sessa the Spa-
nish Ambassa-
dour.

lawful Lord; sharply also reprehending, and driving from his presence, certain men of religious Orders, who dared to oppose that determination; which though (as other things) it was written to Rome, and amplified, the Pope made no other shew of resenting it, then to tax *Gondi* for no good Cardinall and to threaten, that with time and opportunity he would punish him for his fault, adding that the affairs of France were in such a condition, as it was not fit to put more fuel to that fire, which was already kindled; since the businesses of the Catholick Union went on so ill, that it would be no small matter to be able to uphold it; But the news of the taking of *Laon*, and the retreat of the Spanish Camp being come, the Pope made shew to be very angry; and desiring to finde means to make it appear, that the fault was the Spaniards, he told the Duke of *Sessa*, that the Catholick King desired to have him to resist onely with spiritual Arms, but that he in the mean time was not carefull to make use of temporal ones; that he should remember, though excommunications are pernicious to the Souls of the obstinate, yet are they not destructive of their corporal affairs; and that whosoever would have businesses effected, must unite the two Swords, and proceed equally with both hands; that he saw, or thought he saw, the Catholick King was already weary of expence, and of the war; and that if it were so, he desired to be made privy to it, that he might in time finde the best remedy that might be for the danger of Religion, since the French Union was already in a manner dissolved, and the Spanish Armies either could not, or did not care to sustain that weight. These stinging words of the Pope, deeply pierced the minds of the Spaniards; who suspecting the end to which he tended, and not being willing to give him that occasion, which they were of opinion he sought, they wrought with the same heat not onely into Spain, shewing the King the necessity, either of yielding, or of doing something in good earnest, but also to *Bruxelles*, to the end the Arch-Duke might sustain the manifestly falling affairs of the League.

Wherefore the Duke of Mayenne, after the loss of *Laon*, being gone back to that Court, to finde means to settle their common affairs, yielding now something on both sides to the quality of the time, they treated a little more pleasingly to each other; for the Duke knowing himself in a weak estate,
had

had abated much of his first demands, and the Arch Duke knowing it was no time to exasperate him, for fear he should be driven into utter desperation; and seeing that he could neither accommodate his minde, nor his ears to hearken to a treaty of putting himself under the Catholick Kings obedience, as *Rofne* and the Duke of *Anmale* had done, he resolved to hold him in hand with a shew of fitting conditions and of a treaty in a manner equall, still keeping alive the proposition of the *Infanta's* election, being certain afterwards to bring matters to his own end and intention, and to behave himself in his secret design, in such manner as time and opportunity should advise; Wherefore there having been a long Treaty between President *Riccardotto*, and President *Jeannin*, and the Princes themselves, having often conferred together, they at last agreed to establish a Capitulation, which seemed just and honorable to both parties.

The Duke of Mayenne goes to Bruxelles where he is treated with compliance.

The Agreement contained in substance, that the Catholick King should continue to use the Duke of *Mayenne* as before, in the quality of Lieutenant-General of the State, and Crown of France, and that so he should be acknowledged in all places and Armies, where he should chance to be: That the ten thousand crowns by the moneth, should continue to go on, which had been assigned to him by the Catholick King from the beginning: That he on the other side, should continue to make war in those Places, where he should think best, and particularly in the Province of *Bourgongne*; for the upholding whereof, certain supplies of Horse and Foot should be given him; That whatsoever should be acquired, should be held by him in the name of the King who in due time should be chosen, by the common consent of the French Confederates of the Apostolick See, and of the King of Spain; That the said King should be obliged, to re-inforce his Armies to make war in *Dauphiné*, *Picardy*, and *Bretagne*, those conquests likewise which should be made, being to be held in the name of the future King, under French Governours: and that the Dukes of *Lorain*, and *Guise*, and the other Lords, and Heads of the *Union*, should be exhorted to continue the war.

The Substance of the agreement concluded between the Duke of Mayene and the Spaniards at Bruxelles.

The Duke of *Mayenne*, thinking that by these conditions (though ambiguous) he had in some measure stopt the precipice of his affairs, departed from *Bruxelles*, and with a Gentleman

1594

The Duke of
Lorain makes
a truce with
the King.

tleman sent from the Arch-Duke, went straight to Nancy to speak with the Duke of *Lorain*; His intention was to try to keep him united to the League, and to perswade him to continue the war; but he by the means of Monsieur *de Bassompier*, had not onely concluded a Truce with the King of France, but also being desirous to disburthen himself of the expence, permitted his souldiers to take pay under him; wherefore the Baron *d'Offonville*, and the Sieur *de Tremblecourt* with three thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse, had put on white skarfs, and were gone to serve the King, having obliged themselves to molest the County of *Bourgogne*, which till then had been neutral, and had not been troubled on any side; The Duke of Mayenne having found things in this Condition, and not having been able to remove the Duke of *Lorain* from his inclinations to Peace, resolved to go into the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, (the Dutchy and the County are Prdvines divided one from another; that appertaining to the King of France, and this by ancient division to the King of Spain) and there endeavoured to establish himself absolutely, holding already the most part of the Towns, as Governour of the Province; for he had plotted, whatsoever event his affairs should have, to retain either the free dominion, or at least the Government of that Dutchy. But the King, who was very well aware of his design, after he saw the Treaties of Peace broken off, which had been held by the means of *Villeroy* and President *Jeannin*, resolved to oppose what he intended concerning the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*; and that he might make use of the boldest of all his Commanders, he chose the Marechal *de Biron* Governour of that Province, and made him be set in order with convenient Forces to go to recover those places.

* Or County of
Bourgogne.

The King
sends the Lo-
rain forces
that were
come to him
to make in-
cursions into
the County of
Bourgogne.

In the mean time *Tremblecourt* and *Offanville* were gone into the * *Frauche Comté*, and having suddenly made many incursions into the Country, took *Vesn* and *Jainville*, putting the whole Province in wondrous terrour, and confusion: for by reason of the neutrality which had made the people secure, there were no Forces in the Province able to oppose their invasion; wherefore having hastily demanded succours both from *Savoy* and *Flanders*, though some few were sent to keep Garrison in the principal places; yet the Winter beginning, would not suffer greater preparations to be made by the Spaniards,

Spaniards, and so much the rather, because the very season hindred the King of France his Soldiers from being able, in respect of the smallness of their number, and the quality of the weather, to make any greater progress.

That which completed the disordering of the League, was the composition of the Duke of Guise, who, either incensed that the Duke of Mayenne had hindred his greatness, or else vext, that the Spaniard had shewed him a flash of exaltation and then had presently drawn in those beams, shutting up the passage to all other favors; and knowing that his Fathers ancient greatness, was all turned upon the Duke of Mayenne, whereby he both in regard of his youth, and because he had no Dependants, was fain not onely to yield the first place, but also to content himself with one of the inferior ones; resolved about this time to establish his own fortune with the King, and by the means of his Mother, and of the Marechal de la Chastre, agreed for himself; his Brother the Prince of Jainville, and Monsieur Louis destined to an Ecclesiastical life; to restore Rheims, Vitry, Rocroy, St. Disier, Guise, Moncornet, and the other places in Champagne, and the quarters thereabout unto the Kings obedience, receiving in recompence thereof the Government of Provence, Four hundred thousand Crowns to pay the debts their Father had ran into, and many Ecclesiastical preferments for the third Brother, which formerly were the Cardinal of Bourbons, who after a long sickness, held by the Physitians to be an Hectick Fever, departed this life about this time, not without suspicion of poyson. The treaty of this agreement had been very long; for the Duke of Guise stood to retain the Government of Champagne, and the King would not deprive the Duke of Nevers of it, and there were likewise exceeding great contentions, about giving him the Government of Provence, for the Duke of Espernon, who had gotten it after the death of his Brother, and had by many successful enterprizes against the Duke of Savoy, and against the League, settled himself in the command, was not willing to leave it; nor was it this alone that hindred it; but the High Chancellor, and many of the Council perswaded the King, not to put that Province into the Duke of Guise his hands, to which he pretended right, as Heir of the House of Anjou; but the King desired on the one side to have the Duke of Espernon leave that Government, into which he had skrew'd

The Duke of Guise leaves the League, and makes his composition with the King.

The Duke of Guise as heir of the House of Anjou pretends rights unto Provence.

1594

skrew'd himself in the greatest distraction of affairs without his Commission : and on the other, he knew that it was necessary to remedy the present, without having so unreasonable a fear of the future : besides that, the Duke of Guise's ingenuity and moderate nature, of which he had given clear testimony in the businesses lately treated by the Spaniards, perswaded the King to a confidence in him. Therefore the Agreement was established, whereby as the King's party increas'd in strength and reputation, so the League was not only weakned and languishing, but little lesse than utterly dissolved.

The Duke of Mercœur is disgusted at the Spaniards in Bretagne, because they would not meddle in matters out of that Province.

Now having told the principal matters of the War appertaining to the main body and substance of affairs, the things that happened in the remoter Provinces of the Kingdom, ought likewise briefly to be related. The party of the League was most firmly settled in *Bretagne*, and more powerful there than in any other place; for besides the forces of the Province which (much more united than any other) followed the Duke of *Mercœur*, who by the prosperity of many successes, had raised himself to a very high estimation, there were also five thousand Spanish Foot under *Don Juan del Aquila*, who possessing *Blauet*, and the neighbouring places about it, were ready, to help wheresoever need should require in that Province. But their mindes here were neither more agreeing, nor more satisfied than in other places; for the Duke of *Mercœur* was discontented that the Spaniards should proceed with ends and designes apart; nor could he frame his ears to hear talk of the pretensions which the *Infanta* of Spain had unto that Province, as contrary to those rights which his Wife *Margaret Countesse of Pontievre* pretended also to it; nor did other things trouble him more, than the Commission they had, not to meddle in matters out of that Province; insomuch, that when the course of victory carried him upon some important design into the neighbouring Provinces, they clipt his wings, because they should not pass beyond the limits of *Bretagne*; They on the other side were ill satisfied, that he limiting them within the circuit of *Blauet*, would not suffer them to take footing in the Province; and because going forth of that Fortresse, seated in the extremity of a *Peninsula*, they had begun to raise a Fort in the neck of another *Peninsula*, which blocked up on the land-side, and hindred the entrance of ships into the

the Port of Brest, a place frequented by the Northern Nations, the Duke seemed not to consent unto it, and to use many arts that the Fortification might not go forward.

On the other side, the Marechal d' Aumont Governour for the King had more courage than strength; for the wants of the near adjacent Provinces, did not suffer him to draw together above one thousand English Foot, two thousand French, and four or five hundred Horse of the voluntary Nobility of the Country: but after that the King's conversion began to give him favour, and to move the humours of the Province, he advanced, and received *Laval*, a Town that voluntarily submitted to him, and then having layed Siege to *Morlais*, he took it notwithstanding the Duke of *Mercœur* laboured to relieve it; and being recruited with new English Foot led by Colonel *Norris*, which had been in Normandy, he resolved to assault the Spaniards new Foot before it was brought to perfection, and before they could settle themselves in the possession of that fertile and populous Sea-coast: Wherefore having drawn the Army together, in which there were two thousand English Foot commanded by Colonel * *Norris*; three thousand French commanded by the Baron *de Molac*, three hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, and four hundred Gentlemen, and being abundantly furnished with Artillery, Ammunition and other necessaries, by Monsieur *de Sourdiac* Governour of *Brest*, who being hard by to ease himself of the trouble of the Spaniards, supplied all wants, he brought his Army before it upon the eleventh of October.

The Fort was seated upon a natural Rock, and encompassed by the Sea quite round, except onely where the *Peninsula* joyns to the firm Land; on which side they had raised two Bulwarks in form of a *Tenaille*, and between them was the Gate, with its Draw-bridge, Moat, and Counterscarp, all designed with excellent skill, though not yet perfected to a defensible condition. The Governour of the Fort was *Don Tomaso Prassedes*, an old experienced Commander, and he had with him four hundred Spanish Foot, with plentiful provisions of all things necessary for the defence of it. The difficulty of that siege appeared at the very first; for as soon as they began to break ground, and make their approaches by the help of trenches unto the edge of the Counterscarp, they found, there was not above two foot of earth, after which they met with

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the

The Marechal
d' Aumont Go-
vernour for the
King in Bre-
tagne, besie-
ges the Fort
of Croisil be-
gun by the
Spaniards.
* Sir John
Norris.

1594

The French
assault Croi-
sil, but are
bravely re-
pulsed by the
Spaniard.

* Storm-piles.

the impediment of the hard rock ; wherefore it was necessary to make use of Gabions, in the bringing, planting, and filling whereof they disputed for the space of nine dayes, with great execution upon the Besiegers ; they within with singular art making use of small pieces of Artillery , wherewith they were abundantly stored , and fallying out at the *Skyt-gates* sometime of one Bulwark , sometimes of the other , molested them continually , no less by day than they did by night ; but at last the constant resolution of the Besiegers, overcame the difficulty of the enterprise, and having planted twelve pieces of Cannon, they began to play upon the Bulwarks; and though at the first their Bullets, striking upon the earth, did little harm, yet their continual battering having broke the fence of bavins wherewith the Rampart was fastened together , and made it slip down, the Moat began to fill by little and little , affording better conveniency of advancing to make the assault. Wherefore the Baron *de Molac* with the French assaulted the Bulwark on the right hand ; and Colonel *Norris* with the English assaulted the other on the left : But though the assault was bold and violent , the Spaniards received it with so much constancy , that after a wondrous hot fight of three hours, the Assailants were precipitately beaten off, above an hundred being slain , with three French Captains, and four English ; and that losse was much increased by their own Cannoniers; for they, as the Assailants were retiring, going to fire their Artillery against the Defendants that were upon the Rampart , did it with so little discretion , that they blew up their Powder , and killed many of their Souldiers. This accident gave the Spaniard great opportunity to make up their Works again ; for while they stayed for new Supplies from *Brest*, of powder , and new instruments to use their Cannon withall , they had time to mend up their Bulwarks again with the same earth , fortifying them with two strong Pallisadoes (the French call them * *Phraises*) which compassed them round about : but the Battery being furnished again, they began to batter again upon the fourth of November, with more fury than they had done before ; and the Pallisadoes yielding easily to the force of the Cannon, they began to plain the way once more , and make it fit for an assault ; which whilest it was just ready to be given , there came such a sudden storm of thunder and lightening , and such abundance of rain,

raigne, that it was necessary to deferr it till the next day, in which time the besieged cut off the points of the Bulwarks, and made a retrenchment, to cover themselves in such manner that the next morning they sustained the assault very valiantly with small losse to themselves, and a very great one to the enemies, who were scarce gone down from the assault, and settled to their rest, when the Spaniards sallying out to the number of seventy, suddenly made themselves Masters of the Battery of the French, kill'd a Colonel, and above two hundred other Souldiers, whom they found unprovided, and laid to sleep, and nayl'd three pieces of Cannon; yet the Baron de Molac being come up, they were beaten back into the moat, not having lost above eleven of their men.

The Siege went on but slowly; for the Mareschall d'Amont being burthened with yeares, but more with toyle and labour, was fallen dangerously sick; and yet the continuall molestation they of the Fort received, consumed them from day to day, in such manner that they began earnestly to sollicite relief; But the Duke of Mercœur took small care of them, for he was not displeased that the Fort should be taken, knowing the Spaniards aim'd to possess themselves of all that coast, which, full of Islands, secure harbours, and great well peopled Towns, by reason of the Supplies it might receive from the Spanish Fleet, was marvellous opportune to nourish a long war, and dangerous combustion in all Bretagne; wherefore though he had been constrained to grant them Blauet, yet he took it extreme ill, they should endeavour to enlarge themselves further; For this cause alledging divers excuses, and causing many obstacles and impediments to arise, he still deferred the relief; Don Juan del Aquila, who had not any number of Horse with him, could very hardly move to raise the siege of Fort Croisil (for so they called the place) yet the siege still pressing, and it seeming to him a very great fault to let his own Country-men be destroyed without assistance, he advanced with four thousand Foot, and two pieces of Cannon towards Quimpercorantin, to see whether the jealousy of that place could move the French to draw off; but having met the Sieur de Mombarant, who lay upon that way with two hundred Curassiers, and fifty Harquebusiers on Horse-back, though he retiring by little and little, drew at last within the walls, yet the Town was so secured thereby, that the fear of losing it

1594
The French
renew the at-
tack but are
beaten off
with great
loss.

The Duke of
Mercœur takes
no care to re-
lieve Croisil.

1594 made no necessity of raising the siege of *Croisil*, besides he had no such Artillery, nor preparations, as were sufficient for that enterprise; wherefore turning another way, and passing under the walls of the Towne, he came upon the road that leads straight from *Quimpercorantin* to the French Camp, intending to encamp in advantageous places, where the horse might not hurt them, and try in some sort, by drawing neer, to hinder the taking of the Fort; But *Mombrant* following them in the Reere with his Cavalry and the *Sieur du Tremblay* advancing from the Camp with an hundred and fifty horse more, *Don Juan del Aquila* was forced to march not onely very warily, but very slowly, lest he should be molested in open places by the Cavalry, to which the *Chevalier de Postonville*, and the *Sieur de Basternay* being joyned with the rest of the horse that belonged to the Camp, he was constrained to go a great circuit of ground, to get to the *Peninsula* by land, which if he had had shipping, he might have done in a short space by water.

Don Juan del Aquila marches to relieve his Countrymen; but having neither horse nor other preparations sufficient he findes the enterprise very difficult.

After many assaults the defendants of *Croisil* are all cut in pieces, but with some of most remarkable valour, and very great loss to the assailants.

In the meane time the *Mareschal d'Anmont* recovered of his sicknesse, having call'd *Monsieur de Sourdiac* unto the Camp, press'd the besieged with his utmost power; and having upon the eighteenth day of *November*, battred from break of day, till the Sun began to decline, he caused the *Baron de Molac* to give the assault, who being beaten off, *Colonel du Bordet* fell on, and he being likewise repulsed, with a greater slaughter then the other, the English without delay stormed it on the one side, and a valiant Squadron of Gentlemen renewed the assault on the other; and though *Martin Frobisher* one of the English Colonels, and *Colonel Trescane* one of the French Commanders, were killed in the first fury of the assault, yet the Defendants being overcome more by their own weariness, then the valour of their enemies, were at last after two hours resistance all cut in pieces, without stirring one foot from the defence of the Rampart, upon which they fought desperately to the last man, and that with so much loss to the Assailants, of whom there were slain that day above six hundred, and all the best and stoutest Souldiers of the Camp, that if *Don Juan del Aquila*, who was come very near, had marched straight on, perchance the *Mareschal d'Anmont* could not have escaped a very great defeat, and the Fort would the same day have been lost and recovered; but he staying for fear of the Cavalry

valry, and quartering so neer that he heard the ratling of the shot while the fight lasted, when he at the same time was told of the singular courage, and totall destruction of his Countrymen, he resolved to retire the next morning; and not being followed by any body, marched away no *Blanet* without any other attempt.

After this the Kings forces increased in that Province; for the *Sieurs de S. Luc*, and *Mommartin* departing from the siege of *Laon*, were come thither with five Companies of Switzers, three Regiments of French, and three Companies of Harquebusiers on horse-back, who in their march having either by force, or composition taken many weak Towns, brought the Duke of *Mercœur* to a necessity of uniting himself with the Spaniards, to hinder these new Forces from joyning with the *Mareschal d'Amont*, and thinking of some enterprize of great importance; so that the disgust ceasing which had been about *Fort Croisil* (which after it was taken, was by Monsieur *Sourdac* utterly slighted with great forwardness in the Country people) the Duke of *Mercœur* resolved to unite all the Forces in one body, and labour to resist the Kings, as he had very prosperously done until that present.

In the beginning of this year there brake forth a little fire in *Provence*; the sparkles whereof would have caused a wonderfull great combustion in those parts, if there had not been seasonable provisions made against the beginning of it. The *Provençals* and *Gascons* are by long and ancient emulation naturally enemies, which respect not having withheld King *Henry the third* from giving the Government of *Provence* to the D. of *Espéron*, though he was a *Gascon* by birth, the Gentry and people of that Province were so incensed at it, that it was necessary to force them with an Army to yield their wonted obedience; which as it was an occasion very much to encrease the followers and adherents of the League, so would it have produced other mischiefs, if his Brother Monsieur *de la Valette*, who was left to govern as his Lieutenant, had not with singular dexterity, and milde gentle usage appeased their mindes, and brought them to make more account of the merit of vertue, then difference of birth. But after his death the Duke of *Espéron* being come thither with greater Forces than his brother had, began also to execute his government, and follow the war with more vivacity, exacting a punctual obedience

1594

Fort Croisil
sighted by
the French.

1594
The City and
Parliament of
Aix, not being
able to resist
the Kings
forces under
the Duke of
Espinon, sur-
render upon
condition, that
the Duke shall
have no supe-
riority in that
City.

1594
The Duke of
Espinon, sur-
render upon
condition, that
the Duke shall
have no supe-
riority in that
City.

The Maref-
chal d'Anville
is deputed by
the King to
compose the
differences of
the Proven-
çals by remo-
ving the Duke
of Espinon.

bedience from those of the Kings party, and fighting vigo-
rously against the rest, who held part with the League, among
which the Count of Carsey, and the City and Parliament of
Aix which he had besieged, when they saw they could not re-
sist so powerful an Enemy, were content to yield to the
King, and for him unto Monsieur de Les Diguieres or Colonel
Alfonso Corso, but with expresse condition, that the Duke
should have no power nor superiority in that Town, which
though it was promised them, the Duke nevertheless made
himself the stronger, and (being the more exasperated by the ill
will they had shewed against him) began to build a Fort, which
commanding the City might keep it in subjection; this the
Citizens impatiently brooking, and the same humours reign-
ing through the whole Province, they dispatched Agents to
the Court, to beseech the King to take the Government from
the Duke of Espinon, and provide another Governour. The
King who by reason of the uncertainty of his affairs, had till
then dissembled, nor at that present was willing to alienate
the Dukes affections from him, and who on the other side saw
the discontents of that Province, and the troubles that were
like to come, thought it a moderate way to refer the busi-
ness to the Marechal d'Anville Governour of Languedoc,
who was newly by him made High-Constable of the Kingdom;
For on the one side the Provençals being well affected to
his person; and on the other, the Duke of Espinon having mar-
ried a Niece of his, he thought that by his prudence and dex-
terity, he might finde a middle way, whereby both the people
might remain satisfied, and the Duke handsomely removed
from that Government; but after that he saw the Duke resol-
ved to maintain himself in that Office, and the Constable slack
in finding out a remedy, he gave order to Les Diguieres to go,
as he was wont, from Dauphiné into Provence, and with as
much speed as was possible, oppose the Duke of Espinon, into
whose designs he thought he could not see very clearly. Les
Diguieres ready to make use of Arms, and enclining to satisfy
the Provençals, having drawn together seven thousand Foot,
and twelve hundred Horse, marched without delay, to pass the
River Durance and to enter hostilely into the Province against
the Duke of Espinon; but being come to the River side, he
met Monsieur de la Fin a discreet man, versed in the affairs of
the Court, who coming from the Duke of Espinon, perswa-
ded

ded him to stay his voyage; for without the tryal of Warr the Duke was ready to obey the Constable's Orders, according to the King's intention and command; which *Les Dignieres* believing, resolved to stay in the same quarters, not being willing to precipitate matters for the delay of a few dayes, which were afterwards prolonged by his falling sick of a fever, which necessitated him to stay much longer in that place. But though *la Fin* passed often between them, and went also to know the Constable's pleasure, yet could no invention be found to accommodate so different interests; for the Duke pretended, that by his Sword he had acquired the merit of that Government, having maintained it in the most difficult times against the Duke of Savoy, and against the League, at his own charge, with his own Forces, and with the blood of his own Brother; and therefore declared that he would defend it in what kinde soever: On the other side, *Les Dignieres* argued, that there was no reason to put the whole Province in desperation, and make it incline to cast it self into the protection of the Duke of Savoy, or of the Spaniard; and that the Duke of *Espernon* had so many Governments, that he might be contented without usurping this, to the dammage and prejudice of the King's affairs: and because the diversitie of Religions stirred up their mindes one against another, *Les Dignieres* being a Hugonot, and the Duke sincerely a Catholick, they were very sharp upon one another; besides, the one having been so much favoured by *Henry* the Third, and the other an enemy who had always lived in rebellion during his reign, there grew a private enmity between them, very prejudicial to the publick busineses they had in hand; whereupon the treaty of Agreement being broken, *Les Dignieres* past the River with his whole Army in the beginning of the month of May, and the same day there was a hot encounter between the Forces of the two Armies, which lasted many hours: but though the difference was not great in the event, yet *Les Dignieres* remained Master of the field, and the Duke made his retreat without receiving any losse, carrying away many of the Enemies Prisoners with him.

The Duke of Espernon declares, that he will defend the Government of Provence; and the Sieur de Les Dignieres goes with good forces into the Province to put him out.

But at last the Duke seeing the Forces of *Dauphiné* joyned with those of *Provence* against him, and (as he was very prudent) not seeing any seasonable opportunity of forming a
third

1594

The Duke of
Espenon re-
fers himself
to the Con-
stable's arbi-
trament, who
declares that
he should go
out of the
Government.

third party; nor no support ready to which he could have recourse for the present; having about the same time received the news of the revolt of *Paris*, and of the other Cities of the League, he thought it no wise resolution to swerve from the King's obedience, when others returned so fast unto it; and therefore taking hold again of the Treaty of accord, which had never been totally intermitted, he submitted himself to the Constable's arbitrement; who declared that he should put the Fort of *Aix* into the hands of Monsieur *de la Fin*, and draw out his Garrisons from *Toulon*, *S. Paul*, *Treques* and *Mirebeau*, till such time as the King should determine the manner of proceeding for the future: in execution of which order, the Duke delivered the Fort into the hands of *la Fin* upon the tenth of May, and the same day *Les Dignieres* entered into *Aix*, and was received with great solemnitie by the Citizens; but whiles their Arms are suspended in expectation of orders from the Court, *Les Dignieres* taking for an excuse that some of the Duke's Souldiers had taken some of his, and pillaged the Country, and that therefore the Truce was broken, entered suddenly into the Fort without staying for the King's orders, and delivered it up into the hands of the Citizens, who with a wondrous concourse of People slighted it so in two dayes, that there remained not any kinde of Foot-steps of it; which being performed according to the common desire, he having left the other places in the hands of the Count *de Carisy*, returned with the rest of the Army into *Dauphiné*. Afterwards followed the Accommodation with the Duke of Guise, to whom the King granted the Government of that Province; which though it afflicted the Duke of *Espenon*, yet he thought it best to dissemble the matter, reserving himself to take a resolution with the benefit of time; and being desirous to have it believed that the businesses that had passed were but private enmities and contentions between him and *Les Dignieres*, though he was not faulty to himself in neglecting any means possible to keep the possession of that Government.

The Duke of
Savoy besie-
ges *Briqueras*,
and the
French not
being able to
passe to relieve
it, he takes it.

But in *Dauphiné* whiles Monsieur *de Les Dignieres* in the beginning of September prepares himself to go into *Piedmont*, having received intelligence that the Duke of *Savoy* had laid strait siege to *Briqueras*, he was constrained to do that by necessity which he would have done by choyce before. The Duke of *Savoy* had got together four thousand Germans com-
manded

manded by the Count of Lodrone, five thousand Italian Foot commanded by Colonel *Barnabo Barbo* a Millainese, and fifteen hundred Horse under the conduct of *Don Alonso Idiagues*, with which Body of men he resolved to try to drive the French from beyond the Alps: and because *Briqueras* was the principal place they held, he laid siege before it, and afterwards having battered it with many Cannons, he caused it to be assaulted by *Don Filippo* of Savoy, his bastard Brother; and at the same time a *scalado* to be given on the other side by *Don Sancho Salina*; wherefore the Defendants invironed on all sides, left the Town, and retired into the Castle. It was closely besieged without delay; in which interim *Les Dignieres* having passed the Mountains, came to relieve that place: but the Duke had provided against that; for in the narrowness and difficulty of those wayes, of themselves steep and full of Precipices, he had caused all Passes to be so shut up, and had set so strong Guards upon them, that after the French had made many attempts without any fruit at all, they were constrained to retire, and the besieged straitned on all sides, and having no longer any hope of relief, resolved to surrender; so upon the second of October they delivered up the Castle into the Duke's hands, who having freed himself from that impediment, within a few dayes recovered *Fort San Benedetto*, which had been taken by *Les Dignieres* in his retreat; and within a while the Snows fell, which put an end to the troubles of this year in those parts.

The Duke of *Nemours* escaped not long before from his imprisonment in the Castle of *Pierre-Ancise*; being much more cunning in saving himself, than he had been wary in avoiding the dangers of imprisonment: for having a certain Servant that had an extreme long and thick head of hair, which sometimes hanging down covered all his face, he found means to have a perruque made like it very secretly, and knew how to manage his business so subtilly, that one morning having put his Servant into his bed, and covered him in his place, he went forth of the Chamber carrying a Close-stool-pan, as if he went to empty it, and going hastily, escaped out of the Castle-gate, hiding himself first among certain Houses, and afterwards getting down opportunely into the Field, where being received by some few that waited for him, he came safe to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, and there being joyned with the Mar-

The Duke of
Nemours e-
scapes out of
the Castle of
Pierre Ancise.

G g g g g g g g

quesse

1594 queſſe his Brother, continued to make Warr in favour of the League, and above all, to infeſt the Country, and trouble the Inhabitants of the City of *Lions*, with which (beſides publick buſineſſes) he had a private enmity: but his, and his Brothers weakneſſe, and their want of money and adherents, would not ſuffer them to do any great matter.

Jehan Chaſtel
a Merchant of
Paris wounds
the King in
the mouth
with a knife,
whiſt he was
ſaluting the
Knights of the
Holy Ghoſt
in his lodg-
ings at the
Louvre.

Jehan Chaſtel
being imprif-
oned and
tortured, con-
feſſeth that he
was moved to
attemp the
killing of the
King by the
doctrin he
had learned
of the Jeſu-
ites; whereup-
on ſome of
them are put
in Priſon.

The year was ſhut up with a hainous fact, dangerous be-
yond all belief, and which was like in an inſtant to have ſub-
verted all that had with ſo long pains been victoriously at-
chieved; for the King being returned to Paris from the warr
of *Picardy*, upon the ſeven and twentieth of December,
whiſt having alighted from his Horſe, he, in one of the
Chambers of the *Louvre*, ſaluted the Knights, who being e-
lected to receive the order of the *S. Eſprit* upon New-years day,
were come to do their wonted obeysance to him, a young
Merchant named *Jehan Chaſtel*, born in Paris, being got in-
to the ſame room with the train of the *Sieur de Ragny*, and
Montigny, in the action the King uſed, ſtooping to embrace
one of thoſe Knights, ſtruck him with a knife in the face,
thinking to ſtrike him in the throat: The blow being di-
verted, as it were by a divine hand, hit him in the lipps,
and having met with the hindrance of his teeth, made but a
ſlight inconfiderable wound. At the commotion of the by-
ſtanders, the young Merchant having dextrouſly let the
knife fall, mingled himſelf in the crowd, hoping to get out
of the room undiscovered; but being known by many, he
was inſtantly ſeized on, and whiſt every one tranſported
with a juſt indignation would furioſly have fallen upon him,
the King commanded that the Malefactor ſhould not be hurt,
and having cauſed him to be delivered into the Cuſtody of
the *Grand-Preveſt de l'Hoſtell*, he was by him carried to priſon,
from whence being put into the Power of the Parliament, and
examined with the wonted forms, he freely confeſſed, and
afterwards ratified his confeſſion when he was tortured, That
he was bred up in the Schools of the Jeſuites, and had often
heard it diſcourſed, and diſputed, that it was not onely lawful
but alſo meritorious to kill *Henry* of Bourbon, a relapſed
Heretick, and Perſecutor of the Holy Church, who falſly ap-
propriated to himſelf the title of King of France; wherefore
having afterwards fallen into hainous and abominable finnes,
even to the attempting to lye with one of his own Siſters,
he

4553

4504

France, whom of whole King out of the are banished The jailers

Here, too, the
Princes, in the
vested in full
Dorchester
declare the
winter they
a factor
of Washington
The Division

Jehan Chastel
is condemned
to be dragged
in pieces by
four horses.

Gggggggggggg 2

and

1594

The Jesuites
are banished
out of the
whole King-
dom of
France.

and his flesh pulled off with pincers in the four principall places of the Citie; and being brought to the place of execution, his right hand should be cut off, holding the same knife where with he had hurt the King; and finally that he should be drag'd in peeces by four horses; that the Jesuites, as well those that were professed, as the others not professed, should as enemies of the Crown, and of publick tranquillity be banished out of the whole Kingdom; their goods and revenues distributed to pious uses, and all French-men prohibited to study or converse in their scholes; that Father *Jehan Guigard* should be condemned to the gallows; and Father *Jehan Guerer*, and Father *Alexander Haye* perpetually banished from all places under the dominion of the Crown; that *Pierre Chastel* the Delinquents Father should be banished for ever from Paris, and nine years out of the whole Kingdom; that his House standing right over against the great gate of the Palace of the Parliament; should be razed to the very foundation, and a Piramide erected in the place, wherein the present decrees should be registred; as well against *Chastel*, as against the Company of Jesuits; the Mother and Sisters of the Criminals were let at Libertie.

The Divines
of Paris make
a Decree
wherein they
declare the
Doctrine that
teaches to kill
Princes, to be
Heretical.

To this decree of the Parliament, the Divines of the City being met together in Cardinal *Gondi's* House, added a declaration; whereby they determined, that the Doctrine which taught to kill Princes was Hereticall, prodigious, and diabolical, and gave expressly in charge to all men of Religious Orders, to acknowledge and obey King *Henry* the fourth as their lawfull Prince, and Lord; and that in their Masses, and Canonical hours they should insert those prayers, which were wont to be said for the safety of the most Christian Kings of France. In the end of the decree they intreated the Cardinal, as Bishop of that City, to beseech the King in the name of them all, that he would send a new Embassy to the Pope, to hinder by his reconciliation, the imminent and manifest danger of Schisme. This was procured by the Cardinal himself, who believing he had apprehended the Pope's minde, desired to give the King a fair colour and occasion to try again to get his benediction.

Issued under
the
seal of the
Parliament
of Paris

1595

In this condition of affairs began the year 1595; the first business whereof after the King was cured, was the promulgation of the Edict in favour of the Hugonots. They at the

the King's Conversion, had not only been much moved to see their hopes lost of having a King of their own Religion, and of obtaining by that means, that it might be the chief in the Kingdom, and that the Catholicks should be reduced to be but by permission; but they had also begun to waken new thoughts, and practise new designs, to unite themselves more closely to one another, and to provide themselves a new Head. For which having turned their eyes upon the Duke of *Bouillon*, they perceived that he, as a most prudent man, was very backward to separate himself from the Kings prosperous fortune to follow the uncertainty of new, and not well grounded hopes; and therefore he protracted businesses that he might take some counsel from the maturity of time. The *Mareschal d'Anville* likewise, who in former times would have readily embraced that occasion, at that present was little inclined to fide with them; for being already old without sons (for those he had were unfortunately lost) newly married to a young wife, out of a desire of issue, and as concerning the rest of his fortunes, firmly established in his Government of *Languedoc* was not like to adventure himself upon new designs, and put that into the arbitrement of fortune, which with so much pains, and so long patience, he had attained among the difficulties of a thousand dangers; wherefore they had necessarily set their thoughts upon the Prince of *Condé* yet a child, who living at *St Jehan d'Angely* with his mother, was bred up in the rites of their religion; but the tenderness of his age, and the many accidents that might happen before he could come to mans estate, held the whole faction in suspense and trouble; wherefore ever and anon, making meetings and assemblies, sometimes at *Rochel*, and sometimes at *Saumur*, sometimes at *St Foy*, and sometimes at *Montauban*, and not abstaining to speak high injurious words against the King, calling him an ingratefull man, and one that did not acknowledg what they had done for him, and threatening not only to forsake him, but also to take that Crown away from him, which they professed (though without reason) that they had gotten him, they put jealousy and trouble into the minde of the King himself, who by long experience knowing their humours, and what they might contrive, and put in execution, doubted not onely that they would alienate themselves from him, but that before he could absolutely conquer the forces of the League, they would stir up war against him o-
ther-

The *Mareschal d'Anville* embraces the Kings Conversion.

The Hugonots threaten to forsake the King, and take the Crown from him which they said they had gotten him.

1595

ther where. And though he had gained one *Marlar* an Hugonot Minister, born in *Beaune*, and not *Rottan*, another born in *Piedmont*, subtil men, of great authority and eloquence, who discoursing severally, among those of their Religion, concerning his conversion, exhorted the party not utterly to lose their confidence, but expect the benefit of time, making profession that they were privy to some secret designs of his; yet he feared these arts would not be sufficient to bridle the violence of some new dangerous insurrection.

This Doubt which had retarded his conversion much longer then the necessity of his affairs required, had also made him yeeld to many things which were contrary to his own Genius, and inclination; for he had declared the *Mareschall d'Anville* High Constable of the Kingdom; though there were many to whom he had much greater obligations, that he might confirm him to his devotion, and deprive the Hugonots of the hopes of having him. He had likewise preferred the Viscount *de Turenne* before the Duke of *Noven*, in the marriage of the heiress to the State of *Boissillon*, whereby he had attained that Dukedom, and now he employed him in the war upon the confines of the Low Countries, to divert his thoughts, and ingage him in long businesses, far from the Countries possessed by the Hugonots; And finally desiring to get the young Prince of Conde out of their hands, and in some part to sweeten the bitterness which they generally had received at his Conversion, he thought of causing that Edict to be proclaimed and ratified, in the Parliament, which *Henry* the third had made in favour of them, in the year 1577 which was much better regulated then all the rest.

It was a very hard matter to get it to be received in the Parliament, where the debates were very long and diverse; for by how much the more dexterously the King laboured to proceed in the business, lest he should discontent the Pope, and put him into an ill opinion of his inclination; so much the more ardently did many of the Counsellors oppose it: and the King not being willing that either the Chancellor, or any other should go in his name to desire it, the first President *Harlay* and President *de Thon*, who knew his intention, had much ado to perswade the rest (who thought they did as they ought) to consent unto the promulgation of it. But in the

the end, the Counsellours whom the King had confirmed through favour, after the reducing of the City, and particularly *Lazare Coqueille* formerly a great stickler, and a Minister for the League, desirous to shew themselves lesse sharp and severe in what concerned the Hugonots, lest they should seem to persevere in their old opinions, laboured so farr, that the Decree was received and proclaimed; though neither did this publication much satisfie the Hugonots, with whom the King, both by reason of his past Obligations, and present need, proceeded mildly, and kindly, indeavouring to remove suspicions out of their mindes, and confirm them by good usage to his devotion, and knowing by his long conversing with them, the poverty of many of the principal Hugonots, and the narrowesse of the condition they were in, and being certain that the Heads and Incendiaries being taken away, the poor Common people would be abundantly contented with quietnesse, and security, he procured that many Deputies should be sent from severall places, to treat of the affairs of that party, the most part of which he afterwards gained to himself, with gifts, pensions, and promises, so that by milde and gentle ways, he insensibly took away the pulse and strength from the whole party; but if the King's incredible want of money, and his own nature, frugal in expences, together with the hard austerity of *Monsieur de Rosny*, who then manag'd the *Finances*, had given this remedy liberty to dilate it self more amply, those that are well versed in the Kingdom, believe that a few years of such sweet poyson would have extinguish't that faction which so many years of desperate warr had not with the effusion of so much blood been able to weaken.

After many difficulties, the Edict in succour of the Hugonots, is accepted by the Parliament, and proclaimed; being the same which King *Henry* the third had made Anno 1577.

The second action of this year was the King's resolution to denounce open warr against the King of Spain; for though in the beginning of the year before, the Duke of *Bouillon*, united with Count *Philip* of *Nassaw*, had taken some weak Towns in the County of *Heinault*, and in the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, that was rather an incursion than a formed warr, and partly by reason of the sharpnesse of the weather, partly for want of money, they quickly retired, having also received no small losse from Count *Charles* his Army in their retreat; but now the King had determined to proclaim open War, and turn all his forces against the States of King *Philip*.

Henry the fourth resolves to proclaim open warr against the King of Spain.

This

1594

This resolution to many seemed strange and unseasonable, considering that the King of France was so troubled, and so unsecure at home, that he had no need of foreign contentions; they saw the Kingdom so exhausted of men and moneys, and so tired and worn out with Civil warr, that they knew not which way he would be able to sustain the weight of a foreign warr; and recalling to memory that the King of Spain, without hazarding at all his own affairs, had in times past troubled, and little lesse than conquered the King himself in the heart of his own Provinces, and in the midst of his Forces, it seemed to them a ridiculous thing, that now with his Forces still divided, and discords still burning in his State, he should dare to think of offending the States of the Catholick King founded upon the Basis of so great a Monarchy; wherefore they should have thought it much more to the purpose, for the King to have endeavoured by some tolerable conditions to attain Peace, than to provoke and stir up Warr, so much the more, by the vanity of a publick declaration.

Causes that
moved King
Henry the
fourth to pro-
claim wars a-
gainst Spain.

But the Causes that moved the King were very powerful; for he foresaw that the overture of a Foreign warr would help to close the wounds of a Civil warr, as skilfull Chirurgians are wont with seasonable Cauteries to divert the hurtful humours that corrupt and infect our Bodies; He knew there was nothing that could move the French more to a reconciliation and reunion, than the appearance of a warr with the Spaniards, the natural enemies of their Nation; he desired the Warr might no longer carry the name of a Civil warr for Religion, but of a Foreign one for interest of State, and that in the flame of this controversie between Crown and Crown, the yet remaining sparks of the League might be extinguished; he knew that howsoever he should still have the Catholick King's forces against him, which since they could by no means be avoided, it was lesse hurtful to have them open and publick, than treacherous and dissembled: He thought the Princes confederate with the Crown of France would have much lesse caution in lending him favour and assistance in the warr, between the Spaniards and the French, for matter of Empire, than between Frenchmen and Frenchmen, whether they were real or feigned for matter of Religion; He considered that nothing would more please, nor satisfie the Hugonots than warr against the Spaniards, in which they being imploy-
ed

ed with their utmost spirits, their minds might be withdrawn and diverted from the thoughts of new designs; Besides all these causes, having made a League offensive, and defensive with the United Provinces of the Low-Countries, with a mutuall obligation of concurring joyntly in warre, and hoping to draw the Queen of England and some of the Princes of Germany into the same confederacy, it was necessary to imploy his forces in some enterprize of common profit and conveniency in *Flanders*, and the County of *Bourgogne*, and being desirous to do it for his own reputation, and to interests the other confederates, he judged the declaration of the warre to be very proper to stir up the minds of his subjects, and to necessitate the forces of the confederates; But above all being again to treat of his reconciliation to the Apostolick See, and knowing he should have all the power of the King of Spain against him, he desired to have him known for his open enemy, and that he and his Ministers might not be admitted to that deliberation, as being excluded, and excepted by the publick and open war, which should yet be between the Crowns; and if the mindes of great persons, among so many interests of State, are sometimes also moved, and driven by passions, the old persecution he had suffered from the Catholick King, stirred up and spurred on by the so late danger, in which he was like to have lost his life, by the suggestions of persons whom he esteemed to be dependants upon that Crown, had perchance some part in this resolution; for the execution whereof upon the Twentieth day of January, he caused a Declaration to be published, and the same to be proclaimed by Heraulds in the Towns upon the confines, wherein after having related all the injuries done by the King of Spain unto himself, and the King his predecessor, imputing also the lately attempted against his person to the suggestion of his champions; he denounced open war against him by Land and Sea, took away all commerce between the two Nations, and permitted his Subjects to invade, spoil and possess the States under the Dominion of that Crown.

King Philip answered this Proclamation about two moneths after with another Writing, wherein reckoning up the benefits and supplies lent to the most Christian Kings, his Confederates and Allies, he declared and protested, that he would not break the peace which he had with the most

Upon the 20th of January, 1595. Henry the Fourth causes War against Spain to be proclaimed by his Heraulds in all the Confines,

King Philip answers the King of France his Declaration about two moneths after.

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Christian

1595

Christian Crown, and the good Catholicks of the Kingdom, but persevere in their assistance, and defence, to the end they might not be oppressed by the Prince of *Bearne*, and the Hugonots his Confederates, and commanded all his Subjects not to molest or hurt those French, that should follow the Catholick party in the Kingdom, giving order on the other side to his Governours and Commanders, to defend his Countreys, and likewise to offend the Prince of *Bearne*, and his adherents.

This Declaration was slow, but so were not the preparations; for not onely in Flanders Count *Charles* his Army, was recruiting, to enter upon the confines of *Picardy* in the Spring, but also *Hernando de Valesco* Constable of Castile, and Governor of the State of Milan was preparing a great Army in Italy, to march into *Bourgogne*, and in Spain new forces were raising, that they might send new supplies to *Don Juan del Aquila* in *Bretagne*, as soon as the season would permit; the like preparations were made in France, Holland, and England, so that the course of this year seemed on all sides likely to prove formidable and bloody.

The Venetian Ambassadors sent to congratulate the Kings assumption to the Crown, are received with great demonstrations of honor.

In the mean time the King cured of his hurt, had celebrated the solemnity of the Knights of the Holy Ghost; among the Ceremonies whereof, he renewed his oath of living and dying a Catholick, and of defending Religion, and afterwards with great pomp and demonstrations of honor, he had received *Vincenzo Gradenigo*, and *Giovanni Delfino*, Ambassadors of the Venetian Senate, who came to congratulate his assumption to the Crown, and *Pietro Duodo*, that came to reside in the place of *Giovanni Mocenigo*, who for the space of seven years together, had made his residence with him, and the King his Predecessor, having with exceeding great praise of singular prudence, managed the most weighty businesses in the ambiguous revolutions of past affairs.

The first action in the War of this year, was the taking of *Beaune* a principal Town in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, wherein some of the chief Citizens having begun to mutiny from the year before, to put themselves under the Kings obedience, the Duke of *Mayenne* who had a special jealousy concerning the affairs of that Province, (as being his own particular government) went speedily at his return from *Lorain*, into that City, where having found businesses all in a combustion,

bustion, he caused fourteen of the Citizens, which seemed to him more inclined to an alteration then the rest, to be imprisoned in the Castle, and having removed that difficult scruple, he in all things else, sought to appease the generality of the Citizens, without using any kind of severity ; He endeavoured to make them understand, that he was about to conclude the general peace, with the Popes consent ; and therefore it would be much more honorable, much more advantageous to them, to be included in the general agreement, then to compound by themselves, and forsaking him, who had alwayes governed them gently, refer themselves to the uncertain discretion of a new Governour, with which reasons thinking he had settled their mindes, he left a good Garrison in the Castle, and a convenient one in the Town, and went with speed to *Dijon*, where he feared some insurrection, no less then in other places ; but being advertised that after his departure, there had been new tumults at *Beaune*, he would needs return to provide against them, and began to contrive how to fortifie both the Town and Castle, which being not to be done, according to the design of *Carlo Bonaventura* an Italian engineer, without pulling down some principal Monasteries and a great many private houses to the very ground, the Citizens opposed it ; shewing the Duke that it was no time, to come to so precipitate a determination ; but he entring by this opposition into a greater jealousy of their inclinations, resolved to prosecute the fortification, and brought in a greater strength of Souldiers, which were distributed into several parts of the Town, to bridle the people, and to secure them to his devotion ; and having given convenient order for these things, he departed, to oversee the rest of the Province, and secure other places, believing he had sufficiently provided against that danger ; but the Citizens exasperated by the pulling down of their houses, and by the imprisoning of the chief of them, resolved to use their utmost force to deliver the City to the Mareschal de *Biron*, who with two thousand Switzers, four thousand French Foot, and twelve hundred horse was come into those quarters in the moneth of January ; wherefore having secretly invited him, and settled the agreement, that he should present himself at the gates of the City upon the fifth of February, they upon the same day as soon as it was light, took Armes, and running up and down

The Citizens of *Beaune* in the Duchy of *Bourgogne* calling the Mareschal de *Biron*, submit themselves to the Kings obedience.

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1594

the streets with white scarfs, began to cry out, *For the King*; to which the greater part of the common people answering, *Jaques Richard* one of the plot ran to that gate which alone was wont to be kept open, and letting down the Portcullises that were on the inside, shut out the guard of Souldiers who negligently and carelessly guarded the *Raveline*; then many others running thither armed, they made themselves Masters of the Gate, driving out the souldiers that were upon the guard, who having forsaken the *Raveline* to save themselves in the fields, were by the Country-people (no lesse exasperated then the rest) miserably defeated and dispersed. At the same time *Guilliaume Alesan* and *Michel Richard*, two other contrivers of the businesse, ran to the house of the *Sieur de Montmoyon* Governour of the Town, and suddenly made him prisoner having killed *Guillermine* a Colonel of Foot, and some other Captains that were with him; and *Carlo Bonaventura* the designer of the Fortifications (who in his own defence had wounded *Alesan*, and many others) being almost stoned by the fury of the people, could scarce by the diligent care of some, be carried alive into the common Gaol. The Gate and the Governour being taken, the next work was to master the Quarters of the Souldiers, who though divided in different places, had fortified themselves there from the beginning of the tumult; in which combustion the City being all in an hurly burly, and even the very women and children betaking themselves to arms, they began to fight in many severall parts of the Town with various and bloody events: In the mean time came the *Mareschal de Biron*, who had delayed longer then the Citizens had appointed, and being entered into the Town with his whole Army, the Souldiers who were no longer able to make resistance, yielded, saving their goods and persons; and he with very great and unusual severity restraining his souldiers from pillage, appeased the whole tumult that night. The next day siege was laid to the Castle, which being battered with twelve pieces of Cannon, after three thousand shot, and having held out two and forty days, surrendered it self into his hands.

The Baron
de Senecey
goes over to
the Kings
party with
the City of
Ossonne.

The Baron *de Senecey* with the City of *Ossonne* followed the example of *Beaune*; for he having been Ambassadour to the Pope, and having found there was no hopes either from Rome or Spain of such Supplies as were necessary to uphold the

the enterprife, and having diligently informed the Duke of Mayenne of it and exhorted him (in vain) to imbrace peace, he took a refolution, and fubmitted himfelf to the Marefchal *de Biron*, upon condition to keep the Government of that place.

The Citizens of *Autun* refolved to do the fame; but be-
caufe that Town was guarded with a good Garrifon, nor could
the inclinations of all be founded without evident danger of
difcovery, the Heads of the defign determined to call the
Marefchal, and not to make any ftir at all till he was at the
Gates; one of which being kept by them, they had refolved
to open to him: wherefore he being come fecretly into the
Suburbs upon the eighth of May at night, the Mayor of the
Town, who had undertaken to bring him in, with great fi-
lence caufed the Gate to be opened, into which a Captain
entering firft of all with five and twenty Cuiraffiers and fifty
Fire-locks, quickly made himfelf Master of that Poft; and
having fent word that the pafs was fecure, the *Sieur de Sipiere*
and the Marquels of *Mirebeau* entered, after whom followed
the whole Army, which being drawn up in the open fpace
between the walls and the houfes of the Town, was divided
into four parts, which took poffeffion of the ftreets of the Ci-
ty four feveral wayes: One of thefe having fallen upon a
good number of Souldiers, which according to the military
cuftom were going *Patrouilles*, there began a furious conflict
in the dark, at the tumult whereof all the guards being waken-
ed and in arms, as likewise all thofe Citizens that were not
privy to the bufinefs, they continued with various uncertain-
ty fighting all the night, till day being broke, every one per-
ceived that the City was poffeffed by the whole Army; where-
upon all laying down their arms, and hiding themfelves in
houfes, *Biron* caufed a pardon to be publifhed thorow all the
ftreets, and having plundered the Souldiers of the Garrifon,
and fent them forth of the Town, it remained without further
harm under the Kings obedience.

The Citizens
of Autun put
themfelves
under the
Kings obedi-
ence.

The affairs of *Bourgogne* being in this condition, the
Conftable of *Caftile* having paff the mountains with eight
thoufand Foot and two thoufand Horfe, had croffed tho-
row *Savoy*, and was come into the *Franche Comté*, where be-
ing united with the Duke of Mayenne, who with four hundred
Horfe and a thoufand French Foot was gone to meet him,
recover-

The Conftable
of Caftile
with 8000
Foot and 2000
Horfe goes in-
to the *Franche
Comté*, & being
united with
the Duke of
Mayenne, re-
covers fome
places, and
takes others,

1595

The Sieur de
Tremblecourt
not being re-
lieved by the
Mareschal de
Biron, surren-
ders the Castle
of Vezu to the
Constable of
Castile.

recovered *Jaunevillet* (with they of the Kings party had quit-
ted) and resolved without delay to besiege *Vezu*; in which
Town the Sieur de *Tremblecourt* was with four hundred Foot,
and 60 Horse; nor was it very hard to take it, because his weak-
nesse would not suffer him to make any great resistance:
whereupon the Duke of Mayene, who as a Souldier of greater
experience commanded in military matters, having caused a
Battery to be planted, made an open breach within few hours
and the Sieur de *Tremblecourt* not being obstinate to make a
vain defence, resolved to retire into the Castle, and expect re-
lief from the Mareschal de *Biron*. But he could not receive the
assistance that was needfull in due time; for the Mareschal
being at the same time called by the Citizens of *Dijon*, resol-
ved to attend that as the more important occasion; so that
the Sieur de *Tremblecourt* not being able in a weak place to re-
sist the Forces of a whole Army, was constrained to surrender
the Castle,

But the Citizens of *Dijon*, having declared themselves un-
seasonably, ran a very great hazard of being suppressed; for
the Viscount de *Tavanes* who governed that Province as the
Duke of Mayenne's Lieutenant, being advertised of their in-
tention, drew all the neighbouring Garrisons together with
infinite celerity; and while the chief Citizens stood perplexed,
and irresolute whether or no they should call the Mareschal
de *Biron*, for fear of being sacked, *Tavanes* appeared with a
considerable force to enter into the City; but that being de-
nyed him by the people already up in arms, he turning to-
wards the Castle, was willingly received by the Governour of
it: There after having refreshed and ordered his men, he
caused an hundred of his stoutest Horse-men to alight, and pla-
ced them in the front of the Squadron, and then encouraging
his men to fight gallantly, marched down in order the com-
mon way, to enter the passage towards the Market-place,
where being encountred by the Townsmen in arms, there be-
gan between them a sharp and an obstinate fight, which last-
ing stiffly from the morning till it was far of the day, some of
the Heads of the people taking a resolution in necessity, de-
termined to send for the Mareschal de *Biron*, who having al-
ready many days expected that opportunity, hovered up and
down about those quarters. But not being able to bring the
Army with that celerity which so sudden an exigent required,
the

the Mareſchal having left order that the Cavalry ſhould follow him with all ſpeed, entered into Dijon with onely fixty Gentlemen towards the evening ; at whoſe arrival the Citizens recovering courage, who not being able to reſiſt, were already reduced into a corner of the Town, and then the whole Army coming up ſucceſſively one part after another, *Tavares* not willing to loſe the Caſtle while he contended obſtinately to get the Town, reſolved to retire thither, and leave the poſſeſſion of the Town unto the Army ; wherefore making the Rereguard of his Squadron face about, he drew off ſoftly, and ſtill fighting, got ſafe into the Fortreſs, the day being quite ſhut in ; but leaving it to the care of the wonted Governor, he retired himſelf into the Caſtle of Talan, a little diſtant from the Town. The Mareſchal was reduced into a great ſtraight, his Army not being ſufficient to divide it ſelf and beſiege both Caſtles ; and becauſe he feared the Duke of Mayenne, and the Conſtable of Caſtile, having diſpatched at Vezu, would come ſtraight to Dijon, he ſolicited the King by redoubled Meſſengers, to advance into Bourgongne, whither the greateſt weight of arms was already inclined.

The King had ſtaid at Paris longer then he had at firſt intended ; for Preſident *Jeannin* being come unto him, they had great hopes to conclude the lately renewed treaty of Agreement, which afterwards was prolonged many days ; for not onely the King was backward in granting conditions, by reaſon of the proſperity of his affairs in Bourgongne ; but alſo the Duke of Mayenne, according to the variation of hopes varied alſo his determinations, and without proceeding further, would have had a Truce eſtabliſhed, to expect (as he ſaid) the Popes reſolution, and (as the King ſaid) the reſolution of King *Philip* ; and finally, the revolt of thoſe Towns having hapned on the one ſide, and on the other, the Conſtable being come, the Treaty diſſolved without concluſion ; and the King having left the Prince of Conti to govern Paris, and with him the Count of *Schomberg* to counſel him, was come to Troy upon the thirtieth of May to draw his Army together in that place, and to march thence whither need ſhould require. Thither the earneſt deſires of the Mareſchal *de Biran* came unto him, who ſolicited him to march ſpeedily to Dijon ; wherefore without interpoſing any delay, he with the Troops that were with him, having left order that the reſt

ſhould

1595 should follow, took his way with all haste toward Bourgogne, having with him the Count of Auvergne, the Duke de la Tremouille, the Marquess de Pisany, the Connt de Torigny, the Chevalier d'Oyse, the Marquesses of Trefnel, and Mirepoix, and the Sieurs de Chiverny, Liancourt, Vitry, Montigny, d'Inteville, and de la Curée.

The King comes to Dijon, and gives order that both the Castles be besieged.

The Constable of Castile perswaded by the Duke of Mayenne, advances with his Army to attempt the recovery of Dijon.

Being come to Dijon upon the fourth of June, he presently gave order that both the Castles should be beleagured, setting the Count de Torigny to besiege that of the City, and the Baron of St. Blancard, Brother to the Marechal de Biron, to take in the Castle of Talan; but because to shut up the Castle round about was a work of many days, all the Infantry not being yet come up (which could not march so fast as he had done) the King resolved to advance with the major part of Cavalry towards the Spanish Camp; for having intelligence that the Constable had cast two Bridges over the River Saone at Gray to pass all his Army at once, and come to raise the siege of the Castles, he hoped to foreflow him till such time that all his men were come up, and the Trenches brought to perfection. The Duke of Mayenne had likewise partly with reason, partly with authority, partly by entreaty, perswaded the Constable to advance to recover the City of Dijon, telling him, that the Marechal de Biron's forces were much inferior to his, and that the Castles, in which the sum of affairs consisted, afforded them a very easie way to drive out the enemies; and though the Constable (a Lord of high birth, and great riches, but small experience in the affairs of war) was very unwilling to do it, yet his confidence in the Dukes prudence and valor, and his not knowing that the King was so near, had induced him to yield unto it; wherefore having passed the River the day before with his whole Army, he had quartered himself in the Villages on this side of the River, eight leagues from Dijon. Things being in this condition, and neither the Constable, nor the Duke of Mayenne knowing of the Kings being come, he without losing time, upon the seventh of June in the morning departed from the City with twelve hundred Gentlemen, and Curassiers, and six hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, and gave order that all should march toward Luz, he being to break his fast that morning at the house of the Baron of that Town, and to stay there for some intelligence of the enemies moving. Luz stands upon the confines

confines of *Bourgogne*, and of the *Franche Comté*, four leagues from *Gray*, and as much from *Dijon*; so that he was in the way between the City and the Spanish Campe, between which and *Gray* there was nothing but the current of the river; As soon as the King was come to the place appointed, and not meeting that intelligence he expected, to know what the enemy did, he sent forth the Baron *d'Offonville* with sixty light horse to discover and to bring him back the certainty of all things; and he, resting his men, & refreshing his horses at leisure, gave order that at three of the clock in the afternoon all should meet at *Fontain-Françoise*, a village upon the edge of his confines, there to dispose of themselves according to the information he should receive. It was not yet noon, when he and the Mareſchall *de Biron*, with three hundred horse went that way to be upon the *Rendevouz* first of all, to order and dispose the forces as they came one after the other, but when he was two miles from *Fontain-Françoise*, he saw three horsemen come full gallop towards him, who brought word that the Baron *d'Offonville* being charg'd with three hundred horse of the League was forced to retire, not having been able to discover any thing, and that he desired relief, that he might be able to withstand the greater forces of the enemy; The King not knowing what to believe, whether the three hundred horse were the enemies vanguard, or else but some party that was scouring the Campagne, sent forth the Mareſchall *de Biron*, and the Baron *de Luz*, and the Marquesse *de Mirabeau* followed by sixty horse, to succour *Offonville*, and to know matters more certainly; who advancing at a large trot, out of haste to recover *Offonville*, as soon as he was out of *Fontain-Françoise*, discovered a Troop of sixty light horse which were upon the steep of the hill, just upon the way that led to *S. Seine*, a village that stood upon the great road which led straight to the river *Saône*; wherefore he resolved (without doubting) to charge them, and to advance to the top of the hill, from whence he thought he might discover all the Countrey: nor was it hard for him to obtain his intent, for the light-horse received the charge without opposition and left them the Hill free, which as soon as he was gotten upon, he discovered the whole Spanish Army at a distance, which marching in its ranks, was coming to quarter at *S. Seine*, standing in a Plain, which on the right side is bounded with a hill, and on the other is covered with a wood; wherefore

The Baron *d'Offonville* sent forth to discover the Army of the League, is charged, and constrained to retire.

The Mareſchall *de Biron* going to relieve the Baron *d'Offonville*, puts a Troop of the Enemies Cavalry to flight.

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being

1595

The Maref-
chal de Biron
being without
his head-piece
is wounded
in the head.

The King half
difarmed suc-
cors the Ma-
refchal de
Biron.

being defirous to carry back certain news of the quality and order of the enemy, he resolved to advance, that he might have means distinctly to observe the march and order of that Camp; but he was no sooner descended into the Plain, when he saw the enemies three hundred horse, who having routed and pursued *Ossonville*, came resolutely towards him: The Marefchal knowing himself inferior in strength, thought to retire without doing any more, giving the Baron de *Luz* order to make a stand in the Reer with twenty of his men, and endeavor to detain the enemies, if they should come up to molest him; which the Baron courageously performing, their fury came upon his back with so much violence, that being overthrown with his horse, and four of his men slain, who gallantly faced about, the rest were constrained to gallop away: Wherefore the Marefchal being likewise forced to face about towards the enemy, fell in furiously to dis-engage the Baron, who having freed himself from his horse, and much more difficultly from the enemy, had got over a ditch and came towards him with his Sword and Pistol in his hand: The encounter was very sharp and furious in the beginning; but the Marefchal who fought without a head-piece, being wounded with a slash in the head almost at the very first, and some of his men being slain and trampled under foot by the fury of the enemy, he began by reason of the inequality of the forces, to be in extream danger of being defeated; yet was he not at all dismaid, nor did he slacken the ardor wherewith he fought, being accompanied by the Baron d' *Ossonville*, who again was joyned with him, and the Baron de *Luz*, who was fortunately gotten again on horse-back, till at the same time there appeared out of the Village, and out of the Wood eight Squadrons of the enemies horse, which separating themselves from the Army, came a round pace towards him; wherefore having something repressed the first violence of them, who charged him first, he turned his bridle and rallying his men, began to retire galloping to get to Fontaine-Françoise, where he believed the King to be already come with all the rest of his forces: But the hour assigned for the Rendezvous was not yet come, wherefore the King though he had with him onely two hundred horse of the Nobility, and sixty Harquebufiers on horse-back that were come up before the rest; and though he had no other arms on but his back and brest, yet was he necessitated to advance, and receive the Marefchal de *Biron*, who

who was hotly pursued at the heels by a much greater number of the enemies.

The first Troops of the League were led by *Louis d' Hndan* *Sieur de Villers*, and Captain *Giovan Battista Sansoni* a *Milane*; the first, one of the Duke of Mayenne's field Mareschals; the second, Lieutenant of the Constables Light-horse: the other French Troops were commanded by the *Sieur de Tenissay*, and the Baron *de Tianges*, and the Italian, and Bourguignon Light-horse, by Don *Roderigo Bellino*, and the Marquess *de Varambone*. A hundred Carabines marched first to begin the charge, and after the other Squadrons followed the Duke of Mayenne, with a body of *Gens d' Armes*. The King was put upon a necessity of fighting with all this fury of the enemies, and his forces being not yet come up, he closed upon the right hand with the Dukes *de la Tremouille*, and *d' Elbœuf*, the Baron *de Termes*, and the *Sieur de la Curée*; and upon his left hand the *Mareschal de Biron*, though weary and wounded, with the Barons of *Offonville* and *Lux*; and with the Marquess *de Mirabeau*. Monsieur *de Villers* with his Squadron charged that part where the *Mareschal de Biron* was; and *Giovan Battista Sansoni* fell upon the other where the King himself was; but with different fortune, though they fought with equal courage on both sides; For Monsieur *de Villers* at last beat back the Troops of *Offonville* and *Lux*, and forced the *Mareschal* to retire as far as *Fontaine-Françoise*; but on the other side where the King was, new Troops of Gentry and Cavalry coming up straglingly every minute, who having heard the danger he was in, advanced with all possible speed to assist him; *Sansoni* was killed with five wounds, and his Horse being routed and dispersed, were driven back, even to the last Squadron of the enemy; Nor could the *Sieur de Villers* prosecute the victory on his side; for having received a shot in his arm, he was likewise constrained to retire; For all this the Kings danger lessened not, for the Baron *de Tianges* and the *Sieur de Tenissay* advanced with fresh and numerous Squadrons to charge, and the same did the Marquess *Varambone*, and *Roderico Bellino*, in that place where the *Mareschal de Biron* fought; so that being very much inferior in number, their men wearied, and their horses haggled out and tired, they were almost in a certain danger of being overcome; yet the King with his voice even hoarse, and with the example of his own valour, encour-

1595

The King follows the forces of the League, which retire still skirmishing.

The Constable of Castile, nor to hazard the *Franche Comté* by a battell makes a halt, having resolved not to fight.

The Constable retires with his Forces, though the Duke of Mayenne labours to the contrary.

raging every one; and the Mareschall *de Biron* all bloody, and covered with sweat and dust, charging desperately among the first, they prevailed so far, that each fighting beyond his own power, and above his own strength, they gave time to the rest who were upon the way to come up; amongst which the first were the Count of *Anvergne*, Monsieur *de Vitry*, and after them the Count *de Chiverny*, the *Chevalier d'Oyse*, and the Monsieur *d'Inteville*; At the arrival of these (after whom the whole Army was believed to follow) the Duke of Mayenne caused the Troops to withdraw from the fight, and the King seeing it was no time to think of any other safety then what courage afforded, followed them with a gallant skirmish to the Plain and Wood of *S. Seine*, where they met the Spanish and German Infantry, which advancing valiantly in two divisions, came to give their charge: when they appeared, the King drew back his bridle, and the Duke of Mayenne having rallied all his Horse into one great body, made shew as if he would charge him: but the Kings Troops were already arrived; whereupon the number of the Cavalry was not much different, and the Constable of *Castile* riding up to the head of the Army, commanded his men to make an halt, being resolved not to hazard all his Forces, and all the *Franche Comté* to the danger of a Battell: wherefore it being already late, the King began to retire with a gentle pace toward *Fontaine-Françoise*; and the Enemy, though at first, to conserve their reputation, they made shew that they would follow him, retired also without doing any thing else.

The Spaniards lay that night at *S. Seine*, the Kings forces at *Fountaine-Françoise*, and his own person at *Lux*, having that day run one of the greatest dangers that befell him in all the revolutions of the past wars; in which he ought to acknowledge his safety no lesse to his own valour, then the courage of those were with him, among which, after *Biron* the principall praises, were given to *Marquesse de Mirabeau*, the Count *de Grammont*, and the Sieur *de la Curée*: In this encounter which fame published to be much greater then the truth, there were kill'd about forty on the Spaniards side and of the Kings above sixty; the wounded were many more, nor fewer were the number of those that were taken prisoners on both sides: each party laboured to draw the fame of the victory and the honour of that day unto it self; the Spanish

Comman-

Commanders, because the number of the slain and prisoners were greater on the Kings side; the French, because they remained Masters of the field, and likewise of the dead bodies, and because they made the enemies retire to their very quarters. But that which confirmed the victory on their side was the determination of the Constable, who having heard from the Prisoners that the King himself was there, and had been in the fight, resolved (though the Duke of Mayenne laboured much to the contrary) not to pass any further; and the next morning having caused his Army to repass the River, went to lye in a place of advantage, having *Gray* behinde his Camp, and the obstacle of the River before it. The King advanced the next morning with all his Cavalry to see which way the Enemies would move, and being come to the hill from whence he discovered the Plain, and the Village of *S. Seine*; he stood there a long time in Battalia, not seeing the retreat of the Spaniards, in respect of the wood, and of the opposite hill; nor would the King, being without his foot, in a various Country, full of advantageous places, and not well known unto his men, put himself into the danger of falling into some great Ambuscado; but it being already past noon, the *Sieur de Tremblecourt*, and *d' Ossonville* with a few Horse went up to the very entry of *S. Seine*, where certain Peasants that were working in the fields told them of the retreat of the Army, whereof having speedily informed the King, he advanced at a round trot to fall upon the Enemies Rere; but he found that already they were all safely past the River, and the boats taken away, upon which they had made two bridges; wherefore having scowred and beaten the ways along the banks of the River, he returned that night to his quarters at *Lux*, and the next morning went to *Dijon* to hasten the Siege of the two Castles.

The Duke of *Mayenne* on the other side, not having been able to perswade the Constable to stay beyond the River, began to intreat him to let him have some number of men, wherewith he might go and defend his own in *Bourgogne*; but neither was it possible for him to obtain that; for the Constable who was come onely to defend the *Franche Comté*, thought he had done enough in recovering *Veru*, and all the other Towns the French had gotten possession of, and would no more put himself to the arbitrement of fortune, so much the rather because his want of experience in military matters, made

1595

The Duke of Mayenne seeing himself forsaken by the Spaniards, and advertised that the Pope inclined to the absolution of the King, makes an agreement with him.

made him very much to fear, every small encounter; and though he had a great Army about him, he thought not himself secure from the celerity and courage of the King of France; besides the continuall treaty the Duke of Mayenne held of making his peace with the King, rendred him suspected to the Constable, and to all the Spanish Ministers, nor would they trust any thing of moment to his fidelitie: wherefore (seeing himself destitute of all succour; and that the Constable, being grounded upon good reasons, was not like to change his resolution,) he determined at last to close up the treaty of agreement, and so much the rather, because he was advertised by his Agents at Rome, that the Pope manifestly inclined to the Kings absolution; and therefore having sent the *Sieur de Li-guerac* to *Dijon* he concluded upon these terms; That he leaving the Spanish camp, should retire to *Chalons*, upon the River *Saone* in the same Province of *Bourgogne*, where without using Arms he should expect the event of the deliberation at Rome; and that on the other side, the King should not any way molest him, nor any of his followers, nor should attempt any thing upon *Chalons*, and that in the mean time, while the advertisements came from Italy concerning the absolution of the King, the difficulties should be smoothed, and the conditions agreed upon, wherewith the Duke should turn unto the Kings obedience. This truce or suspension of Arms being established, the Duke (making as if he had a minde to relieve the Castles of *Dijon*) departed from the Constables Camp with the French troops, and went straight to *Chalons*, where presently the Kings Deputies arrived to conclude the agreement, and he gave order to the Viscount de *Tavannes* and the Governor of the Castle of *Dijon*, to surrender both the Castles without delay.

The King goes into the *Franche Comté* to molest the Spaniards.

But the King having dispatched that enterprise, resolved to go into the *Franche Comté*, to attempt something against the Constables Army, and with seven thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse marched towards the River *Saone*. The Constable lay still at *Gray*, thinking it a very convenient place to hinder the passing of the River, and to turn which way soever the French Army should move; which being quartered at *S. Seine*, fought all the banks for many dayes, without finding an opportunity to passe; but it being already the month of July, and the waters of the *Saone* very much fallen; by reason of

of the time of the year, the Sieurs de Tremblecourt, and d'Offonville who attempted all manner of means to pass, found that the River was fordable in a certain place about three miles from Gray, which was guarded onely by one hundred Spanish firelocks; wherefore upon the eleventh of July in the morning they appeared upon that Pass, with two hundred Curassiers, and five hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, and began to try the Ford where the River was shallowest. The Spanish firelocks opposed them, and bravely resisting, hindered the enemies passage with their utmost power; but having no more Ammunition then what they carried in their Plasks, after they had fought for the space of half an hour, they were necessitated to retire; at which, the French taking courage passed resolutely to the other bank of the River, and after them the Count d'Anvergne, and the Marechal de Biron with five hundred Horse more: The news of the enemies passing was already come to the Spanish Camp, and the foot that had fought there, murmuring at the unskilfulness of their Commanders, who had left them without Ammunition, retired towards their quarters, when Hercole Gonsaga advanced with the first Squadrons of Horse to beat back the French, and make them repass the River, being not believed to be many in number; but having found the truth to be different from what they thought, after the first volley he could not withhold his men from yielding to the greater number, though he fighting valiantly, and sharply rebuking those that turned their backs, did the Office of a very gallant Commander. Cavalliere Lodovico Melzi followed with another Troop of Horse, and having avoided the encounter of the first, who precipitately ran away, fell in courageously to oppose the enemy; but the French were so much stronger, there coming up new Troops of Horse every minute to reinforce them, that it was not possible for him to stop their fury; but being routed and dispersed fell foul upon the last Squadron of horse, where with Don Alfonso Idiagues came to second him, in such manner that the Squadrons mingling confusedly with one another, being jostled and disordered by the violence of those that fled, they that came up to charge, began likewise to run away without stop; in which flight it being necessary to pass a great ditch full of water and dirt, to come to the quarters of the Army, the disorder proved so great, that many precipitated themselves

1595
The French pass the River Saone at a Ford, and the Spaniards that lay to defend the Pass for want of Ammunition, were forced to leave it and retire.

The Spaniards are routed and dispersed.

1595

Don Alonso
Idiaques taken
prisoner.

selves into the ditch; and many not to incur the danger of being thrown down and trampled under foot, fell into the power of the French; among which *Don Alonso Idiaques*, his horse having fallen under him, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the *Sieur de Chauliot*, and was fain afterwards to compound for a ranome of twenty thousand duckets. The French seeing the Constable's Infantry drawn up on the other side of the ditch, stopped their pursuit, and stayed for the King; who having past with all his Army, lodged in the neereſt Villages two miles from the enemies Camp.

By these two great disorders the Spaniards gave the King of France liberty to passe; for there was no doubt, but if the Foot that guarded the Passe had been more in number, and better provided with Ammunition, they would have hindered the first that came over, in respect of the difficultie of the passage, and the height of the banks of the River; and after they were past, if all the Cavalry had advanced in order to beat them back, it is most certain they would either have totally defeated them, or made them repasse to the other side of the River: but coming up disorderly, and in a manner scatteringly, they gave the French opportunity to conquer and put themselves in danger of being utterly cut off; and therefore knowing Souldiers cannot endure those rash runnings out of the trenches of Camps, without order or consideration, at every little call of a Trumpet; and that which the inexpert count boldness and resolution, they with very good reason call rashness and ignorance.

But the King of France his passage, made with so much fortune or valour, produced little effect; for the Constable keeping himself in his wonted quarter excellently fortified, and placed between *Gray* and the current of the *Saone*, the King not having power to force it, and not being in a condition to assault it, went on the other side to make incursions, and spoil the Country, and spent the time without receiving any fruit, save that *Besancon*, a Town no way strong nor tenable against his Army, to free it self from danger, compounded for many thousands of duckets. In the mean time the Kings Camp was full of many dangerous diseases, whereof being in an enemies Country, and in the exercise of arms, there died very many, among which was the Count *de Torigny*, who had the Office of Field-Mareschal. For which reason, and because there

there came every day ill news from *Picardie*, the Cantons of the Switzers interposing as common friends; and particular protectors of the *Franche Comié*, the wonted neutrality was established in that Province, which the King going out of, went to *Dijon*, and the Constable *Velasco* having left part of his Army returned with the rest to his Government of *Milan*.

At *Dijon*, the business of the Hugonots still troubling the King, and he desiring for his own security, and for the Pope's satisfaction, to get the Prince of *Condé* out of their hands, caused a Petition to be presented by the kinsmen of the Princess his Mother, wherein relating in her name the imputation that had been laid upon her, of having been privy to the death of the Prince her Husband, and the sentence that had been given against her by Judges that were not competent, nor capable to sentence her, they demanded that she having till then been kept in prison, at *S. Jehan d' Angely*, the King disannulling the first sentence, would be pleased to grant that the Parliament of *Paris*, a naturall and competent Judge, might hear her cause, and having discussed the proofs, give sentence upon it: to which petition the King answered; That if the Princesses Kinsmen would oblige themselves to put her into the power of the Parliament of *Paris*, he would disannull and make void the sentence that had been given; and would refer the case to the aforesaid Parliament, into whose power the Princess was to be delivered within the space of four months. This served for a colour and excuse to take away suspicion from the Hugonots, to deprive them of power to detain the person of the Princess and of her Son. And the King sent the Marquess *de Pisani* to *S. Jehan*, who though the Hugonots murmured at it, brought them both away to *Paris*, where the Princess having declared, that she would live for the time to come in the Catholick Religion, was absolved by the Parliament of that imputation that had been layed against her; the Prince of *Condé* remaining not only in the Kings power, but instructed and bred up in the Catholick Religion.

The Duke of *Montmorancy* came likewise to the City of *Dijon*, and there took possession of his Office of Constable; the Hugonots being thus deprived of those props, wherewith they had designed to uphold themselves. The Pope was by these lively effects very much confirmed of the Kings sincer-

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1595

The Princess of *Condé* being dexterously referred by the King unto the Parliament of *Paris*, concerning an imputation laid upon her of being privy to her Husbands death, is cleared thereof by the Parliament, having promised first to turn Catholick, and that her Son should be instructed in the same Religion.

1595

The Pope almost assured of the Kings sinceritie inclines towards him, and shews himself averse from others,

city, who already was wholly averse from them, and wholly intent to secure the State of Religion within his obedience; He shewed the same inclination by the strict orders, and particular Commissions which he had given to restore the use of the Masse in all those places from whence it had been taken; and he laboured continually in seeking means to restore the estates of the Clergy possessed by others, which by reason of the difficulty of the matter proved very hard and troublesome; for the Lords and Gentlemen, who in reward of their services had obtained them, and had already possessed them a great while, could hardly be brought to leave them without equivalent recompences; which by reason of the number of the pretenders, and the narrowness of affairs, in a time of so great distraction, it was not possible to satisfie; yet the King with infinite patience and dexterity studied how to compose things, so that if he could not altogether, he did at least in part satisfie the Clergy, though of necessitie many of the principall of them could not be absolutely contented; but discrete persons commended both the Kings inclinations, and dexterous manner of finding a way to compose interests that were so oppositely diverse and repugnant.

These things brought by fame unto the Court of Rome, did opportunely promote the Kings interests; but much more were they helped on by the contrary circumstances, which troubled the minde of the Pope, and of that Court; for Schism was in a manner totally settled; the Parliament continued diligently to hinder that none should goe sue for benefices at Rome, and whosoever procured any by such sutes, did not certainly obtain the possession of them; the King by some one of the great Councell did still dispatch Spirituall *Oeconomies* to the Bishopricks, and other cures of Souls that were vacant; the name of the Apostolick See seemed to be utterly forgotten; and the Kings forces prospering, it was doubted he would demand absolution no more; the Duke of *Nevers* having said publicly at his departure, that they should not look to have any more Ambassadors sent to Rome: wherefore though the treaty was set on foot again by means of Cardinal *Gondi*, and that *d' Ossat* continued to treat with *Samsoy*, and with Cardinal *Aldobrandino*; yet the Pope fearing the mischief that was imminent, and considering the example of other States that had withdrawn themselves from the obedience

ence of the Apostolick See was wonderfull anxious, by reason of the danger of this division. To this was added the Kings confederacy contracted with the States of Holland ; and the League which was still in treaty with England ; whereupon it was doubted that so near a confederacy being made with Hereticks, Religion would in some part be injured by it. That which the more incited the Pope, was the sharp war made by the Turk in *Hungary* ; for being constrained to think of the progress of the common enemy on that side, he desired to appease the tumults of *France*, that he might turn all his Forces for the maintenance and benefit of the Common-weal of Christians ; For all these reasons being resolved within himself to condescend to the Kings benediction, to which he thought himself obliged in conscience, he began to think of softning the Catholick King ; and therefore besides satisfying him in all his demands, he resolved to send his Nephew *Giovan Francesco Aldobrandino* into Spain under colour of treating of the affairs of *Hungary*, but withal to negotiate the absolution of *France* ; to which he laboured to bring the King of *Spain* gently, by shewing that he depended much upon his consent : In the mean time by the means of Monsieur *d' Ossat*, he secretly let the King know that things were already ripe, and that if he sent new Ministers to treat, the absolution perchance might be concluded.

The Pope sends his Nephew *Giovan Francesco Aldobrandino* into Spain, to treat of the affairs of *Hungary*, and also of the Kings absolution.

The King desirous to reconcile himself fully to the Church, thought at first to send a gallant Embassy ; but being informed of the Popes intention, who desired that the business should pass privately, and with terms of very great submission, he determined to send onely *Jaques Davy* *Sieur du Perron*, who should treat of matters together with *d' Ossat*, being also desirous in case the business should not take effect, that the manner of treating might not make it the more eminent and remarkable. These men seasonably making use of the conjuncture of present affairs, managed the Kings intentions modestly and dexterously, shewing no less the prosperoufness of his enterprizes, which at last had gained him the whole Kingdom ; than his Piety and most ardent affection towards Religion, from whence proceeded his infinite patience, hardened to bear so many repulses as had been given him by the Pope. But those that were well versed in the affairs of the world, gave loose reins to their discourse concerning

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1595

those very things which much troubled the Pope, and said freely through the Court, that in the end the Kings patience would turn into fury, and that having subdued his enemies, and made himself a peaceable master of his estate, it was to be doubted he would care but little to reconcile himself to the Pope, or rather it was to be feared, that with a dangerous Schism in the Church of God, he would attempt to revenge so many past injuries, and persecutions; and upon these points they repeated and alleadged those reasons, for which it was just and convenient to receive and satisfie him: The Pope being between two contrary respects, one not to alienate nor offend the Catholick King; the other not to lose the obedience of the Kingdom of France, went very warily, and endeavoured, that time, the course of things, patience and dexterity might unloose that so difficult and so dangerous knot: He knew that those that took part with the King of France had reason on their side; that at length there was enough said, and enough done, to assure the sincerity of his Conversion, and that by standing firm against so many repulses, he had merited the pardon and reconciliation of the Church: but on the other side he doubted the Spaniards might upbraid him, that they had been more constant, and more jealous defenders of the Majesty of Religion then he, and he thought it very hard to alienate King *Philip* an ancient and confirmed defender of the Church, for a Prince, which, till then, had ever been an enemy, and a persecutor of it; to this was added that the merits of the King of *Spain* towards the Apostolick See, and the many enterprizes he had done for the service of Christendom and of Religion, had gotten him so great authority in the Roman Church, that it seemed not fit for the Pope to determine a matter of so great consequence, without his liking and consent.

Monfignor
Serafino tells
the Pope that
Clement the vii
lost England,
and *Clement*
the eighth
would lose
France.

But whilest the Pope dexterously protracts this determination, the King's Forces gaining every day greater power, and greater fame, constrained him to come to a conclusion; and the words of Monfignor *Serafino* wrought much upon him; who discoursing often with him, and, according to his wonted liberty, mingling jests with serious matters, being asked by the Pope what the Court said about that business; answered, that it was now a common saying, that *Clement the Seventh* had lost England, and *Clement the Eighth* would lose France

France : which conceit having pierced deeply into the Pope's mind spurr'd on by the evidence of reason, and the effectual sollicitations of the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, he determined to take his resolution upon his Nephew's relation, who assured him that in Spain mens minds were no longer so ardent as they were wont to be in the affairs of France, and that being exceedingly exhausted of money, and weary of the War, they would make no great stir at the determination of Rome, though they yet shewed perseverance, desiring that the resolutions of his Holiness might be protracted for some few days more, out of a desire to better their own conditions, then out of any hope they had that the King of France at last should not obtain absolution : wherefore the Pope taking courage, after he had often times felt the pulse of the Duke of Sessa the Spanish Ambassadour upon that point, he at last could not but tell him, that the taking a course about the affairs of France could no longer be deferred, and that therefore he was resolved to hear the opinions of the Cardinals about it, to the end that with their advice he might determine what should be thought most convenient. The Duke of Sessa believed that the Pope would hear and gather the Votes of the Cardinals in the wonted Consistory, and in the wonted manner, and knowing that many of them depended upon the will of the Catholick King, and that many others of themselves dissented from the King of France his Absolution did not argue much upon that particular, because upon a diligent scrutiny of the Votes, he was of opinion that the Absolution would not passe in the Consistory, and he was certain the Pope would not do contrary to what the plurality of Votes should determine : But Clement, who would not refer a thing of so great weight, managed till then with infinite dexterity, to multiplicity of opinions, which if they should be laid open, would appear to be guided with particular interests and respects, after he had brought the Catholick King's Ambassadors not to refuse that the business should be put in consultation, went not the ordinary way, but having called the Consistory after he had read the Kings Letters and Supplications, declared that he would hear the Counsell of the Cardinals about them ; yet not briefly and confusedly at one onely time ; but that they should one by one come into his Chamber, where no other body being present, he would hear

The Pope that he might have the more free and secure opinion of the Colledge of Cardinals, resolves to hear them privately one by one.

1595

The Pope in the Consistory declares, that twothirds of the Cardinals had voted the absolution of Henry IV, and that therefore he was resolved to treat with his Procurators about it.

hear them privately; and gave them charge that they should come four every day severally to private audience, and to discourse with him concerning the present business. The Pope (showing by this prudent manner, that he would exclude all private respects, and give the Cardinals confidence to tell their opinions freely, without fear that they should be discovered) reserved unto himself the arbitrement of the determination, being able, when all had spoken, to declare what pleased him best, and to say in which opinion the major part of Votes concurred, so that none might be able to oppose or contradict: and just so it came to pass; for having first caused solemn prayers to be made in every Church of the City, and having in himself shewed signs of profound and singular devotion, he for the space of many dayes heard the Cardinals one by one; and finally, being all met in the Consistory, he said he had heard the opinions of all the Cardinals, and that two thirds of them voted that the King of France should be absolved from Censures, and received into the bosom of the Church; and that therefore he would treat with the King's *Procurators*, and in his name impose upon them those penances and those conditions which he should think most profitable and advantageous for the service of God, and the exaltation of the Church. Cardinal *Marc' Antonio Colonna* would have contradicted, and standing up, began already to speak; but the Pope imposed him silence, saying, It had been sufficiently consulted of already, and determined with the plurality of Votes; and therefore he did not mean that should be any more put into disputation, which had once been ordered and decided.

In this manner having dismissed the Consistory, the Pope betook himself to treat with the Kings *Procurators* concerning the Conditions, which already had been debated many dayes by the means of Cardinal *Toledo*, who though a Spaniard by birth, and a Jesuite by Profession, yet either because his Conscience did so perswade him, or for some other reason, was favourably inclined to the Kings affairs; and though he laboured much, because the Pope would needs declare that absolution null that had been given him by the French Prelates at *St Denis*, and the King stood to have it approved and confirmed by his accomplishment, and because many things opposed the publication of the Council of Trent,

Trent, which the Pope by all means urged to have; and most of all because the Pope pressed to have the Decree made in favour of the *Hugonots* to be broken and disannulled, which could not be done without stirring up new wars; yet such was the dexterity and prudence of the Kings *Procurators*, and such the moderation of the Pope, that with convenient words and clauses all things were set right in such manner, that the reputation of the Catholick See was kept whole, and the King was not put into a necessity of new perturbations.

Things being settled and concluded, the Pope upon the 16th day of September went with all the Cardinals in their Pontificall habits into the Porch of *S. Peter's*, where he sitting in the Throne prepared for that purpose, and encompassed with all the Cardinals, except *Alessandrino* and *Aragon*, who were not present at that solemnity; *Jaques Davy* and *Arnand d'Offat* appeared in the habit of private Priests, and holding the Kings Proxie in their hands, upon their knees presented the petition to the Secretary of the *Holy Office*, which being publickly read, the Secretary standing at the foot of the Throne, pronounced the Pope's Decree, which containing the narrative of the whole business, did appoint and ordain that *Henry of Bourbon* King of *France* and *Navar* should be absolved from Censures, and received into the bosome of the Church, being at that present obliged to abjure all Heresies held formerly by him, to undergo the publick penance that should be enjoyned him, and observe the conditions established by his Holiness, which were these following: That the *Catholick Religion* should be introduced into the Principality of *Bearne*, and four Monasteries of Friers and Nuns founded there: That the Councill of *Trent* should be received in the whole Kingdom of *France*, except in those things that might disturb it, which the Pope was willing to dispense withall: That within the term of one year the Prince of *Condé* should be given to be bred up in the hands of Catholicks: That in the disposing of Benefices and other matters, he should observe the course agreed upon with the Kings his Predecessors, taking away all abuses: That Catholick persons, and such as were of exemplary life, should be nominated unto Prelacies: That all lands and goods taken from Churches and Religious places should be restored without

Upon the 16 of Septemb. 1595 the Pope in the Porch of *S. Peters* doth with solemn Ceremony absolve *Henry the IV* from censures and he is received into the bosome of the Church.

The conditions established at Rome, to be observed by the King of France.

1595

out a judicall way, and without contradiction : That those that were elected into Magistracy should be persons no way suspected of Heresie, nor such as favoured Hereticks, either directly or indirectly, but such as should not tolerate them, save in what could not be done without tumult and war : And that he should give account of his conversion and abjuration to all Christian Princes. The spirituall penances injoynd him were, That every Sunday and Holy-day he should hear a Conventuall Masse, either in his own Chappel, or some other Church : That, according to the custome of the Kings of France, he should hear Masse every day, and that upon some set days of the week he should say certain prayers : That he should fast Fridays and Saturdays, and receive the Communion publickly four times in the yeer.

The Kings
Procurators
kneeling at
the gate of S.
Peter's Church
do with a loud
voice abjure
the Heresie of
the Kings false
belief.

The *Procurators* accepted the Conditions, and the publick ingrossments were demanded by them ; and then kneeling down at the gate of S. Peter's Church, they with a loud voice abjured the Heresies that were contained in a certain Writing ; after which abjuration, being touched upon the head by Cardinall *Santa Severina* the chief Penitentiary with his rod of Office, they received absolution : at which action the gates of S. Peter's Church were opened, the whole Church resounded with joyfull musickall voices, and the Castle of S. Angelo with all its Artillery gave signes of extraordinary joy and gladness : The *Procurators* clothed in their Prelaticall habits were present at the Masse in the wonted place of the French Ambassadors ; after which they went to S. Louis the French Church, where the joys and rejoycings were redoubled ; the Court and the people of Rome expressing infinite contentment, the one being much inclined to favour the French, and the other rejoycing at the reunion of so noble and so principall a Kingdome.

Cardinal A-
lessandro Me-
dici, who after
was Pope Leo
the XI is ap-
pointed Le-
gate into
France.

The Pope deputed Cardinall *Toledo* Legate to the Kingdome of France ; but afterward, whatsoever the occasion was, having changed his mind, he appointed Cardinall *Alessandro de Medici*, he who succeeded him in the Papacie. The *Procurators* who had happily brought so hard a matter, and of so great consequence unto a conclusion, were at severall times by the same Pope created Cardinals, having often publickly said ; that the modesty and prudent managery of them both had overcome those infinite difficulties that arose in his minde about the determination of that busines.

The

The news of the Absolution was brought unto the King by *Alessandro del Bene*, dispatched Post from Rome; who thinking to finde him at Lyons, arrived there when he was already departed to return to Paris: For, having concluded a general Truce with the Duke of Mayenne for three months, to the end, that the conditions of Agreement might be conveniently treated of, and the event expected of matters at Rome, which went more slowly then was believed, the King (having settled the affairs of that Province, and given way to treat an Agreement also with the Duke of Nemours, and his Brother the Marquess of St. Sorlin) was returned speedily to Paris, to attend the business of Picardie, where the arms of the Spaniards made themselves be sharply felt: In which time, the Mareschal de Bois Dauphin, one of the Duke of Mayennes nearest dependents submitted himself to his obedience: And on the other side, the Duke of Elboeuf formerly reconciled unto him, had established a Truce with the Duke of Mercœur for Bretagne; so that all things in all places inclined to favor the Pacification of the Kingdom, save onely, that on the side towards Flanders, by reason of the new War kindled particularly with the Spaniards, there arose by little and little new occasions of perturbation and trouble.

The end of the Fourteenth Book.





THE
HISTORIE
OF THE
CIVILL WARRES
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

The Fifteenth BOOK.

THE ARGUMENT.

THis Book relates the progreſſ of the Spaniſh Forces in Picardie; the taking and recovery of Han; the ſiege of Caſtelet; the deſign of the Conde de Fuentes General of the Forces in Flanders, to beſiege Cambray, the preparations for that purpoſe: To facilitate that enterpriſe, he reſolves to beſiege Dourlans firſt, and ſits down before it: The French Commanders on the other ſide prepare themſelves to relieve it; they attempt to put in men, and come to a Battel; the Spaniards get the Victory, and the Admiral Villars is ſlain, with many of the Nobility: The Conquerors ſtorm Dourlans with a very great ſlaughter: The Spaniſh Army beleaguers Cambray; the Duke of Nevers, who was arrived a while before for the defence of that Province, ſends his Son the young Duke of Rhe-telois to relieve the beſieged, who fortunately paſſes thorow the enemies Camp, and enters the Town. After him the Sieur de Vic gets in, and they defend themſelves conſtantly. The people ill ſatisfied with the Government of Balagny, who had gotten

ten that Principality, mutiny, make themselves Masters of a gate, and open it to the Spaniards; the French retire into the Cittadel, where finding neither ammunition nor victual, they are constrained to surrender; the Conde de Fuentes grant them honorable conditions. The King departing from Bourgongne marches to relieve them, but comes not time enough: He consults what is best to be done, and resolves to besiege la Fere; there follows an Accommodation with the Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Joyeuse, and finally also with the Duke of Mayenne, who comes to wait upon the King before la Fere. Albert Cardinal and Arch-Duke of Austria comes out of Spain to govern the Low-Countreys; he puts relief into la Fere by means of Nicolo Basti; but the King slackens not the siege for all that. The Arch-Duke resolves to try if he could raise him by diversion, and suddenly assaults Calais, and takes it: he obtains Guines, layes siege to Ardres, which yields for want of men to defend it: la Fere yields to the King at the same time, who finding his Army in an ill condition, resolves to disband it. Cardinal de Medici the Pope's Legate arrives in France, and is received there with great honour. An Accommodation is treated with the Duke of Mercœur, who artificially prolongs it. The King assembles the States in the City of Roüen to provide monies, and settle the affairs of his Kingdom; being indisposed, he retires into the quarters about Paris. The Spaniards surprize Amiens the chief City of Picardy. The King exceedingly stricken with that loss, resolves to besiege it without delay; the varieties of the siege and defence are related. The Arch-Duke marches with a very potent Army to relieve that place; the Armies face one another many dayes, and have divers encounters: The Arch-Duke retires, and the besieged City surrenders. The King makes an incursion into the County of Artois; but because of the Winter and of the Plague, he retires. A treaty of Agreement between the two Crowns is introduced by the Cardinal-Legate; the Deputies of both parties meet at Vervins: The Duke of Mercœur submits himself unto the Kings obedience: After some difficulties in respect of the Duke of Savoy, the general Peace is at last concluded and published.

1595



Atters of war went not on so prosperously for the King of France in the confines of *Picardy*, as in *Bourgogne*, and the *Franche Comté*; for the Spanish Forces ordered by Commanders of experience and resolution, having found in the French either little unanimity, or much weakness; besides the slaughter of men which had happened in divers encounters, had likewise made themselves Masters of many Towns and places of importance.

The Duke of *Boüillon*, and Count *Philip* of *Nassaw*, had from the year before prosecuted the war unsuccessfully in the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, and made divers incursions into it; where having possessed themselves of some places of small consequence, they were so streightened by Count *Mansfelt's* Army, but much more by the inundation of the Rivers, and the excessive abundance of waters, that they were necessitated to retire, one into the City of *Sedan*, the other by Sea into *Holland*; and though the Duke of *Boüillon* had afterwards in the beginning of the year rais'd the siege of *la Ferré* which the Spaniards had laid; yet that was done rather by art, then force, and, except some excursions, things were quietly settled on that side.

By the Death of the Arch-Duke *Ernest* the Government of the Low-Countries is given to the Count *de Fuentes*.

Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* goes to serve the Emperor in the war of *Hungary*.

But the Arch-Duke *Ernest* dying unexpectedly in the beginning of March, the *Condé de Fuentes* took the Government of the Low-Countries, who full of warlike Spirits, and desirous to restore the reputation of the Spanish forces, apply'd his minde with all diligence to reforme the discipline of the *Militia*, which he had seen flourish gloriously in the time of the Duke of *Parma*; wherefore Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* being gone to serve the Emperour in the warre of *Hungary*, he was left alone to the administration of both Civil and Military affaires, and making use of the assistance of the *Sieur de la Motte*, the Prince of *Avellino*, Monsieur *de Rosne*, and Count *Giovan Giacompo Belgiojoso*, and Colonell *de la Berlotte*, old experienced Commanders, that were observant of military discipline, he had not only quieted a great part of those that mutiny'd for want of pay, but also reforming and reordering the companies of every Nation, and filling them up with old Souldiers, he had brought himself into such a condition, that with an Army more valiant then numerous, he might put himself

self upon the attempt of some gallant enterprize ; which whilest he was contriving in his mind, they of the Province of *Haynault* and of the County of *Artois* propounded unto him the taking of *Cambray*, offering a good number of men, and great contributions in money as soon as they should see the Army encamped before that City, from whence those Provinces received great and continual damage with the interruption of commerce and the hinderance of tillage. The Arch-Bishop of *Cambray* made the same request, who having been driven out from the power of that Town, proffered likewise money and souldiers, provided the Spaniards would attempt to recover it. This enterprize seemed great and magnificent to the *Condé de Fuentes*, aswel by reason of the greatness and splendor of the City and its territory, as for the glory he should attain thereby ; for since the time it was gotten by the Duke of *Alençon*, the Spanish Forces had never had the heart to venture the recovery ; and the Duke of *Parma* himself, either withdrawn by more necessary occasions, or dissuaded by the difficulty of effecting it, had given it over. But if the enterprize carried with it so great reputation, it carried also no less difficulty by reason of the strength of the City and Castle, of the number of the people, the riches of the inhabitants, the Garrison which Monsieur *de Balagny* kept in it, and many other circumstances which represented themselves to the consideration of the Count, who though in minde he was resolved to attempt it, did yet dissemble it prudently, making those preparations maturely which he thought convenient, that he might not strike in vain.

But while being intent upon this action, he was preparing matters, a new Emergent that sprung up in *Picardy* did with very great and reciprocal danger hasten the motion of the war. *Han*, a considerable Tow in that Province, was governed by the *Sieur de Gomeron*, who having in the declining of the League taken a resolution to joyn with the Spaniards, agreed to receive what Garrison they should think fit, not onely into the Town, but also into the Castle ; to which effect *Ceccho de Sangro* being come with eight hundred Italian foot, and Signor *Olmeda* with two hundred Spaniards, two hundred Walloons, and four hundred Germans, *Gomeron* though he admitted them into the Town, would not yet admit them into the Castle, fearing lest being become the stronger, they should

The *Sieur de Gomeron* Governor of *Han* agrees with the Spaniards, and receives their Garrison into the Town, but not into the Castle.

1595

Gomeron having left the Sieur d'Orvilliers in the Castle of Han, goes into Flanders where he is kept prisoner by the Conde de Fuentes.

The Duke of Longueville, governour of Picardy killed by a musket-shot.

The Conde de Fuentes goes into Picardy and besieges Castelet, with a design afterward to besiege Cambray.

should attempt to drive him out of the place; upon which doubt, there having past many letters and messages, at last Gomeron was perswaded by Don Alvaro Osorio Governor of la Feré to go into Flanders, where he should receive not only the full sum of money that had been promised him, but also fitting security to continue in the Government of the place; wherefore he having left his brother in law the Sieur d'Orvilliers and his own mother in the Government of the Castle, went himself with his two younger brothers to Antwerpe, where the Conde de Fuentes incensed by the ambiguity of his faith, made him and his brothers be kept prisoners, and wrote to Orvilliers, that if he did not put the Castle into the hands of his Commanders, he would make himself satisfaction with Gomeron's head. But Orvilliers no lesse doubtfull then his brother in law, (though the mother anxious for the safety of her sonnes, press'd him very much) could not tell what resolution to take, but sometimes intimating to the Spaniards that he would give them the Castle, sometimes treating with the Duke of Longueville, and Monsieur d'Humieres the Kings Lieutenant in that Province to bring them in secretly to suppress the Spanish Garrison that lay in the Towne, kept both parties long in hope, till Monsieur d'Humieres profering him larger conditions, and that all the Spanish Commanders that should be taken, should be given him to exchange Gomeron, he resolved at last to adhere unto the French; wherefore (the Duke of Longueville having been slaine a while before, with a musket shot, received by chance in a volley which his souldiers gave him in honour) his brother the Count de S. Paul, to whom the King had granted the same Government, having sent to the Duke of Bouillon to meet him at S. Quintin, resolved to attempt that enterprize, though by reason of the doubt of Orvilliers his fidelity, and because of the strength of the Garrison it was thought very difficult. Monsieur d'Humieres undertooke the charge of ordering the businesse, and that he might effect it prosperously, took very great care to gather together all the Gentry of the Province, and all the souldiery that was in the neighbouring Garrisons.

In the mean time the Conde de Fuentes having settled the affaires of Flanders in good order, was advanced with eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse unto the confines to take in Castelet, a place built by King Henry the second, in time

time of the Wars with the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth upon the Confines of the Territory of *Cambray*; and because the taking of this place was necessary to the besieging of that City, he had encamped himself before it, and battered it with twelve pieces of Cannon, which not interrupting the designs of the French, who thought it much more considerable to take *Han*, then to relieve *Castelet*, had taken the field with four thousand Foot, and above one thousand Horse, encamping sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, in the quarters about that Town. But though they dissembled it, and made shew to have some other design, yet their drawing so near and some provisions that *Orvilliers* made in the Castle, had put *Ceccho de Sangro*, and the other Spanish Commanders in a jealousy, who doubting of that which indeed was true, determined to shut up the passage of those ways that went from the City to the * *Esplanade* of the Castle, and there being three that led thither, they drew a traverse cross every one; raising them with Barrels and Earth, and made holes through the houses on all sides, that with their small shot they might gall the place that extended itself from the City to the Moat and Raveline before the Castle Gate; and for more security, they sent with speed to the *Condé de Fuentes* letting him know the suspicion they had, and desiring relief.

* The open space without the Castle, from the edge of the Counterscarp.

The French on the other side, being assured of *Orvilliers* his fidelity, by many of his Kinsmen that were in the Army, drew near betimes in the evening between the Gate of the Castle, and that of the Town which led to the way of *Noyon*; but the *Perdues* that lay without the works, having given the Spaniards notice of the enemies arrival, *Ceccho de Sangro* caused many Cannon shot to be made that way, whereby the French knowing that the Garison was advertised, and in order to receive the assault, resolved to enter into the Castle, and go down to fall upon the Town on that side: The Count *de St. Paul* with all the Cavalry, and a body of a thousand Foot stood firm in the field: Monsieur *d'Humieres* and the Duke of *Bouillon* went into the Castle, where the difficulty of assaulting the enemy appeared exceeding great; for the Gate of the Raveline was so narrow, that it forced them to go out but few at once stragling, and as they went forth they came upon the *Esplanade* which lay open to the shot of the Town; wherefore they would not put themselves in so manifest danger in the

Orvilliers having agreed with the French brings a strong party into the Castle.

The French go out of the Castle of *Han*, and attack the Spaniards that hold the Town.

1595

the darkness of the night, but staying for the morning, resolved to open the Gate of Relief, which was walled up, and through it, go down without opposition into the Moat, from whence cutting away part of the Counterscarp, they might come forth upon the Flank of the Castle, in a place that was not subject to their shot. This they effected at Sun-rise, and being divided into three Squadrons, each of which had one hundred Gentlemen compleatly armed in the Front of it, they marched on to fall upon those of the Town, who standing ready at their works, received the assault very valiantly. The conflict was sharp and obstinate, fighting on both sides with old Soldiers, full of experience and valor, but the event had different success in the three several places where they fought; for Monsieur d'Humieres being slain on to assault the Traverse that was guarded by Baldassare Carracciolo and Marsella del Cardice, was not only opposed, but after two hours fight repulsed with much blood; on the other side, upon the left hand where the Sieur de Sessawalle, and Colonel la Croix assaulted the Traverse guarded by Signior Olmeda, they fought with equal fortune without advantage; but in the middle way, where the Visdame of Amiens, and the Governor of Noyon assaulted Ceccho de Sangro, after they had fought a great while (Ceccho having received two wounds with a Pike,) the French broke through the Traverse, and though they found a firm resistance every where, yet they got near to the Porte de Noyon, which they had designed to open, and bring in the Count de St. Paul at it; but Ceccho taking a resolution in the extremity of the danger, caused the houses of that quarter to be set on fire, which carried by a prosperous wind for him, followed the French so close at the heels, that it constrained them to retire, the flame making such havock, that they were fain to cease the assault. It was already noon, and the Soldiers being weary every where, slackned the fight; and yet Monsieur d'Humieres seeing the wind turn, and the flames of the fire lie towards the Spaniards, let his Squadron again in order, and placing himself in the Front, went to renew the assault, in the beginning whereof he received a Musket shot in the head, and fell down dead upon the ground; which accident abated not the courage of his men, but being relieved by the Duke of Bouillon with fresh forces, they at last possessed themselves of the Porte de Noyon, by which the Count de St.

Paul

Paul entering with the rest of the Army, the Spaniards straitened on all sides, never turned their backs, but still courageously fighting, retired into the Fauxbourg de St. Sulpice, where having fought till night, and the relief not appearing, which they expected from the *Conde de Fuentes*, ordering their Pikes, they made shew, that they would yield themselves; but the French either incensed for the death of *Monsieur d' Humieres*, or by reason of their most ardent hatred against the Spaniards, prosecuted the Victory without regard, and would have put them all to the sword, if the desire of recovering *Gomeron* had not perswaded them to take many prisoners. Of the Spaniards side there were killed about Eight hundred men; *Ceccho de Sangro*, *Bassadassare Carracciolo*, Signior *Olmeda*, *Ferrante Nimfa*, *Marcello del Giudice*, and *Allejandro Brancaccio*, were all taken prisoners, with many other Officers and Soldiers. Of the French were killed about One hundred and twenty Soldiers, and forty Gentlemen, among which Colonel *la Croix*, the Sieurs de * *Bayancourt*, des *Masieres*, Lieutenant to *Monsieur de Surville*, and many Captains of Foot. Among the wounded were Colonel *Lierville*, and the Sieurs d' *Arpajon*, and de *Chalande*.

* The French says *Havancourt*.

The *Conde de Fuentes*, having received intelligence of the assault which his soldiers expected, left the Duke of *Pastrana* at the siege of *Castelet*, and went with a part of the Army to relieve them; but being come the day after the fight within three miles of *Han*, he heard the news of their misfortune, and not thinking it fit to attempt any thing for that time, returned to prosecute the siege he had begun; whereby the French remaining free Possessors of the Town and Castle, left the Sieurs de *Sessavalle* and *Plainville* with a convenient Garison in the Town, and consigned *Ceccho de Sangro*, and many prisoners to *Orvilliers*, with the exchange of which he might redeem the *Sieur de Gomeron*: But the event of the business proved very different, for the Prisoners having secretly dealt with a Neapolitan, (who as the *Sieur de Gomeron's* Rider lived in the Castle,) they came to an agreement, That he, and two other soldiers of the Garison, should free them out of the room where they were shut up, and furnish them with Arms, so that they might unexpectedly not onely recover their liberty, but by killing *Orvilliers*, make themselves Masters of the Fortrefs. The business succeeded prosperously at first;

Many Prisoners are left with the *Sieur d' Orvilliers*, that he might exchange his Brother in Law the *Sieur de Gomeron*.

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for

1595 for *Ceccho de Sangro* with his companions, suddenly assaulting the Guards at noon-day, possessed and locked up the Castle Gate; but running to the Governors Chamber to kill him, they found that he with those about him, were already in a posture of defence. Whereupon there began a very sharp fight among them, at the noise whereof the Commanders that lay in the Town suspecting the matter, ran violently to the Castle, and tried to get in with Ladders, and so the conflict was reduced to a third party; but the Italians not having strength to resist in two several places, made composition with *Orvilliers*, by the means of *Madam de Gomeron*, that opening the Gate towards the field, they should suffer them to go out freely, and he as before should remain absolutely Master of the Castle. Thus the Prisoners being at liberty, *Gomeron* remained without hope of help in the power of the Spaniards; and yet his Mother ceasing not to try all means to free her Son, had with Tears, Prayers, and Promises, brought *Orvilliers* into such a wavering doubtfulness of minde, that he seemed inclined to make a new agreement with the Spaniards; wherefore she judging, that if their Camp should draw near, he would easily resolve to receive it, writ to the *Conde de Fuentes*, that if he came with the Army, *Orvilliers* would deliver up the Castle to him.

The Count de Fuentes upon hopes given him by *Madam de Gomeron*, comes before Han: but his design of taking it not succeeding, he causes *Gomeron* to be beheaded in sight of the French.

In the meantime the Count had battered the Walls of *Castellet*, and given it a violent assault, which though it was stoutly sustained by those within, yet as they fought, the fire taking and blowing up all their Powder, the *Sieur de Liramont*, Governor of the place was necessitated to surrender, and their goods and persons being safe, he came forth in a soldierly manner; whereupon the Count having dispatched that enterprise, moved with the whole Army to draw near to Han; but at his arrival *Orvilliers* more uncertain in his minde then ever, and not knowing what to determine, opened the Gate that was towards the Town, and fled out of the Castle, retiring to Roys; and the *Sieur de Sessavalle* being entred with two hundred Soldiers, began to fire his Artillery against the Spanish Camp, at which the *Conde de Fuentes* much incensed, caused *Gomeron* to be brought within sight of the Castle, where in the presence of all, he made him to be beheaded, and sent back his Brothers Prisoners to the Castle of Antwerp. The Count perswaded by the heat of Passion, was minded to besiege

siege the Towne, but the next day when that first motion was quieted, not being willing to interrupt the already intended enterprize of *Cambray*, he raised his Campe and marched away to spoyle, and pillage the places of that Country: At the first arrival of his Army, *Clery* and *Bray* weak Towns of that Territory standing upon the River *Somme*, yielded without resistance, and to the infinite terror of the Country people, they began to plunder Cattel, and to spoile the Corn in many places; but the Forces were not yet in readiness which the Provinces of *Artois* and *Heynault* had obliged themselves to contribute, and without them by reason of the great circuit of the Town, and the number of the Defendants, the Commanders thought not fit to attempt the siege: Wherefore the Count, that his Army might not be idle, and to facilitate the enterprize of *Cambray* by shutting up the passages in many several places, resolved to fall upon *Dourlans* a Town not very great, but reasonable strong, and situate near the confines that separate *Picardy* from the Territory of *Cambray*; but on the higher side above *Peronne* and *Corbie*, the *Sieur d'Arancourt* was in the Town, and the *Sieur de Ronsoy* as Governor of the Castle, for all the places of that Province, was near the confines, are secured by Castles; the most part of them stronger by situation then by art, with walls of the old fashion, flanked onely with great Towers; but this either by reason of the nearness of the danger, or of the Governours diligence, was much bettered by ramparts and ravelines according to the manner of Fortification of our times. The weakness of the Garrison that was in the Town, being very much inferiour to what need required, encouraged the Count to set himself upon that enterprize; but though he resolved it upon the suddain, and turn'd that way without losing a minutes time, yet could not the siege be layed, and the passages blocked up so speedily, but that the Duke of *Boüillon* was advertised of it, who being taken at unawares, put in four hundred Gentlemen, and eight hundred Foot; but it was a very pernicious Counsel; for if he had put into the Town all the Foot that he had with him, which was above two thousand, he would not afterwards have been necessitated to attempt with so great a loss to relieve it; and if he had not engaged the Gentry within the circuit of those walls, he would have been so strong in horse, that by obstructing the wayes, he

The Count de
Fuenes be-
sieges Dour-
lans.

1595

There being
no command-
er of authori-
ty in *Dourlans*,
and all desi-
ring to com-
mand, there
grows a con-
fusion among
the Defen-
dants.

might have forced them to rise; but in suddain occasions, the wisest persons do not remember all things. As soon as these forces were entred into the Garrison, which in all amounted to the number of eleven hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse, the fault began to appear; for there being no Commander of authority, to manage the weight of the defence, the Lords and Gentlemen of the Country who were there, by desiring all to command, put all things in disorder and confusion, so that their presence which would have been very proper, very helpfull in the field, proved rather destructive then serviceable in the Town; And yet every one knowing it was needfull to keep the Enemy at a distance from the walls, they betook themselves to bring some of those Ravelines that were without the circuit of the Ramparts into so good forwardness as to retard the approach of the Enemy for some dayes; but the defect of the Garrison appeared likewise in this; for the Gentlemen did not care to lay hand to the work, and the Foot being few in respect of the necessary, all preparations went on but slowly.

Monsieur de la
Motte Camp
Master General
of the Span-
ish Army is
slain, Monsi-
eur du Rosne is
chosen in his
place.

The Spanish Army encamped before *Dourlans*, upon the fifteenth day of July, and the same evening *Valentine* Sieur de *la Motte*, who executed the Office of Camp-Master-General; going to view the place near at hand, to resolve on which side it should be fittest to assault it, was killed with a musket-shot in the right-eye; a Souldier who from small and low beginnings, passing through all military degrees, was risen with a most renowned fame of valour and experience, unto the eminency of the most remarkable Offices, and most important commands. The man whom the *Condé de Fuentes* design'd to supply his place, was *Christian* Sieur du *Rosne*, who by his sagacity, (which was exceeding great, (added to the valour and experience of many years,) had gotten himself an infinite reputation among the Spaniards, and by his counsel, before all other things, they began to fortifie the quarters of the Army, and with Forts and Half-moons to shut up the Enemies, as well to hinder the relief that might endeavor to get into the Town, as to secure his Camp, which was not very great, from the sudden assaults and attempts of the French. These Works being ended, there remained to be resolved, on which side the Place should be assaulted; for many were of opinion to begin with the Castle first; and many others finding it very difficult

difficult to take the Castle, advised to possesse themselves of the Town first, to facilitate the way to the taking of the Castle. But after long consultation, a third opinion carried it, propounded by *du Rosne*; which was, that the Town should be assaulted on that side where it joyned with the Castle, because at the same time a breach might be made in the wall, and part of the defence of the Castle taken away: The quality of the situation advised the same, which (in respect of the River *Oyse* that passes there) was more easie to be made defensible; whereby the Batteries would be the stronger and better sheltered from any attempt the Duke of *Boüillon* or the Count *de S. Paul* should make; who it was already known, were with very great diligence drawing their Forces together to relieve the Gentry which they had unadvisedly shut up in the Town. The first violence of the siege met with an Half-moon without the Ramparts, that separated the Castle from the Town; which though of nothing but earth, yet being by length of time firmly knit together, did little fear the battering of the Cannon: Wherefore Monsieur *du Rosne* having found the small fruit of playing upon it, began two trenches, to approach covered from the shot both of the Town and Castle, and brought them within a stones cast of the Half-moon; but while the defendants believed he would continue them to the moat, he suddenly caused two Squadrons that were prepared ready, one Italians, the other Walloons, to sally out of them; who, some scrambling up upon the earth, others clapping scaling ladders against it, got so quickly upon the Parapet, that they fell in pell-mell with the Defendants, before the Artillery of the Castle could hurt them. The fight was short, but valiant; for the defendants were all souldiers of experience; and yet their being taken so at unawares, was the cause that after they had fought a quarter of an hour, being overpowred by the greater number, they were forced to retire, saving themselves within the covered way that was without the moat of the Town. Monsieur *de Rosne* entering the Half-moon, commanded *la Berlotte's Tertia* to cover and fortifie themselves in that place, having designed to make use of that same Post to plant his Battery in it: The Walloons were diligent and carefull in fortifying themselves; but they of the Town were no less ready to hinder their work; for with three Sacres that were upon a Platform of the Town,

Town, and on the other side, with the Artillery from the Castle they did so play upon the place where the besiegers wrought, that the slaughter of them was very great; and yet the Italians, Spaniards, and Walloons working by turns, the Half-moon was at last made defensible, and in it they planted seven Culverins, which battered the Works of the Castle, and six Cannon that played against the wall of the Town; in somuch that having shot continually for two dayes together, matters were brought to such a pass, that they were ready to open two trenches into the Counterscarp, wherewith approaching, they might advance to the assault.

But in the mean time the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Count *de S. Paul* being joyned with the Admiral *Villars* and the Forces of Normandy, were intent upon relieving that place; but not so much for the importance of the Town, as in respect of the great number of Gentlemen that were shut up in it; and though the Army they had was not very numerous, yet they were confident the Gentry which they had with them would inable them to put in men and ammunition, by forcing the guards on some side or other, though they were diligent, and well strengthened by the Enemy. The *Sieur de Sessavalle's* design was to enter into the Town with a thousand Foot, and four and twenty Carriages of Ammunition, and at the same time to make the 400 Gentlemen that were in *Dourlans*, retire into the Army, wherein besides the Infantry, there were twelve hundred Curassiers and six hundred Harquebussiers on horse-back; and because the circuit and the entries into the Town were unequall, and some on this side, some on that side of the River, which neverthelesse by reason of its shallownesse might be forded in many places without difficulty; they determined to divide themselves into three Squadrons, and appear three severall wayes, to keep the Enemy divided and imployed in divers places; they consulted among themselves the evening of the twenty third of July what was best to be done; the Count *de S. Paul* was of opinion (to which the Marquesse of *Belin* and the *Sieur de Sessavalle* assented) that they should stay for the Duke of *Nevers*, who being appointed by the King to the superintendence of the affairs of that Province, was already neer at hand: it seeming to them a very great rashnesse, to attempt that then with exceeding great danger, which they might undertake within

within two days with more force, and more hope of good success: But the Duke of Bouillon (an old emulator of the Duke of Nevers, not onely by reason of their difference in Religion, but also of the fame of wisdom, to the first place whereof they mutually aspired) could not endure to hear of staying for his coming, and that the glory should be reserved for him, which he pretended should result unto himself by raising the siege, or relieving the Town, and having drawn the Admiral to his opinion, he caused it to be determined in a manner by force, that the next morning they should try their fortune.

The Duke of Bouillon intending to relieve Dourlans, causes the Commanders to resolve that his opinion should be executed.

On the other side, the Count *de Fuentes* knowing that all the hope of the French could consist in nothing, but keeping him distracted in several places, resolved to advance three miles to meet them, that he might oppose their attempt with all his forces united; and having left *Harnando Telles Portocarrero* to guard the Battery, with twelve hundred Foot, and *Gaspardo Zappogna* with a thousand more to defend their quarters and works, he with all the rest of the Army advanced upon the same way the enemy was coming: The Prince of *Avellino* led the Van, wherein were two Squadrons of Horse, one Walloons and Flemings, and the other Italians; and on the Flanks of them, two Wings of Spanish Musquetiers, the Duke of Aumale and Monsieur *du Rosne* followed with two Squadrons of Infantry, which had each of them four field pieces in the Front; and in the last was placed the rest of the Cavalry, with the Count himself, and by his side a Battalion of Germans.

The Count de Fuentes having left *Harnando Telles* at the siege, draws off to meet and hinder the relief.

On the other side, the Admiral and the Duke of Bouillon led the Van; the Count *St. Paul* was in the battel, and had by him Monsieur *de Sessavalle* with the Foot that were to go into Dourlans, and the Marquess of *Belin* commanded the Rear. It was the Four and twentieth of July, the Eve of *St. James* the Apostle, and it was near noon when the Armies marching mutually to meet, came within sight of one another; without delay, the French Vanguard with very great violence charged the two Squadrons of the enemies Cavalry, whereof that of Walloons, which was upon the left hand, being broken and disordered by the Admiral, manifestly ran away; but that of Italians where the Prince of *Avellino* was, did long sustain the fury of the Duke of Bouillon, till the Admiral

who

1595

who had routed and driven away the Enemy, drawing near upon the Flank, it likewise was constrained to retire, though without falling into disorder; but the Wings of Spanish Musketters coming up, the service was hot and furious, and so much the more, because the Walloon Horse rallying again, had likewise faced about, and fought with no less courage then the rest. In the mean time, *Sessavalle* advancing out of hand, to march to Dourlans, fell into one of the Squadrons of Foot that followed, being led by the Duke of Aumale, and there began between them a no less fierce encounter then there was among the Horse. But as soon as *du Rosne* saw those Squadrons charge one another so courageously, he with that which he led, turning a good pace upon the right hand, possessed himself of a higher ground, which was upon the Flank of *Sessavalle*, and first raking thorow them with his field-pieces from thence, and then falling in with two Wings of Muskettiers that were in the Front of his men, did so great execution upon them, that the *Sieur de Sessavalle* and Colonel *St. Denis* being slain, and all their Colours lost, the French Foot were so dispersed, that they could no more be rallied, and the Carriages of Ammunition remained in the power of the Enemy. In the mean time, the *Comde de Fuentes* getting up to an high place, from whence he discovered the various fortune of his men, sent out two Squadrons of Horse to assist the Prince of Avellino, and Monsieur *du Rosne*, with the Duke of Aumale, having put their Squadrons again in order, advanced on each side to the place of fight. Wherefore the Duke of Bouillon knowing how to yield to Fortune, without being willing to adventure any farther, retired with small loss towards the Battel, with which the Count *de St. Paul*, reserving himself untouched, had not at all engaged in the encounter; but the Admiral, who much more fiercely had from the beginning rushed upon the greater number of the enemy, having seen the *Sieur d'Arginville*, Governor of Abbeville, and the *Sieur de Hacqueville*, Governor of Ponteau de Mer, Captain *Perdriel*, and above Two hundred Gentlemen of Normandy fall dead before him, though later, and with more difficulty, would likewise have taken a resolution to retire, if pity and gallantry had not called him afresh into the midst of the Battel; for seeing his Nephew, the young *Sieur de Montigny*, with fifteen or twenty of his followers, totally engaged, and sharply prosecuted

The Admiral
Villars fighting gallantly,
is slain.

secuted by the Spanish Infantry of *Antonio Mendoza*, he called back his men that were retiring, and furiously turned about his horse to fetch him off; but being surrounded by the Spanish Muskettiers, and his passage cut off by the Italian and Walloon Cavalry, fighting valiantly, and wounded in many places, he fell at last from his horse; and though telling his name, he offered fifty thousand Crowns in ransome, he was killed in cold blood by a Spanish soldier; and another, to get a very rich Diamond Ring he wore, without any regard cut off his Finger; for which crimes they were, by the severity of the Count *de Fuentes*, both put to death. All those that followed him were killed upon the place close by him, though, fighting desperately, they made the Victory very bloody to the Enemy. The Duke of Bouillon (either judging it a greater service to the King to save the rest of the Army, or else moved by his ill will towards the Admiral, who was a very zealous Catholic) perswaded the Count *de St. Paul* (who being a young man, referred himself to the opinion of those that were elder) that without making further tryal to recover the day, they should get the Battel into security. But the Marquess *de Belin* detesting that advice, fell on with the Rere, to relieve the danger of the Admiral; and yet being encountered by four Squadrons of Lanciers, whom the Count *de Fuentes* sent out against him, he had not strength to resist their fury, and being routed and dispersed in a moment, the rest saved themselves by flight; but he and the Sieur *de Longchamp* remained the enemies prisoners: And this was one of those encounters which gave clear proof, that Cuirassiers in the field are very much inferior to the violence of Lances. The loss the French received in this Battel, was greater in regard of the quality, then number of the slain; for they were not in all above 600. but most part of them Gentlemen, and persons of note, whereof the whole Army was composed; which made the Duke of Bouillons excuse the better, in that he had saved the remainder, though it was a most constant opinion, that if all the Squadrons had charged at once, or if he obstinately fighting, had called up the Count *de St. Paul* with the fresh forces to his assistance, he might either have put relief into Dourlans, or at least might have retired without receiving so great a loss. On the side of the Spaniards there were killed but few, and all obscure persons, and among the wounded, none was reckoned on but *Sancho de Luna*.

The Marquess
de Belin and
the Monsieur
de Longchamp,
are taken pri-
soners by the
Spaniards.

Nnnnnnn

While

While the Armies fight in the field, the besieged fall into the Trench; but are repulsed.

The Spaniards assault Dourlans, and take it, and to revenge the slaughter of Han, put all to the sword without regard: A great number of the French Generall are slain there, and the Town sacked.

While the Armies fought thus, the besieged in Dourlans were not idle; for having heard the noise of the fight hard by, they made a gallant sally to assail the Trenches, in which, finding the Posts well fortified, and all the Guards in Arms, they were no less valiantly repulsed; though in that action they received not much loss. The *Condé de Fuentes* returning victorious to the Leaguer, and freed from the fear of being any more infested by the French, applied himself with all his study to hasten the end of the siege, which though the defendants answered with very remarkable courage and valor, yet was not their conduct and experience correspondent; so that it manifestly appeared, the Town (though with much slaughter) would fall into the power of the Spaniards. Upon the twenty eighth day the besieged made a great sally in the heat of the Noon-day, and because they found the Foot ready and prepared for their defence, after a long fight they were at last constrained to retire; and while they did so very softly, and without any sign of flight, being assaulted by the Cavalry, and charged very furiously on the Flank, they lost many of their men, and were faine to run back full speed to the very Counterscarp. The next day the Artillery having battered not onely the Walls of the Town, but made a breach also in a corner of the Castle, the Count caused the assault to be given; and to divide the strength and courage of the defendants, he sent Foot to fall on in both places. The Spaniards stormed the Castle, the Walloons the Town, and a while after the Italians entering into both Trenches, reinforced the Assault: In this occasion, the valor of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* appeared most remarkable, who being the first that got up into the breach of the Castle, fought there with so much courage, that the Count *de Dinan* being slain, who on that side had the charge of the defence, and the Squadron of those within being beaten back and broken, the Castle was taken with a wonderful great slaughter; from whence the Assailants going down, without having found any obstacle or impediment of Trenches or Casamats (for the unskilfulness or discord of the defendants had been such, that there was no Works cast up) they impetuously also possessed themselves of the Town; where in revenge of the slaughter of Han, (the name of which sounded aloud in the mouth of every one) all that were in it were without any regard put to the sword in the violence of the

the fight: so that of so great a number of Gentlemen and Souldiers, scarce the *Sieur de Harancourt* and the *Sieur de Gribouval* with forty souldiers remained prisoners, there being slain upon the place *Monsieur de Ronfoy* Governour of the Castle, the *Sieurs de Francourt* and *Prouilles* who had principall commands, above three hundred Gentlemen, and above six hundred Souldiers. The Town was sacked in the heat of the action, and continued at the discretion of the Souldiers till the evening, and then those had quarter given them who were retired to the security of the Churches. The *Condé de Fuentes* having obtained so full a Victory, betook himself to repair the ruines of the wall, and to throw down the Works without, and having given the Government of the place to *Portocarrero*, who had behaved himself so gallantly in the taking of it, applyed himself with very great diligence to make preparations to besiege *Cambray*, not being willing unprofitably to lose that prosperity which the countenance of Fortune shewed him.

The Condé de Fuentes gives the Government of Dourlans to Portocarrero, and applies himself to the enterprise of Cambray.

In the mean time the Duke of *Nevers* was arrived at the half defeated and quite affrighted Army, and though he strove to dissemble those errors that had been committed, yet talking with the Count *de S. Paul*, and the Duke of *Bouillon* at *Pequigny*, he could not forbear telling them, that in their consultations they had been too couragious, and in their retreat too prudent; By which words, and their old emulation, the Duke of *Bouillon* being disgusted, departed from the Army; and likewise the Count *de S. Paul* not very well satisfied, retired to *Bologne*, the whole weight and care of the defence remaining upon one man alone. The Duke of *Nevers* having taken the charge of the Army, though brought to a very weak estate, drew into *Amiens* upon the second day of August to secure that City, which by the near slaughter of *Dourlans* was struck with very great terror; and because the Citizens running popularly to him, shewed him in how great fear they were, lest *Corbie* a Town not far from the place where the enemy was, should fall into their hands, he promised to go into it the next day himself in person, and so having left his son the young Duke of *Rhetelais* at *Amiens*, he went without delay to *Corbie*; in which Town, though weak, he began to set himself in order to receive the Spanish Army, in case it should march that way; but the next day, the *Condé*

1595

de Fuentes, who was not above seven leagues from thence, having raised his Camp from Dourlans, advanced in one dayes march neer to *Peronne*; wherefore the Duke with all his forces leaving Corbie, went to quarter at Arboniers that he might go the same night into *Peronne*. The Spaniards upon the fifth day passed near the walls of the Town, marching towards *S. Quintin*; wherefore the Duke being sent to by the Viscount d' *Anchy*, who was in it, went thither upon the sixth in the morning, which day the Spanish Army made a halt in the same quarters, and stayed there four dayes, to make provision of victual from all parts, and upon the eleventh of August, drawing within four miles of *Cambray*, discovered their design of besieging that place, freeing all the rest from the suspicion they had been in.

The Marescal *de Balagny* who was in *Cambray*, knowing himself weak in the number of his souldiers, and much more hated of the inhabitants, who could not indure his Dominion; and besides that, not having any means to pay and maintain the Souldiers, solicited the Duke of *Nevers*, by four Messengers dispatched post one after another, to assist him with some men, and pleasure him also with a sum of money; letting him know the little confidence he had in the people, and the great terror that was in the Garrison, by reason of the noise of the slaughter at Dourlans. The Duke of *Nevers* having called a Councel of War, was doubtfull a great while whether he should go into *Cambray* himself in person or not; for on the one side, the jealousie of keeping that City, and the Glory of defending it, spurred him on; and on the other the necessity of endeavouring to recruit the Army and set it again in order, dissuaded him from it; but all the Commanders agreeing that he ought not to engage himself, since they hoped that *Balagny* would supply what was needfull in the command within the Town, and that his presence would be most necessary to prepare relief; he resolved to send his Son *Charles* Duke of *Rhetelois*, with four hundred Horse, and four Companies of Firelocks, which he mounted all on Horseback that they might march the faster; He sent in company with his Son the *Sieur de Buffy* and *Trumelet*, the first a Colonel of great experience, the other Governor of *Ville-Franche*; He gave the command of the Firelocks to the *Sieur de Vautricourt*, a souldier of long experience, and intended that with-

The Duke of
Nevers ha-
ving called a
Councel of
war, resolves
not to ingage
himself in
Cambray, but
sends his Son
the Duke of
Rhetelois,
who after-
wards was
Duke of *Man-
tua*, with a
good relief.

in a while after his Son Monsieur *de Vic* should attempt to get into the Town, with an hundred horse and four hundred other foot, to the end that he might supply the charge of the defence in those things which the *Mareschall de Balagny* could not attend, or had not experience in, under whose obedience all those forces were to be.

In the meane time the *Condé de Fuentes* having received five thousand Foot sent from the confining Provinces, under the Prince of *Chimay*, and a Regiment of Walloons, rays'd and payed by *Louis de Barlemont* Arch-Bishop of Cambray, was drawne before the Town upon the fourteenth day, and presently began to shut up those passes by which the reliefe might enter, which he thought would come ; which diligence not at all retarding the Duke of *Rhetelois*, he put himself upon the adventure of getting into the City, and having marched all night, appeared by break of day upon the Plain, which largely incompasses the Town on every side ; His appearing by day contrary to what he had designed, was caus'd not onely by an excessive rain that fell that night, but much more because being to pass a certain water in the Village of *Anne* over a wooden-bridge, part of it was fallen, so that he was fain to make a halt, till with planks and beams, the bridge were hastily made up again : wherefore the Spaniards who had had time both to be advertised of it, and to get to Horse, at the Dukes arrival were drawn up into the Plain, expecting him in very good order upon the straight way ; He made a stop when he perceived the Enemy, being not well assured what he should do but the Guide that led him, well versed in the Countrey, shewed him that between the Enemies horse, and a lower gate of the City, there was a hollow craggy way which could not so easily be past, so that turning on that side, they might get under the walls of the Town, before they could be overtaken by the enemy, who of necessity were to take a great compasse, not to disorder themselves in the hollow of that way ; wherefore the Duke placing himself courageously at the head of his men, went out of the great Road, and declining upon the left hand, marched a round trot whither his guide led him, hoping to get to the gate without any obstacle of the Enemy : but when he was drawn very neer the Town, he found a *Corps de Garde* of fifty Horse, who at the Alarm which sounded aloud thorow the whole field,

1595

The Duke of
Rhetelois ha-
ving over-
come many
impediments,
and fought
with two
Squadrons
of the Enemy,
enters with
relief into
Cambray.

field, had set themselves in order to stop the way; wherefore being necessitated to fight, he shut down his beaver, and having encouraged his souldiers, charg'd up with so much fury, that in the first encounter, he routed and beat back the Enemies troops without the loss of any one man, and having quickly wheeled about, he closed up, and in his first order continued to march on his way at a good rate; but he was not advanced two hundred paces further, when he fell upon another body of an hundred and twenty Horse, which being charged with the same fierceness, were faine to retire without making any great resistance. In the mean time the main body of the Spanish Horse; which from the beginning had discovered him, moved on with no less celerity towards him, but the hinderance of the hollow way, and the dirt of the field, which by reason of the rain the night before was all wet and slippery, retarded their march so much, that when the first Troops came to charge the Duke, he was already defended by the Artillery of the Town, which thundering with exceeding great violence, and scouring all the field, hindred him from receiving any harm, so that entring into the City, and being received with marvellous joy by every one, he found he had lost only one Page, and an inconsiderable part of the Carriages, which having not been able to come so fast as the rest, fell into the hand of the Spaniards.

The manner
of Count de
Fuentes be-
sieging Cam-
bray.

The Duke of *Rhetelois* his getting in, necessitated the Count *de Fuentes* to streighten the siege more closely, that he might hinder any new relief from entring; to which likewise he was perswaded by his want of money to pay and maintain the Army, since though the Bishop of *Cambray*, and the confining Provinces had obliged themselves to contribute five hundred thousand Florines, yet they denyed to pay them down, before he had begun the siege, and was got upon the Counterscarpe. To this was added his ardent courage, carryed on by the felicity of former successe, which excited him to undertake, even beyond the number and strength of his Army, as it were presaging a prosperous event, notwithstanding many difficulties; wherefore the City being great in circuit, and not having men enough, he resolved with Forts and Redoubts, to shut up all that part which on this side the River *Scheld* (that divides the City in the middle,) lyes to-
wards

wards France; judging, that with the impediment of Fortifications, he might supply that defect, all the Soldiers in his Army not being sufficient to possess so large and ample a Plain, which contains the space of many miles; but it appeared in this occasion, as it hath done in many others, that Forts and Redoubts (if they be not joyned with a convenient number of resolute men) do not hinder the entry of those, who take a resolution to pass, with the hazard of some Cannon shot; and yet the Count *de Fuentes* having caused Four thousand Pioniers to come out of the adjacent Provinces, and having seventy two pieces of Artillery of several sizes, and wonderful preparations of all Instruments of War and Ammunition, full of hope and courage, began to encompass the City on all sides, but on that especially, where it might be relieved by the French. Between *Porte Neufue*, and the *Porte de St. Sepulchre*, over against that part of the City that stood towards the South, he caused a Fort to be raised after the manner of a Platform, which being able to contain one thousand foot, was (by the name of the Bourg close by it) called the Fort of *Guiargni*, and caused another not very much less to be cast up over against the place where the River enters into the City on the West side, which they called the Fort de *Premy*, from the name likewise of the adjacent Bourg; and between these two there were seventeen Redoubts, like so many Sentinels, in each of which, there were twenty five men, and the two Forts, with all the space between them were guarded by the Prince of *Chimay*, with the forces that were newly come out of the neighboring Provinces: Besides these Posts between the *Porte de Quentimpre*, and the *Porte des Selles*, winding towards the North, there was raised another great Fort, which they called *St. Oloy*, where the Count *de Bie* commanded with a Regiment of Germans; from the *Porte des Selles* as far as the Cittadel, over against the Bastion de *Robert*, a place that extends from the North unto the East, they resolved to plant the Battery; therefore in that space they intended to cast up Trenches, and the command thereof was given to *Agostino Messia*. The Count *de Fuentes* with the Cavalry of the Army, and two Tertia's of Walloons was quartered in two little Villages behinde the Fortifications, and *Ambrosio Landriano*, Lieutenant General of the Light-horse, with four hundred Horse, and six hundred Foot, placed himself upon that way that

1595

that leads to Peronne, keeping continually many Ambuscadoes in divers woody places, to assault and hinder the passage of those that should hazard the attempt of entring the Town.

Things being disposed in this order, they began to break ground, the Engineer *Pacciotto*, and Colonel *la Berlotte* overseeing the works, the one for his skill in Fortification, the other for experience in War, men of exceeding high estimation: But the work proved difficult beyond all belief; for in the lower places where the River Sckeld passes and overflows, they could not dig above a span for water, and the higher places were so gravelly and stony, that they could not approach without great toyl and much time; and yet the Soldiers accustomed to labor, full of courage by reason of their past victories, and aspiring to sack so rich a City, wrought with incredible patience: Either Monsieur *du Rosne*, or the Count himself, continually overseeing the works, and with words, promises and gifts, hastening the perfecting of them; so that upon the first of September, two very large Trenches were brought to the edge of the Moat, between the Bastion de Robert, and a Raveline in the midst of the Courtine. It is evident, that if the besieged had with Sallies and Counterbatteries molested their works, they must needs have approached with extream difficulty, and perchance without fruit at last; but it was well known, that Monsieur *de Bâlagny* either had lost his courage, or had not much experience; for during the space of ten days, that the works of the Spaniards lasted, the defendants continually lay idle, without molesting them in any kinde; and the young Duke of Rhetelois, who by reason of the tenderness of his years, referred himself to the discipline of others, though he said, and labored very much, could not, or had not credit, to move the rest to do any thing; in so much, that even the very day the Trenches were opened, there would have been nothing done, if he himself levelling a Culverin, had not given fire luckily against the Enemy; for it shot into the very mouth of their Trench; by which example, his Gentlemen excited more then many others, shot many pieces of Cannon, and did some harm to the besiegers.

The Sieur de
Vic with great
difficulty en-
ters with men
into Cambray

But the day following Monsieur *de Vic* came in opportunely, a man of great credit and long experience, who having happily avoided all the Ambushes laid by *Landriano*, got near the City, upon the second of September in the morning,

ing, with all his men on Horf-back, and becaufe the guards of the Infantry were but thin, and few, he paffed between Fort and Fort, without receiving any harm by the Artillery that plaid on all fides, and got without any lofs near the Walls of the City, not far diftant from the edge of the Moat ; but when he believed he had efaped all dangers, he faw himfelf unexpectedly charged in the Rere by a Body of Italian Horfe, which led by *Carlo Vifconte*, was advanced full gallop towards him ; fo that to avoid that imminent danger, fince already all the reft of the Cavalry were at his back, he prefently caufed all his men to alight, and leave their horfes a prey unto the enemy, who while they were greedily bufied in catching them, afforded them fo much time, that he with moft part of his men got into the Moat ; whither though the Spaniards advanced couragiously, yet they could neither hurt him, nor hinder him, (after a long skirmifh, and an infinite number of Cannon fhots) from coming fafe into the Town. His prefence feemed to put heart and fpirit into the defendants ; for the fame night, the Soldiers ftriving who fhould work fafteft, two Platforms were raifed, behinde the Curtine that was plaid upon by the Enemy, and a Cavalier at the Gorge of the Baftion de Robert, in which places many pieces of Artillery were planted, and they made a furious Counterbattery with fo much violence, and fo much harm to the befiegers, that having lamed their Artillery, and difmounted them, broken the carriages, and beaten the Gabions all in pieces, the Spaniards were three days without being able to do any thing of importance againft the Town : At the fame time he caufed two Mines to be made, which being prosperoufly brought under the principal Battery, blew it up into the Air, and buried five pieces, overturning and difordering all the reft. Nor did he ceafe in the mean time, opportunely to make fome Sal- lies, though the great number of places which were neceffarily to be kept guarded, would not allow them to be frequent or numerous.

Against fo gallant a defence, Colonel *la Berlotte* who had the principal charge of the fieve, approached more under favor of Gabions then Trenches, though with the lofs of many Soldiers, till he came to pierce the Counterfcarp ; but it proved fo high, that it was neceffary to make ufe of Ladders to go down into the Moat, which appeared wonderful danger-

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1595

ous, for the Flank of the Bastion de Robert, and a Casamat (made about that time in the Moat) plaid openly on both sides upon whosoever dared to come unto the Ladders, wherefore it was necessary to raise a battery of five Culverins, which thundred against the Flank of the Bastion de Robert; and at the Casamat they fought desperately four days together, with an innumerable company of Fire-works, to make themselves masters of it. But to take the Casamat by reason of the valor of the defendants, proved exceeding difficult; and in the Flank by the Bastion, Monsieur *de Vic* had caused five pieces of Cannon to be planted so low, that no violence was sufficient to hinder them from doing mischief, wherefore the Commanders resolved to remove the battery to a lower place, close to the Porte des Selles, where the whole Camp working with infinite eagerness, in two days time they planted two and twenty pieces of Cannon, which plaid upon the Curtain, and upon the Flank six great Culverins, which discurtining the Flank of the Bastion de Robert made it very dangerous for the defendants to stay and make good that place. Almost at the same time Colonel *de la Berlotte* with two other Trenches, made his approaches so far, that having under covert passed through to the Casamat, he forced the besieged to quit it; so the Moat remaining free, the Artillery began to play, and the Army to set it self in order, to give the Assault.

It troubled the *Condé de Fuentes* to hear that the Duke of Nevers staying at Peronne, had gotten together above Four thousand Foot, and between Seven and eight hundred Horse, wherewith he thought he would without all question hazard himself to relieve the City, in which he had so great a pledge as his own son; wherefore having with marvellous diligence, made all the Avenues to be cut off, and blocked up, he caused another great Fort to be raised at the mouth of the High-way, in which he put *Gastone Spinola* with one thousand Foot, and all the Army was with admirable order disposed in such manner, that standing all to their arms at every little stir, the whole Plain was on all sides filled with Forts and Squadrons, each between the other, which, Flanked with the Troops of Horse, and with field pieces in their Front, made it most difficult to get through to the Town, without very great danger, or without coming presently to a Battel. But want
of

of money troubled the Count no lesse then this, for the neighbouring Provinces much forwarder to promise, then able to perform, had been able to raise but half the mony they had promised, whereof he had been fain to spend a great part in satisfying the souldiers that had mutinied at *Liramount*, to the end that being quieted they might come to reinforce the Army; wherefore the provisions of Spain proceeding with the wonted delays, the Count was reduced into very great perplexity how to maintain his Army, which being all employed either in the approches, or guard of the Forts, could not enlarge it self to live upon the Countrey, though the season of the year, and the fields full of fruits, were very favourable for the sustenance both of men and horses: To these respects was added, the difficulty of the siege, which (by reason of the strength of the City, the number & valor of the defendants, and the prudence and diligence of Monsieur *de Vie*) proved so hard and dangerous that many counselled to raise the Camp without losing themselves upon an impossible enterprize, and not stay for the King of France his coming, who being victorious in *Bourgogne*, was already known to be moving towards *Picardy*.

But in the midst of these difficulties there arose new unthought of accidents: The people of *Cambray* accustomed to live under the pleasing Government of the Arch-Bishops, had impatiently brook'd the rule of the Marechal *de Balagny*, and their disdain and heart-burning had increased so much the more after the King of France, depriving the Crown of the dominion it had over it, had granted it in Fee to *Balagny*, whose haughty covetous minde did very much augment the discontents of the Citizens. To this evil was added the insupportable nature of Madam *de Balagny* the Marechals Wife, who being partaker in the Investment, did not onely turn and govern her Husband as she pleased, but with extortions, rapines, womanish taunts, and extreme ill-usage had brought the City into a general desperation: wherefore when the Spanish Camp began to hover in those quarters, the people under colour of sending to demand relief from the King, had dispatched unto him two of their most noted Citizens, who propounded, that if the King would take away the Dominion of the City from *Balagny*, and incorporate it into the Crown of France, they at their own charge would pay the Garrison, and defend and maintain it against the siege of the

1595

The Sieur de
Balagny in ne-
cessity, coins
copper-mony.

The Citizens
rising in an
uproar, make
themselves
Masters of a
gate, and send
their Deputies
to capitulate
with the
Count de Fu-
entes.

Spaniards, so that the King should be put to no manner of trouble nor expence at all; which request having been rejected by means of Madame *Gabriele*, infinitely beloved and favoured by the King, they were returned, and by putting the businesse in despair, had absolutely stirred up and enraged the people. When men were thus ill-affected, the necessity of the Siege came upon them, in which Monsieur de *Balagny* being utterly without money, found a way to coin certain pieces of Copper, commanding by a publick Proclamation, that every one should receive them without dispute, they being afterward to be changed, when the City was freed from the present siege; but many being very backward to take that money (as well because they knew not what the event of the siege would be, as because they trusted little to the faith of *Balagny*) were the cause that he and his Wife used many violent wayes to make their Decree be obeyed; by which, the people exasperated, took their opportunity when (the breach being made) all the souldiers were disposed in several places upon the wall, and rising tumultuously in arms, made themselves Masters first of the Market-place, kept by a Main-guard of two hundred Switzers, and then of the *Porte de S. Sepulchre*, which as furthest from danger, was least guarded, and then dispatched two of the principal Citizens to treat of surrendering upon certain Conditions: These happening into the Squadron of the Prince of *Avellino* were sent by him to the *Condé de Fuentes*, who being assured by the Prince that the Citizens had indeed made themselves Masters of the *Porte de S. Sepulchre*, commanded the Battery to cease, and applied himself to treat with the Deputies.

In the mean time Monsieur de *Vic* having heard the noise, was come into the Market-place, striving to appease the tumult, and quiet the Citizens with effectual perswasions, since that by force they could not be compelled, being very many in number, fierce in courage, well armed, and, which imported more, not onely Masters already of all the streets, but also of a gate, whereby they might let in the Spanish Army at their pleasure: but his words did no good at all, so that accommodating himself to the necessity of time, he exhorted them to treat warily with the Spaniards, and to secure their business well, lest they should run into the precipice of being sacked, as it often uses to happen to those who slacken their defence,

defence, while they treat of composition. This he said, and perswaded the people, because he desired to prolong the time, that in the interim he might withdraw his souldiers into the Cittadel. After him came *Madam de Balagny*, who with a manly spirit made a long discourse unto the people: but her presence did rather stir up then appease the tumult; insomuch, that scarce were the souldiers gotten into the Cittadel, when the people began to open the gate they had got into their power. The Deputies at the same time came in with the Capitulations subscribed by the *Conde de Fuentes*, which in substance contained, That the City should be freed from plunder, and should have a general pardon for all things past; That the Citizens should enjoy their ancient Priviledges, and remain under the obedience of the Arch-Bishop, as they were wont to be before; which Articles being accepted by the people, *Gastone Spinola* and Count *Giorvan Giacopo Belgiojoso* entered without delay into the City with three hundred Horse, and after them *Agostino Messia* with the Spanish Foot, and without any tumult or loss to the Inhabitants, possessed themselves of the place. The same night entred the Arch-Bishop with the *Conde de Fuentes*, and were received with marvellous joy by the Citizens, who were glad after the space of so many years to see themselves free from the vexation of an insolent power, and to return to their old manner of Government.

The Citizens open the gates, and receive their Deputies with the Capitulations, and the Spaniards are brought into Cambray.

In the mean time the French were retired into the Cittadel, with a resolution to defend it a long time; but they presently perceived the impossibility of their design; for having opened the Magazines of Corn, and other Victual, they scarce found wherewithal to subsist two dayes: This unthought of defect proceeded from *Madam de Balagny*, who no less imprudent then covetous, had (unknown to her Husband) sold all that was in the publick Store; so that the Count *de Fuentes* having sent to summon the Defendants to yield before the Artillery were planted, they seeing they could not sustain themselves, did to the wonder of every one that knew not the cause, and to the amazement of the Count; himself, accept the proposition of surrendering upon certain Articles that were demanded by them; which the Count, shewing to bear respect to the youth of the Duke of *Rhetelois*, and to the valour and reputation of *Monsieur de Vic*; but indeed,

indeed, that he might not make the obtaining of the Castle more difficult to himself, did very largely grant them.

The Conditions were, That the Cittadel should be consigned into the hands of the Count *de Fuentes*, with all the Artillery and Ammunition of War; and that on the other side, he should be obliged to cause the Castle of *Clery*, taken by his men a while before, to be dismantled within six dayes; that the Duke of *Rhetelois*, the Mareschal *de Balagny*, Monsieur *de Vic*, and all the other Lords, Commanders, Gentlemen and souldiers of what nation soever, might march out in rank and file, their Cornets and Colours flying, march lighted, and bullet in mouth, and that to that end, those colours should be restored unto them, that had been left in the City, and that they might march on their way, with trumpets sounding and drums beating: that the arms, horses, and baggage belonging to souldiers, which had been left in the Town, should be restored; and if any thing were wanting, the value of it should be payed at that price which should be agreed upon by Monsieur *du Rosne*, and Colonel *Messia* on the one part, and the Sieurs *de Vic* and *de Buy* on the other; that likewise Madam *de Balagny*, with all the other women, the sick and wounded men, Courtiers, and servants of any person whatsoever might go forth freely; That the prisoners should be freed without ransom; that Monsieur *de Balagny*'s debts, whether about the money, or any other occasion, should be remitted, neither should he be molested, or his baggage seized on for them; that all that the said Mareschal, his wife, Sons, Captains, Officers and servants had done in times past, should be forgiven and forgotten, neither should any of them be therefore questioned, either by the Catholick King, or the Citizens of *Cambray*.

These Conditions were concluded upon the seventh of October, and were executed the 9, which day all went forth in the manner determined, marching towards *Peronne*; onely Madame *de Balagny* (being desperate no lesse because she was to leave the Principality, then because of her own improvidence, by reason whereof they were necessitated to yeeld the Cittadel) out of anguish and affliction of mind, fell grievously sick, and not only refusing to take medicines, but also even all kinds of nourishment, dyed miserably before the time of their marching out was come.

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The Count *de Fuentes* having so fortunately obtained so many and so signal victories, whereby his name resounded with infinite fame, seeing his men were tired, and out of order, by their past toyls and sufferings, and finding himself in exceeding great straits for money to satisfy the arrears of their pay, resolved to dissolve his Army, and draw it into several quarters; so much the rather, because the season was near to the usual rains of Autumn, and because the King of France was expected in Picardy with a victorious Army; wherefore having put five hundred Spanish foot into the Cittadel of Cambray, under the command of *Agostino Messia*, and having left two thousand German Foot to defend the Town, he gave the Archbishop liberty to govern the City, in the same manner he was wont to do, before it came into the power of the Duke of Alançon; and having divided his Foot into the Towns of Artois, Heynault, and Flanders, he went to the City of Bruxels, at such time when the King of France was come with the greatest speed he could possibly to Compeign, being exceedingly afflicted at the sufferings of his party, for which not onely that whole Province was sad and grieved, but even the very City of Paris was full of fear and terror, seeing the Spaniards run on victorious in a Country so near it.

The Count *de Fuentes* having put the Government of Cambray into the Archbishops hands, leaves Picardy, and goes to Bruxels.

These were the Progresses of War between the French and the Spaniards upon the confines of Flanders; but they were no less prosperous this year; for the same party in the Province of Bretaign, though they were still managed under the name of the League; for the Duke *de Mercœur* (though there was no very good correspondence between him and the Spaniards; yet making use of their shelter, in things which were of common interest, and holding the principal places of the Province, and the major part of the Nobility of the Country at his devotion) hindered all the proceedings of the Mareschal *d' Aumont*, and Monsieur *de St. Luc*, who commanded on the Kings side; and though for the most part, they spent their time in incursions, and actions of small moment, wherein fortune often varied, yet the sum of affairs inclined still in favor of the Duke, insomuch that he had in a manner reduced all the Province into his power; which was the more easily effected by him, because the Mareschal *d' Aumont*, while he fruitlessly busied himself about the siege of the Castle of Comper, a wonderous strong place, was wounded under the

The Mareschal *d' Aumont* is killed with a Musket shot,

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1595

left Elbow with a Musket shot, which broke both the Bones, whereof he died within a while after. Wherefore Monsieur *de St. Luc*, who succeeded him in that command, though a Cavalier of exceeding great valor, yet neither by the authority of his person, nor by the dignity of his charge, could he equal the reputation wherewith the Marechal upheld the precipitate declining of affairs; to which was added, that the King having conferred the dignity of Marechal upon Monsieur *de Lavardin*, which *St. Luc* expected should have been conferred upon him, he was afterward by discontent of mind, much cooled, and taken off from action; so that it was necessary for the King to call him to him, and give him hopes of rising to those honors which seemed due unto his merit, by which changes, the affairs of War, on that side, went on but with small success.

But if the affairs of the League seemed something prosperous in Bretagne, the adverseness of them in Dauphine, reduced the state of it to utter ruine. The Duke of Nemours held in that Province, the City of Vienne, whither he had retired after the loss of Lyons, and having well fortified the Town with the Castle of Pipet, near unto it, and furnished them with French horse, and Italian foot, he did continually infest the Country about Lyons, obstructing the ways, and interrupting the commerce, which that Merchant-City hath with the Neighboring Provinces; so that by his fierceness and diligence, he put all the Country of Lyons into such fear, that from the beginning of the year, they had begged of the King to send them such relief as might be sufficient to free them from those streights to which they were reduced. But the King busied in the affairs of Bourgongne, gave order to the Duke of Montmorancy (whom he had already declared Constable) that he should go down from Languedoc, and assist the City of Lyons against the Duke of Nemours, which he preparing to do, Nemours knowing he was unable to resist, and hold out of himself, resolved to make his addresses to the Duke of Savoy, and to the Constable of Castille for supplies; for the facilitating whereof, he determined to go personally to Turin and Milan, leaving the *Sieur de Disemieux*, a Colonel of Foot, and a near Confident of his, to govern his Forces and the Town of Vienne: But the High-Constable *Montmorancy*, coming much sooner then the Duke believed, united his forces, with those of *Alfonso Corso*, and fiercely made war against his

While the D.
of Nemours
who upheld
the League in
Dauphine,
goes to Turin
and Milan to
get supplies,
Colonel *Disemieux* his
Lieutenant
delivers up
the Fortresses
unto the Duke
of Montmo-
rancy, where-
upon he see-
ing himself
deprived of
all retreat, in
despair falls
sick and dies.

his party. Whereupon *Difemioux*, either following the inclination of Fortune (as most men are wont to do) or not thinking his strength sufficient to make resistance, agreed underhand to deliver up *Vienne* unto the Constable; provided, the Duke of *Nemours* his Forces might be suffered to march away without molestation, and retire into *Savoy*; and to the end the designe might be the more easily effected, and not be opposed by the Captains of the Garrison, or Officers of the Town, he secretly gave the Castle of *Pipet* into the hands of *Alfonso Corso*; and then having unexpectedly sent for the Constable to one of the Town-gates, which was guarded by those he trusted, he at the same time let the Captains of the Garrison know, that the Enemy was at the Gates, that he had delivered up the Castle, and had made an agreement to admit him into the Town, upon condition that they might march safe away: Wherefore they being confounded and affrighted at a thing never thought on before, but much more at the urgency of the business, since the Constable was already received in at the Gate, accepted of the safe conduct, without contradiction, and retired unmolested to the Confines of the Duke of *Savoy*. All the other Towns followed the example of *Vienne*; insomuch, that the Duke of *Nemours* returning out of *Italy*, found not any place where he could stay; wherefore going to *Anicy*, a Town of his own Patrimony, he was so oppressed with despair, that he fell into a grievous sickness, which brought him to his end in the Autumn of this year.

Thus the whole Province of *Dauphiné* being reduced unto the Kings obedience, there remained onely the War which Monsieur *Les Dignieres* (passing the Alps) had carried into *Piedmont*, which though it varied with diversitie of effects, and with frequent valiant encounters, which by the difficulty of places where they happened, were rendred more sharp and bloody; yet in the main it proved of very great damage to the Duke of *Savoy*, whose Country was the seat of the War.

Nor were the affairs of the League more prosperous in *Gascogne* and *Languedoc*; for though the Duke of *Joyeuse* (who after his Brothers death had left the cloister of Capuchins, and put on arms to sustain the weight of that Government) laboured to keep the Nobility united, under pretence of expecting

The Duke of *Joyeuse* who formerly turned Capuchin for his wifes death, now upon occasion of his Brothers death, leaves the Cloister, and takes arms for the League.

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1595

what would be determined at Rome ; yet many of them weary of the War, and dejected by so many adversities of their party, came in daily to acknowledge the King ; and the Parliament of Tholouse was so divided, that part of the Counsellors declaring for the King, went forth of the City, and retired to *Chasteau Sarrazin*, where being succoured by the Duke of *Vantadour*, the Constable's Lieutenant in the Government of Languedoc, and by the *Mareschal de Matignon* Governour of *Guienne*, the warre was fiercely kindled : but fortune and the will of men inclining already to favour the King's affairs, first the Town of *Rhodes* came in, with many Castles and Towns depending upon it ; and then *Narbonne* and *Carcassonne*, principal places for the League, making a tumult, yielded themselves ; so that the Duke of *Joyeuse* was as it were shut within the walls of *Tholouse*, and kept himself up with nothing else but the meer hope of the Accommodation which was closely treated by President *Jeannin* for the whole League ; for the Duke of *Mayene* who for that purpose was come to *Chalon*, after the King's Absolution was published, (which to the exceeding great prejudice of his own affairs, he had resolved by all means to stay for) that he might shew the end of his designs had been barely respect of Religion ; and that therefore he had never been withdrawn from the Pope's obedience by any adversity whatsoever ; being now freed from that impediment, closed up the treaty of Agreement, in which, as Head of the Party, he reserved an entrance for all those that would follow him.

Difficulties
that interpo-
sed themselves
in the settling
of the Accom-
modation
with the Duke
of *Mayene*.

In the treaty of this Accommodation there arose two wondrous great difficulties, which were very hard to be overcome ; one, the great summe of the debts contracted by the Duke of *Mayene*, not onely in many places, and with many Merchants of the Kingdome of France, but also with the Switzers, Germans, and Lorainers, for the raising of Souldiers ; for the Duke of *Mayene* standing upon it to have them paid by the King, and hee at that present not having money to satisfie them, it was very difficult to finde a mean in that businesse : the Duke being resolved that his estate should not be lyable to the payment ; and on the other side, the Creditors neither consenting to transferre nor deferre what they had trusted, but would have satisfaction in ready money ;

money ; The other difficulty was the commemoration of the late King's death ; for all the Decrees and Agreements made in favour of those of the League, who were returned unto the King's obedience, having still contained pardon and forgiveness of all past offences, except the death of Henry the Third (which had alwayes with expresse words been distinguished and excepted) : The Duke of Mayenne would have such a kinde of mean found out, whereby on the one side he might not appear to have been the Author of it ; and on the other, he might not be subject to the Inquisition which might be made concerning that business for the future, lest under that pretence occasion might be taken some time or other to revenge past injuries. It was extremely difficult to unty this knot ; for not onely the King thought it very hard to let pass into oblivion so hainous a fact ; and pernicious an example of attempting against the persons of Kings ; but also the Parliament would not suffer it, and, it was most certain, the Queen Dowager who often had demanded justice, would oppose it.

These two difficulties hindered the concluding of the Accommodation in *Bourgonne* ; and the King being necessitated to go speedily into Picardy, had taken President *Jednnih* with him to continue the Treaty ; but nothing at all having been concluded in the journey, much less could it be done when they were come to Paris ; for the affairs of the War with the Spaniards were brought into so great danger, that the King and all his Ministers were taken up and afflicted both in minde and body : wherefore the President was fain to follow the Army into *Picardy*, whither the King marched with an intent to relieve the City of *Cambray* ; but the speedy victory of the Spaniards having taken away the necessity of relief, the King being come to *Fol-ambray* (a house of pleasure built by King *Francis* the First for a hunting-seat) called all his Council to him, that the things appertaining to the peace with the Duke of Mayenne might with maturity be discussed and determined. After much treating and much debating, obstacles and oppositions arising in all things, it seemed most expedient to send for the proofs and inquisitions that had been made by the Parliament touching the King's death, and also for some of the Presidents and Councillours of that Court, to see what cleerness there was in them, and that they might determine

The King being come to *Fol-ambray*, consults long about matters concerning the Agreement with the Duke of Mayenne.

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1595

which way was the best to mannage the expedition of that busi-
 nesse. The Writings being seen, and the matter put into con-
 sultation, though some signes appeared diversly against diverse
 persons, yet did there not appear any such thing as was suffi-
 cient to determine the proceeding against any body; and
 though neither the Queen Dowager as plaintiffe had yet
 brought in the particulars of her accusation, nor the Parlia-
 ment had dived very far into the discussion and inquiry into
 that businesse; yet it was thought, The not appearing, at that
 present, that the Duke of Mayene or any of his were guilty
 of that fact, might serve for a pretence of finding out a mean
 to satisfie his honour, and likewise free him from the dan-
 ger of future inquisition. Wherefore it having been many
 dayes consulted of between the High-Chancellour, the first
 President *Harlay*, the *Sieur de Villeroy*, the Count *de Schom-
 bergh*, and President *Jeannin*, they at last determined, That
 in the Decree which the King was to cause to be published,
 and registred in the Parliamēt, there should be a clause in-
 serted, which in substance should contain, That the King
 having caused the Processe made upon the death of the late
 King to be viewed in the ptesence of himself, the Princes of
 the Blood, and the Officers of the Crown in Councell, there
 had not been any token found against the Duke of Mayenne,
 nor against any other Prince or Princess of his blood; and
 that having been desirous for the greater certainty, to hear
 what they alledged about it, they had sworn that they had
 not any knowledge of, nor participation in that crime; and
 that if they had known it, they would have opposed the ex-
 ecution of it: Wherefore he did declare, that the Duke of
 Mayenne, and all the other Princes and Princesses his Adhe-
 rents were innocent of that fact; and therefore he prohibited
 his Attorney Generall to urge at any time that they should be
 proceeded against, and likewise forbad the Court of Parli-
 amēt, and all other Officers and Lawyers to make any inquisiti-
 on about it.

The Duke of Mayenne and the Princes and Princesses his Adherents are declared innocent of the death of Henry the third.

The difficulty concerning the payment of debts was also
 taken away: for the King promised secretly to disburse unto
 the Duke of Mayenne 420000 Crowns for the payment of his
 debts contracted to particular persons; and as for the debt
 of the Leavies, the King freed the Duke of Mayenne from it,
 constituting himself Pay-master for him, and transferring the
 debt

debt upon the Crown, forbidding the Duke or his estate to be molested for that occasion. It was likewise established, though not without dispute, that peace should be made with the Duke of Mayenne, as Head of his party; which the King had refused, by reason of the multitude of those that were severally come in to his obedience; and chiefly in respect of Paris, and the other principal Cities: And the Duke of Mayenne for his own honour, and the reputation of his agreement, stood obstinately for it.

The King granted three places to the Duke of Mayenne for his security, which were *Soissons*, *Chalon*, and *Seure*, the Dominion of which he was to hold for the space of six year, and after the said term to restore them. He confirmed all the collations of Offices and Benefices that had been vacant by death during his Government, provided the possessours should take new Patents for them under the Kings broad-Seal. He made a Decree of oblivion and silence of all things past, intelligences with Forraign Princes, raising of moneys, exactions of taxes, impositions of payments, gathering of Armies, demolishings or buildings of Cities and Fortresses, acts of hostility, killings of men, and particularly of the Marquess *de Menelay*, killed by Lieutenant *Magny* at *la Fere*; and finally, all things done till the end of the War, which he with honourable expressions declared and certified to have been undertaken and continued for the sole respect and defence of Religion. He granted him the Government of the Isle of France, and the Superintendence of the *Finances*; and to his Son the Government of *Chalon*, separated and divided from the superiority of the Governour of *Bourgogne*. He comprehended in the Capitulation all those that together with him should reunite themselves under his obedience, and particularly the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Marquess of *Villars* and the *Sieur de Montpensat*, the D. of Mayenne's Son-in-law; Monsieur *de l'Estrange* Governour of *Puyt*, Monsieur *de S. Offange* Governour of *Rochefort*, the *Sieur du Plessis* Governour of *Craon*, and the *Sieur de la Severie* Governour of *Ganache*. He suspended the Sentences and Judgements past against the Duke of *Mercoeur* and against the Duke of *Aumale*, till it were known whether they would be comprehended in the Accommodation; granting to every one (besides the oblivion of what was past, and the full enjoying of their Estates, Offices,

The substance of the agreement with the Duke of Mayenne.

1400

The History of the Civill Warres

1595

Difficulties
and oppositi-
ons in the
Parliament of
Paris, about
receiving the
Decree of the
Agreement
with the Duke
of Mayenne.

fices, and dignities) leave within six weeks time to come into the Capitulation, and adhere unto the peace.

Within these principal conditions, and many other lesser ones, the Duke of Mayene concluded the Agreement; but there was enough to do to get this Decree accepted in the Parliament of Paris; for though the King with his own mouth forbade the Queen-Dowagers Ministers to oppose the publication of it; yet was there notwithstanding as great an obstacle and opposition: for *Diana de Valois* Dutchesse of *Angoulesme*, and bastard-Sister to the late King, appearing personally in the Parliament, presented a Petition written and subscribed with her own hand, whereby contradicting the confirmation of the Decree, she urged to have them proceed in the Inquest about the Kings death: whereupon most of the Counsellours being stirred up, because the major part of their Fathers had either been created by that King, or highly offended by the League; the acceptation of the Decree could not be obtained; and yet the King with very vehement Letters reprehended the Parliament, and declared that the publick peace and safety requiring that the Decree should be registred, His will and command was that it should be accepted. Yet neither by this were the Counsellours of the Parliament quieted; but they came to this resolution, That the Decree should be published, but with two conditions; one, That it should be no prejudice to the right of the Duke of Mayene's Creditors; the other, That he should be obliged to come into the Parliament, and with his own mouth swear that he had not been any way accessory to the fact; that he detested the murder committed upon the Kings person, and promised not to save, protect, or favour any one that in time to come should be questioned for it. At which stubbornesse the King more then moderately incensed, which grave resenting words replied, *That they should take heed how they put him to the trouble of leaving the Warre, to come personally into the Parliament; That he was their King, and that he would be obeyed by them.* But neither did this protestation suffice; for they determined to accept the Decree, but with such words as should shew that it was done by force of the Kings expresse command; which neither pleasing him nor the Duke of Mayenne, it was necessary for the High-Chancellor to go to Paris, and after a long effectuall demonstration of the interests of the general

neral quiet, cause the Decree at last to be approved, without clauses or conditions.

1595

The Duke of Mayennes example was followed, not onely by those that were named in the Capitulation; but also by the Marquess of St. Sorlin, the City and Parliament of Tholouse, and all the rest which formerly held the party of the League, except the Duke of Aumale, who having accorded with the Spaniards, and being exasperated by the Sentence published this year by the Parliament (wherein he had been declared Rebel) would not consent to submit himself unto the Kings obedience. The Duke of Mercœur, though by means of his Sister the Queen Dowager, he kept the Treaty of Agreement alive; yet being still full of hopes, by the help of the Spaniards, to retain the Dutchy of Bretagne, he deferred it, and put off his determination till another time.

The Duke of Aumale incensed by having been declared Rebel, keeps united with the Spaniards.

The Duke of Mercœur Brother to the Qu. Dowager, persists in his proposition of keeping Bretagne to himself.

But in the interim, while the conditions of these accommodations were treated of, and discussed in the Council, the King exceedingly afflicted for his late misfortune, and solicitous by some means to repair the losses he had received, wherein he seemed to bear a great part of the blame, as well by reason of his too long stay at Lyons, as of the ill-satisfaction he had given the Citizens of Cambray in their requests, was still contriving in himself, and continually consulting with his Commanders, to what enterprise he should apply himself. The Duke of Nevers had formerly an intention to assault one of the places of the Country of Artois, belonging to the King of Spain, not onely to do the same mischief unto his Country, which he had done to the Jurisdiction of the King of France; but also because he believed that long peace had abased the courage of that people, & made many of their provisions for defence useles: Whereupon he had exhorted the King, that increasing his Army to the greatest number he could, he should unexpectedly fall upon Arras, or some other great City in those quarters; judging that the *Condé de Fuentes*, troubled with the many mutinies of several Nations, and reduced to extream want of money, would very hardly be able to reunite his Army time enough to relieve the place that should be assaulted: But after that he being spent with a tedious indisposition, departed this life at Nesle, this intention (which was set on foot by the reputation of the Author) came to nothing; for the other Commanders thought it too dangerous an attempt to invade the bowels of an Enemies Country, where

The death of Lodovico Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers.

1595

where all the Towns are populous and powerfull, while by the losse of so many places, they were so much troubled at home, and while the Spanish Garisons over-running all parts, kept the whole Country in fear and terrour.

True it is, that of all the places that were lost, their opinions concurred not so well in the choice of that which they should assault, as they did in refusing to invade the Enemies Country; for some held it best in the same heat of affairs to besiege *Cambray*, to try to recover it before the Spaniards had settled themselves, by mending the breaches that were lately made; but the smalness of the Kings Army excluded this opinion, it not being sufficient to begird a City of so great circuit, exceedingly well fortified with a very strong Garison. Many others counselled to fall upon *Dourlans*, to take the same way to streighten *Cambray* which the Spaniards had done; but the oppositions against this advice were, the strength of the place, and the diligence wherewith it was guarded by *Hernando Telles Portocarero*, who was the Governour of it: So that at last the opinion that prevailed was that of the Marechal de *Biron*, and of Monsieur de *S. Luc* (who was come to the Camp to execute the Office of Generall of the Artillery, which was left by Monsieur de *la Guiche*, to whom the King had given the Government of *Lyons*) they counselled to besiege *la Fere*, a place of chief importance, but shut up in such manner by a Fen that invirons it, that there are but onely two wayes to come from the field unto the Town: wherefore they demonstrated that by blocking up those two *Avenues* with a Fort upon each of them, the place might with a small number of men be so besieged and streightned, that there being no means to relieve it with vi-ctuall, it might without much difficulty be taken, not by force, but famine.

The King resolved to follow this advice; and having drawn his Forces together which were scattered thorow the Province, drew neer unto *la Fere* upon the eighth of November with five thousand Foot and 1200 Horse, and having taken the *Avenues*, and caused the people of the Country round about to come in to work, he in a few days raised two Forts, each of which being able to hold 1000 Foot, and conveniently furnished with Artillery, did totally block up the ways unto the Town; the rest of the Foot in respect of the season, lay in
a great

Upon the 8th
of November
the King layes
siege to *la
Fere*, a place
strong both
by art and
nature.

a great Village upon the ledge of the Fenne, and the Horse took up their Quarters in the Villages on the North-side towards Flanders to hinder relief. Don Alvaro Osorio, an old experienced Souldier, was in *la Fere*; For the Vize-Schotschal de Montelimar, to whom the Duke of Mayenne had intrusted that place, had by little and little given it up unto the Spaniards, reserving onely the title of Count de la Fere, and the revenue of the place, with other recompences, which had been liberally given him, first by the Arch-Duke Ernest, and then by the Condé de Fuentes. The place abounded in Ammunition of war; for the reliques of all the Catholick Kings Armes which of late years had marched into France, had been left there, and the Garrison of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans was not onely sufficient, but more then need required for the defence of it, which increased the want of victual, whereof (there being but small provision in the Town) the Kings sudden approach had not given them time to get in any; wherefore the Forts being raised, and the passages of both wayes shut up on all sides, the defendants began from the first dayes of the siege to feel great scarcity of Victual.

About this time Albert Cardinal of Austria destined by the Catholick King to the Government of the Provinces of Flanders, was come to Bruxelles, and having received the Administration, and the Army from the Condé de Fuentes, he began to think how he might uphold that degree of prosperity and glory, in which his Predecessors in a few months had settled himself with victorious actions; and because the redoubled letters of Don Alvaro from the very beginning of the siege gave notice of the want of Victual in *la Fere*, he determined before all things else, to apply himself to the relief of that place; but it was difficult to resolve upon; for the Army out of order by the toils and sufferings of the late Summer, was divided into many several places, to their Winter Quarters, and there for want of pay had made many insurrections, so that the Italian Cavalry had mutiny'd afresh, and turn'd to seize upon *Liramon*; in another place Gastone Spinola's Tertia of Sicilians had done the like, two Tertias of Spaniards having cast off their obedience, did likewise quarter themselves at discretion in advantageous places; and the Walloons not openly in Rebellion, did yet deny to stir out of their Quarters, unless they were fully paid; insomuch that before the Mar-

The Arch-Duke Albert Cardinal of Austria goes to be Governor in Flanders.

Don Alvaro Osorio
the Vize-Schotschal
de Montelimar
the Duke of Mayenne
the Arch-Duke Ernest
the Condé de Fuentes

1596

chants could satisfie the Bills of exchange brought by the Cardinall, and that the Souldiers could be paid and regulated with that mony, much time of necessity must be spent; and therefore there could not be a body of an Army drawn together sufficient for that or any other enterprife. To this was added the crossenesse of the season, by reason of raines and other incommodities so contrary, that before better weather it was impossible to think of stirring with men, artillery, and other provisions which warr requires; besides to enter into an Enemies Country, nay, and to the very center of one of their Provinces, in a time when not only the fields neither afforded sustenance for men, or horses, but even the crop of the late harvest was consumed by the ruinous war that had been there already, was not a thing to be thought on by reason of the difficulty of feeding the Army, and for feare of being reduced to some sinister accident, by the diligence of the King of France; which considerations seemed greater to the Cardinall, not accustomed to the dangerous experiments of war; wherefore after long consultation, it was determined in the Councell, that *Nicolo Basti* marching with part of the light-horse into *Pitardy*, should attempt to put some quantity of victualls into *la Fere*, wherewith the besieged might subsist till the favourableness of the season, and the course of affaires in *Flanders* would afford means to give them full relief.

1596

With these Counsels ended the year Fifteen hundred ninety five, leaving many occasions of war and bloody encounters kindled for the revolution of the year following; in the beginning whereof, the first event was the recovery of *Marseilles*, a City and Haven of high consequence, standing in the County of Provence, upon the shoare of the Mediterranean Sea. The people of this City rich by trafique of Merchandize, and numerous in inhabitants, hold many priviledges, and enjoy many important immunities, obtained from the time that they were subject to the Counts of Provence; and amply confirm'd afterward, when they came under the Dominion of the Kingdom of France, among which the most principall is this, that the Citizens chuse a Consull of themselves, who together with a Lieutenant named by him without other suffrage, governs the affairs of the Town, keeps the keys of the gates, and hath the care of the defence aswel of the City as of the haven; and this Prerogative, which looks rather like a kind of liberty, then

The City of
Marseilles in
the County of
Provence is
governed by
the election of
a Consul and
Lieutenant.

then an intire subjection, the Marfilians have alwayes conserv'd with that vivacity, that is proper to their nature and disposition, not admitting any kinde of Garrison, and governing themselves with customs, fit for a Merchant and Seafaring life, of which two sorts of persons the inhabitants for the most part consist.

In the beginning when the first originals of the League began to spring up, this City by the authority of Monsieur de Vins, and by reason the Consul and Lieutenat had been gained, took part with that side; and though by perswasion of the Countess de Saux, it first received the Duke of Savoy, and then out of jealousy of their own liberty excluded him again, within a little while, and though the Count de Carsy and the Marquess de Villars, were often call'd for thither, for more security, yet it had ever preserved its own being, and kept free from all forraign subjection. True it is, that having from the beginning of the war elected Charles Casant their Consul, and he having nominated Louis de Aix, his Lieutenant, men of subtil natures, and of bold fierce dispositions, they agreed so well among themselves, and had so great authority with the people, that continuing in their Magistracy for many years, without permitting any successors to be chosen in their places, they had made themselves as it were Lords of the City, and rul'd it their own way; But after the declining of the affairs of the League put every one upon a necessity of thinking of himself, these men knowing themselves envied, and ill-willed by the major part of the principal Citizens, and being in fear by reason of their consciousness of many misdeeds, which they had committed, to keep themselves in their government, thought of applying themselves to the Spanish party, and held treaties in that Court, about putting that City into the hands of the Catholick King, which being of so high importance, and conveniency to his Kingdoms, as its greatness, strength, riches, and situation shewed it to be, orders were given to Carlo Doria, that going from Genova, into that Port with ten Gallies well arm'd, and mann'd, under pretence of sayling towards Spain, he should favour their power, and attempts, to the end that being back'd with his forces, they might have the better means dexterously to draw the people to put themselves under the Spanish Signory, which Doria performing with infinite diligence, things went on in

Carlo Doria
by order from
the Catholick
King, goes
with ten gal-
lies to Marseil-
les to foment
the Consul
and Lieute-
nant of that
City.

Qqqqqqqq x

such

1596

such a manner, that the Catholick King was not far from obtaining his intent; and so much the rather because this attempt was coloured over with many reasons, for which they pretended the Dominion of the County of *Provence* belonged to the *Infanta Isabella*, besides those other rights; she had to the Crown of France.

The King of France makes complaint unto the Pope, concerning the attempts of the Spaniards.

The King of France being jealous, that the leavies of Spain and Italy, and the great preparation of a Fleet which the Catholick King made, tended to this end, and that the stay which the *Condé de Fuentes* and the Duke of *Pastrana* (who were gone from Flanders) made at *Geneva* was to oversee that businesse, was exceeding much troubled in minde, because he could not turn that way, and gave Commission to Monsieur *d'Offat* to make complaint about it to the Pope, letting him know, that if he withstood not that designe, he should be constrained by necessity to call the Turkish Fleet into the Mediterranean Sea for his reliefe; which being effectually performed by *d'Offat*, the Pope stricken, and grown pale, either through fear or anger, made a grave discourse against it: and yet, the Kings Agent shewing that if *Marseilles*, and the other Towns of *Provence*, should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, *Avignon* also and other Towns of the Pope's would not be without danger; he promised to use his indeavours to make that attempt be laid aside. But there being added to the Kings complaints, the interposition of the Venetian, and Florentine Ambassadors, jealous that a City and Haven of so great consequence, and that overlooks Italy so neerly, should fall to the augmentation of the Spanish Monarchy; the Pope having often consulted about this businesse, and not finding any provision against it, which he thought fit, took it to be expedient that the Cardinall of *Joyeuse*, who was returning into France, should pass by *Marseilles*, and in his name use convenient mediation to *Casant*, and remove him from his designe; which though it was diligently executed, produced but small effect; for *Casant* a fierce man, and one more stout then prudent, did not withdraw himself for that, from his already established appointment; so that the Venetian Senate, and the Grand Duke began to think of some more potent remedies to oppose that indeavour; nor was the Pope altogether averse from their intention. But this stone of scandall was removed, either by the Kings wonted

wonted fortune, or by the courage and diligence of his Ministers.

1596

He had newly conferred the Government of tha Province upon the Duke of Guise, and to advance matters towards their proper end, had also chosen Monsieur de *les Dignieres* his Lieutenant, who though they agreed not very well together, by reason of the difference of their Religion, and of the ancient diversitie of their factions, were yet both ill-affected to the Duke of *Espernon*, who contending that that Government was lawfully his, used all his indeavours and utmost industry, to put himself in the possession of it, and to drive out, no lesse those of the Kings party, then those that yet held for the League; wherefore the King desirous that he should by some means be constrained to quit what he already possessed there, receiving other governments in other parts of the Kingdom, had appointed the Duke of *Guise* as his old Emulator, and *les Dignieres* as an honest man, but his bitter enemy, to secure the affaires of Provence. This determination had also other ends, and more remote considerations; for the Duke being newly come into the friendship and obedience of the King, with condition to have that government to which the House of *Lorraine* had some pretensions by the ancient hereditary rights of *Anjou*; the King thought it convenient to assure himself of him, by giving him a Lieutenant of such a condition, as not onely was faithfull by ancient experience, but also wary, and resolute to oppose whatsoever attempt the Duke (in so great a discord of mens mindes, their old enmities not fully laid aside) might perchance contrive. To these another important respect was added, that *les Dignieres*, and Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, residing both in *Dauphiné*, disagreed, and thwarted one another in the service, to the prejudice of common affairs; wherefore the King thought to remove the occasion of that discord, by sending *les Dignieres* into *Provence*, and by electing Colonel *Alfonso* Lieutenant to the Prince of *Conty*, who was newly declared Governour of *Dauphine*.

But though the Duke of *Guise* nourished sincere thoughts, and no indirect ends, yet being come into the Province, either not being well satisfied to have a Lieutenant of so great credit, and of another Religion; or desiring that the busi-nesses with the Duke of *Espernon* should pass under the
name

1596

The Duke of
Guise plots to
get into Mar-
seilles by
means of Cap-
tain *Liberta*
of *Corfica*,
who guarded
a Port there.

name, and by the means of *les Dignieres*, not to put his own authority and name of Governour in doubt, he had given charge to his Lieutenant to put the garrisons out of many Towns, which the Duke of *Espernon* held in them; and he himself going to *Aix*, applyed his minde wholly to the recovery of *Marseilles*, as a thing of greater glory and importance, without allowing part in that to any body; and though many treaties held by the means of men banished out of that City, proved vain and fruitlesse, yet at last he gained one Captain *Pietro Liberta*, of *Corfica* by extraction, but born and bred in *Marseilles*, who with some certain foot guarded one of the Town-gates; wherefore some of the Exiles being got unknown into the City, and having secretly stirred up the minds of many who hated the tyranny of *Casaut*, and who feared the Dominion of the Spaniard, they resolved that upon the eighteenth day of February, the Duke of Guise should with a good number of Horse and Foot, be about break of day, at a neighbouring village, where if certain signes were given him by them of the plot, he should draw neer to the *Porte Royale*, (a gate so called) to be received in with all his forces; whereupon having drawn the men together, which he had in that Province, except those of *les Dignieres*, (to whom he would not impart any thing of his designe, that he might not share in the honour of it,) he made shew that he would go and besiege a Town within five Leagues of *Marseilles*; and whilest mens minds were amused on that side, he turning his forces another way, the evening before the day appointed, advanced with very great silence toward the City; in which march, though in a very dark, and extream rainy night, and through dirty uneven wayes, he made so much haste that he came in the morning, according to appointment to certain houses neer unto the Church of *S. Julian*, to expect there till the counter signes were given him.

They that were of the plot, doubting that the strange ill weather might have stayed the Dukes journey, sent some of their souldiers forth of the gates, to the end that discovering (according to the custom) if the coast were cleer round about, they might come to know whether he were arrived or no; These returning back with exceeding great haste, and saying they had discovered armed men, under *S. Julian's*, were the cause that *Louis d' Aix* (who was come to the gate a while before)

before) after he had given the Consull notice of the discovery, went out himself with twenty of his most trusty men, to see whether that were true which the Souldiers related. As soon as he was out of the gate, they of the design shut down all the portcullices ; nor was it long before the Consul came; who while he was questioning his Souldiers of what they had reported, was suddenly set upon by *Pietro Liberta*, and four of his companions, and being at first knock'd down with a great blow of a *Partesan*, was presently killed by them with their daggers ; which being luckily effected, and the whole guard willingly following the will of their Captain, the Counterfignes were given by fire to the Duke of Guise, who being advanced to draw near unto the Gate, met with *Aix* the Lieutenant-Governour, and without much dispute routed him so, that, being wounded, and in a very ill-taking, he ran back ; where having found the gate shut, and possessed, he was constrained to save himself in the moat, and from thence scaling the wall neer unto the Haven; got into the utmost parts of the City, where calling all his adherents into Arms, together with *Fabian Casaut* Son to the Consul who was already slain, he marched up tumultuously with above five hundred armed men to recover the gate ; but in the mean time, it had been opened, and the Duke of Guise was entered with his Forces, and on the other side, the exiles calling the Citizens and common people to liberty, had rais'd the whole Town ; wherefore after that *Aix* and *Casaut* had fought for the space of half an hour at the entry of the street that led to the Port-Royal, the tumult still increasing every where of those that being in arms cried out *Vive le Roy, et Les Fleurs-de-lis*, they fearing to be catch'd in the midst, retired into the Town-house, where being fiercely press'd by the Duke of Guise, who among the bullets, stones, pieces of wood and fire-works, which flew on every side, fought undauntedly at the head of his men, they being unable to resist, fled secretly from thence, and crossing the Haven in a Boat, got one of them into *St. Maries-Church*, and the other into the Convent of *St. Victoir*, and their men being left without help, were in a very little time all cut in pieces.

The whole City was already run to the Duke of Guise, with white scarfs ; whereupon he not losing a minutes time, at the same instant assaulted, and with small resistance possessed himself

1596

After a short
fight the Duke
of Guise makes
himself master
of the City
and Forts of
Marseilles, and
drives Carlo
Doria's Gal-
lies out of the
Haven.

himself of the Forts of S. Jehan, and of Cape de More, which are upon the Sea, and from thence began without delay to play his Artillery upon Doria's Gallies, which were gotten neer the mouth of the Haven: great was the fright and tumult in the Gallies; but Doria, who had wisely kept himself far from the Forts, and in the beginning of the uproar had made all his Souldiers imbarke, got out happily without receiving any harm, and putting out to Sea made away from the City. The Duke of Guise victorious every where, was busied all that day in taking care that the Town might not be indammaged in the tumult, and having lodg'd his men in the most principall posts, made himself absolute Master of the City, with so much the greater facility, because with his courage in fighting, and prudence in appeasing the uproar, he had exceedingly wonne the affections of the Marseilians. Louis d'Aix, and Fabian Casant yielded the next day after, having articed, that they might go freely to Genoa with their goods, and that none of their adherents should be proceeded against with more then banishment; the City in this manner remaying free from their usurped Dominion, and utterly reduced unto the Kings obedience. The gaining of this place was very seasonable, and of great consequence, being a principall Port of the Mediterranean Sea, and a proper landing place for the commerce of many nations; and so much the more seasonable was it at that time, when the Spanish power had already got footing in it; for if with the benefit of time, they had settled themselves there, it would have been wondrous difficult, by reason of the nearness of the Catholick Kings other States, to drive them out again.

In the mean time while the re-union of the Countie of Provence is thus prosecuted, the besieged in La Fere were reduced to exceeding great want of victuall; wherefore Nicolo Basti, who was destined to carry them relief, being come to Doway, was considering with himself which way he should manage the business to get some quantity of provisions into the Town; and every resolution seeming difficult, not only because the Kings Cavalry, did with very great diligence obstruct all the ways, but because the narrow passages that led to the Town were so much incumbered by the largeness of the Forts, that there was no hope of getting past them; and yet necessity urging, he gave Alvaro Osorio notice, that he should keep some little boats ready

ready to come forth of the Town as soon as the sign was given him, and to draw near the Banks of the Fen, to receive the relief which he would attempt to bring unto that place; which intelligence being happily got into the Town, and the appointment made, he marched from Doway with six hundred horse, and came by night to Castelet, where he caused the Gates to be kept locked, to the end, that the French might not know any thing of his design: And having that day provided, that every one of his men should carry a Bag of Meal behinde him, and a bundle of Match about his neck, (for they had also great want of that in la Fere) he set forth when it began to grow dark, and having past the River Somme, went upon the way of St. Quentin, and leaving that Town upon the right hand, marched with so much diligence, that upon the sixteenth day of March in the morning, he came near the quarters of the Kings Cavalry, who being advertised by the Sentinels shootings, took the Alarm and got speedily to horse, believing that some relief of the Enemy was near; but a thick mist which by chance rose by break of day, was so favorable to *Basti's* designs, that the Kings *Corps de Gardes*, betaking themselves to their arms on all sides, could not discover which way the Enemy came; and while they warily endeavored to know and make discovery, *Basti* without meeting any body, passing between the quarter of the *Reiters*, and that of the Duke of Bouillon, came to the bank of the Fen near the current of the River, and having found *Otorio* ready with his Boats to receive the relief, he made the Meal and Match be unladed with great celerity, faced about, and with the same speed, seeing the French and German Cavalry, who at last having notice of his arrival, had placed themselves upon the Road of St. Quentin to hinder his retreat, he took a contrary way, and falling into that which leads to Guise, came back fortunately to Cambray, without meeting any opposition.

Nicolo Basti under favor of a thick mist passes through the Kings quarters, carries relief to the besieged of la Fere, and returns to Cambray without the least loss.

This relief (in which industry and fortune were equal sharers) gained *Basti* a wonderful reputation; yet gave but little help to the besieged; the Meal that was brought lasting them but a little while, by reason of their great number, and the King, who from day to day had new forces came up to him, streightned the siege more closely, and stopt up all the ways, which being cut off and fortified with Banks and Trenches, and kept with strong guards of Horse, left no hope at all of

Rrrrrrrr

thinking

1596

The King
makes the
Course of the
River Somme
to be stopp
with a design
to make the
water rise in-
to la Fere, but
after many
difficulties, the
effect answers
not the Inten-
tion.

thinking of new relief. But the siege being prolonged by the constancy of the Defendants, the King was perswaded by the reasons of some of his Engineers, to stop the course of the River which caused the Fen on the lower side, thinking to make it swell and rise in such manner, that the Defendants should be constrained either to yield or drown. This work was begun with an exceeding great number of Pioneers, drawn together from all the neighboring places, but though they wrought at it with great art and no less assiduity, yet the Rains of the season, which from time to time increased the current of the River, which ordinarily was quiet and gentle, hindered the progress by breaking down the Banks, often carrying away the Piles, and in one hour frustrating the labors of many days; and yet the King being himself present at the work, it was at last brought to perfection. But it was no sooner finished, when it appeared how deceitful the fancies of Engineers prove oftentimes; for the Town being much higher then the Fen, (a thing foreseen from the beginning by many, and constantly oppugned by the authors of the design,) the water rose not above a foot or two in the Town, and was so long making that increase, that the inhabitants had conveniency to remove their things into higher places, without receiving any damage; though the water falling within two days, by having broke through the lowest part of the Fen in many places, the Town remained full of Dirt and Mud, by the exhalation whereof the Air being corrupted, caused dangerous diseases in the Town, so that the besieged being endamaged onely by accident, and after the space of many days; the labors and endeavors of the Kings Army proved fruitless in their principal intent.

There yet remained the wonted hope of Famine, which after so many moneths siege encreased exceedingly, and was already become irreparable; nor did any thing make the Defendants hold out, but hope of relief. The Cardinal was intent with his utmost endeavors upon giving it to them; for having in great part quieted those that had mutinied, and conveniently paid his men, he had set the Army in a readiness to attempt the effecting of it, but none of his Commanders (among which, the principal were the Duke of Arescot, the Marquess of Ranty, and Francisco de Mendoza, the Admiral of Aragon) counselled him to adventure his Camp upon that enterprize; and the reason was in a readyness, for not

not onely the King in the space of many moneths, had had full
conveniency to fortifie his own quarters extraordinarily, but
that which imported more, he had put strong Garrisons, and
many Horse into *St. Quentin Monstruël Boulogne*, and all the
other Towns that stand round to *Fere*, in such manner, that if
the Spanish Camp should pass beyond them to raise the siege,
they remaining at their backs, would cut off the wayes, and
take away the concourse of Provisions; so that if the enter-
prize of making the King dislodge, should require many
dayes, (as it was certainly to be doubted) the Army would
be put in danger of some hard encounter; To this was added
that the King having after the publication of the Agreement
received the Duke of Mayenne with great demonstrations of
honour, being come with his attendants to wait upon him in
the Camp before *la Fere*, and the Constable *Montmorancy*
the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the greater part of the Lords of
all the Kingdom being come unto the Army, he had under
his colours eighteen thousand Foot, and little lesse then
five thousand Horse; an Army so potent, especially by reason
of the valour of the Cavalry, that it was necessary to proceed
with great circumspection, in advancing so far into that Pro-
vince, against so great Forces, and in the midst of so many of
the enemies Towns. The Cardinal likewise was not igno-
rant that the States of Holland desirous that the war should
continue in France, had set forth a fleet of many ships to land
men at Boulogne, in relief of the King of France; and that
the Queen of England, though the King consented not to all
her demands, had yet to uphold the common interests, sent
out a Navie to his assistance, with eight thousand Foot aboard
it, which it was beleevved were to land in the same place;
wherefore the Commanders doubted that these forces uni-
ting together, it would not onely be vain to attempt to
relieve *la Fere*, but also very dangerous to make their re-
treat.

These causes fully debated in the Councell, made the
Cardinal take a resolution to try to do it by way of diversion:
for by encamping before some Place of importance belonging
to the King, either he should constrain him to rise from *la Fere*
with his whole Army, to succour the place so straightned, or
if (persisting in the siege) he should not care to relieve it, he
might easily get another place as good as *la Fere*. But there arose

1596

no less difficulties in choosing the place, that should be pitched upon; for *Guise*, *Hon*, *Guines*, and the other such like places that were nearest to Flanders, were not to be compared unto *la Fere*; and *S. Quentin*, *Monstreuil*, and *Boulogne* were so well fortified, and mann'd, that it was impossible to think of attaining them; so that between the ambiguity of these considerations, the Cardinal would have been long unresolved; if Monsieur *du Rosne* had not secretly perswaded him to a new enterprise not foreseen by any other body.

Monsieur *du Rosne* was by long experience versed in all the King of France his fortresses, and the example of things past made him remember how easily *Calais* might be taken; for by how much more the strength of it by situation, and art, made it in appearance be counted impregnable, so much less carefull were the defendants to guard it with that diligence wherewith places of such high importance ought to be kept; wherefore while that Town was under the Dominion of the Kings of England, the smallness of the garrison they kept in it had invited *Francis* Duke of *Guise* to besiege it in the year 1557 which also had so happy an event, that contrary to the Common expectation, he made himself Master of it only by that defect, which coming often into *du Rosne's* mind, he as being curious and full of industry had got certain information that Monsieur *de Bidassan* Governour of the place at that present, had not above six hundred Foot in it, a Garrison no way sufficient to make it good: either private interest, or the generall error of men, having perswaded him to trust more to the strength of his works then to the number and valour of the defendants; some add that the King of France, having sent the *Sieur de la Nove* and *de la Valliere* to view the condition of all the places standing upon the Frontiers of Picardy, they not making their visitation with that secrecie, which ought to go along with such like businesses, had with the French lightness discoursed very freely of the weak estate of those Frontiers, and the strength of *Calais* so magnified by fame, being objected to them, they inconsiderately answered, that whosoever should assault that Fortres in the place, and manner that was fitting, the taking of it would be but twelve dayes business; which words being told *du Rosne* by one that he had imployed as a Spie, excited him to search out the place and manner which these

Francis Duke of *Guise* recovered *Calais* from the English Anno 1557 being thereunto invited by their negligence in guarding and maintaining it.

these discoverers had intimated. Thus being fallen into a thought, that he might obtain the Town, famous for its fortification by reason of its standing upon the Sea, and the quality of the Haven opportune for the affairs of Flanders, and England, he with his reasons made the Cardinal Arch-Duke incline unto it, and so much the rather, because all other enterprizes were thwarted with exceeding great difficulties.

But having determined between themselves to apply their mindes to this attempt, without making any outward shew of it, they made all the other Commanders believe they would assault *Montrevil*, a place standing upon the straight way that leads to *la Fere*, and less considerable then either *St Quentin* or *Boulogne*; and with this pretence, having caused great provision to be made of victual and carriages to bring them to *Doway*, *Arras*, and the other confining places, the Cardinal having appointed *Valentiennes* for the general Rendezvous of his Forces, went thither personally upon the thirtieth of March, where having mustred his Army, in which were six thousand Spanish Foot, six thousand Walloons, two thousand Italians, and four thousand Germans, twelve hundred men at arms, and Cuirassiers, and little less then two thousand Light-horse, he divided his Forces into many parts, and made them march several wayes, to hold the Enemies in the greater suspence. He sent *Ambrogio Landriano* towards *Montrevil* with part of the Light-horse, and with the Marques of *Trevico's* Tertia; with the rest of the Light-horse *Bast* marched into the Territory of *Cambray*; *Agostino Messia* with a Tertia of Spaniards, and two of Walloons went towards *St Paul*, and the Count *de Bossa* with the Flemish Troops took towards *Arras* and *Bethune*; which outward shews while they held those of their own side in suspence no less then the French, Monsieur *du Rosne* with the Spanish Tertia's of *Ludovico Valasco*, and *Alonso Mendoza*, and four hundred Horse went out of *Valentiennes*, upon the fourth of April in the evening, and marched all the night to *St Omer*, where having joyned with Colonel *la Berlotte* and the Count *de Buquoy*, who stayed there for them with two Tertia's of Walloons, he took along with him three pieces of Cannon, and four of smaller Artillery, and advanced speedily towards *Calais*, where he arrived so much the more unexpectedly, because being a place

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Monsieur du Rosne besieges Calais with the Spanish Army.

1596

*The author is
mistaken, for it
is but seven
Leagues.

The description
of the situ-
ation of Calais

place out of the way, standing in the utmost point of a tongue of land which advances it self a great way into the Sea, neither the Spaniards nor the French had ever thought of defending or besieging it.

Calais stands upon the shore of the Ocean Sea in the furthest parts of a Promontory not above thirty Leagues from

England, and hath a very large Haven, which sheltered on each side with great high banks of sand, (which they commonly call *les Dunes*) is made secure and commodious for a very great number of ships. The Town is invironed almost quite

round with low grounds where the Sea overflows, and drowns the Plain for many miles, and being shut up within four banks by a very large moat, it is of a square form, having at three of the angles (besides many great Towers, and Ravelines along the Courtine) as many Royal Bastions of modern structure, with their Cavaliers within them, and at the fourth angle which reaches from the West unto the North, stands the Castle, built likewise of a square form, but with great Towers of the old fashion, that flank it round about. The moats are very large and deep, for they receive the water on both

sides, and the Town which is little less than a League in circuit, is all fortified round with thick Ramparts, though (by reason of the carelessness of the Governours) in many places (by length of time) grown defective, and in some, decayed and fallen down. On the outside along the Haven, there is a great Suburb full of Inhabitants in regard of traffick, and the conveniency of Marriners, and on that side a great Current of waters which coming from the fenny grounds, is straightened all into one Channel, and crossing through the Town empties it self impetuously into the Sea. On the

other side of the Haven, and in the point of the *Dunes* which cover it on the North-side, there stands a great and exceeding strong Tower, called the *Risbane* which shutting up the mouth of the Haven, is well stored with pieces of Cannon, and with great ease hinders any kind of Ships from entering into it. But on the side of the firm land (which in respect of the moorish grounds that largely environ it, is very narrow) about a league from the City there stands a bridge over a water that runs into the Sea, which being fortified with Towers, doth totally shut up the passage which leads to the Town along a very narrow bank; this is called the *Fauxbourg de Nieuwet*.

Monseigneur

Monfieur *du Rosne* knew, that all the hope of obtaining this Fortrefs, was placed in speedily poffeffing this Bridge of Nieulet and the Risbane; for if he took not Nieulet, it would be very hard to pafs the water, and come under the Town; and if he poffeffed not himfelf of the Risbane, fo that he might be mafter of the mouth of the Haven, there would come fuch fupplies into the Town by Sea, that there would no longer be any building upon the fmall number of the Defendants; wherefore marching to St. Omer with admirable celerity, in regard of the Artillery he had along with him, he came upon the ninth of April, in the morning, by break of day, within fight of Nieulet, and without giving the Defendants (who were not above forty) time either to take courage, or to receive affiftance, he made it be affaulted on the one fide by the Spanifh, and on the other, by the Walloon Foot, ftill playing with the four fmall pieces, not becaufe they did any great harm, but to increafe the terror of the Defendants; who being fo few, ill provided, taken at unawares, and (which imported moft) without any Commander, who by his authority might keep them faithful, they bafely quitted the defence, and retired flying to the Town.

Nieulet being taken, *du Rosne* left four Companies of Walloons to guard that poft, and not lofing a minutes time, advanced at the fame instant to affault the Risbane, and having planted his Artillery in exceeding great hafte, began furiously to batter about noon; befides which, having drawn three of the fmall pieces to the brink of the Haven, with them and with the Walloon Muskettiers, he hindred more defendants from entring into it, fo that they of the Suburb, that ftands on the far fide of the Haven, having often attempted to get in, were always constrained to retire. There were but fixty men in the Risbane, and thofe alfo without any confiderable head, infomuch that though the place was ftrong, and might have been defended many days, yet they as foon as they faw the affault was preparing againft them, utterly lofing courage, quitted it, and being faln upon and routed in the flight, fcarce thirty of them with the help of fome fmall Boats, got fafe into the Suburb; *du Rosne* not failing to profecute fo happy a beginning, entred into the Risbane; fet the Artillery again in order, and lodged many Foot in it, to the end, that relief by Sea might more affuredly be hindred, and there was very great need of it;
for

1596

for the next morning, many Ships of the Holland Fleet that was above Boulogne appeared, and labored with all possible industry to get into the Haven; but being driven back and bored through by the Artillery of the Risbane, they were at last made to tack about; and one Ship loaden with Wine being sunk by many Cannon shot in the mouth of the Port, the passage was so much the more stopped up, against whosoever should try to enter; and yet two little Barks of the Hollanders, with two Captains and eighty men, got in fortunately, and landing in the Suburb, staid there for the defence of it.

The Arch-
duke Albert
comes with
the rest of the
Army to the
Camp before
Calais.

In the mean time the Cardinal of Austria having had notice of the prosperous progress of his forces, turning all his Army that way, marched thither with the same celerity upon Maundy-Thursdai (being the eleventh of April) in the evening, and having designed the quarters of the Camp, between Casal de Mer, the Bridge of Nieulet, and the way that leads to Gravelin, he encamped in the Church of St. Pierre, half a League from the Walls. The Town being besieged, and their quarters in respect of the situation (which was all Moorish grounds, and full of Ditches) easily fortified; *du Rosne* well informed of the defect of the Wall on that side that stands towards the Suburb, resolved to plant a battery in the utmost part of the Haven; for though the impediment of passing it, seemed in appearance exceeding great, yet he had observed that at the ebbing of the Sea, the water fell in such manner, that the utmost part of the Haven remained dry, and the bottom was so firm and gravelly, that it afforded very convenient means of marching on to the assault; but that he might not leave the besieged without trouble on the other side, and to divide their weakness, he purposed to make another battery, over against the way to Gravelin; though the Wall on that side was extremely well lined with Earth, and defended by the Flanks of the two Royal Bastions. Both the Batteries were perfected upon the fourteenth day of the moneth, being *Easter* day, and upon Munday in the morning, as soon as it was light, they began to thunder furiously on both sides; nor did the Defendants (disheartned by the smallness of the number) make any attempt to hinder the enemy, and onely the first day, while the Risbane was battered, they sallied to bring in the Goods and Victuals; nor from that day forward, durst they attempt any t her business.

The Defend-
ants of Calais
without at-
tempting any
thing for
their defence,
suffer the Spa-
niards to pro-
secute the
siege.

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In this state of Affairs, the King having had intelligence of the moving of the Spanish Camp, and not being able to discern, which way it would bend at last, left the Constable to command the army before la Fere, & marched with 600 horse, and the Regiment of his Guard to Abbeville, and from thence sent forth the *Sieur de Monluc* with 2000 foot to Montrueil, doubting (as some reported) that the Spanish Army would fall upon that Town; but having upon the 13 day, had notice that the Camp was suddenly gone before Calais, he sent the same *Monluc*, the Count *de St. Paul*, Governor of the Province, and the *Marquess de Belin* with great diligence to imbarke at S.Vallery, and try to get into the Town; and though they boldly executed the orders they had received, yet being driven back by contrary winds which blew impetuously all those days, they were constrained to return to the same place without fruit; wherefore the K. become impatient at the near danger of his subjects, would needs go personally into that Port, & the cross weather still continuing, he went to Boulogne, the next day hoping (as the Seamen said) that it would not be so difficult to relieve the besieged from thence; but being come to Boulogne, & the same winds holding, the difficulties were the same, or perhaps greater; nor was there any thought of giving the besieged any succor by Land, as wel the Bridge of Nieulet, as *Casal de Mer* being strongly guarded, and the Enemies whole Army encamped on that side; wherefore the King for a last resolution, having put some chosen Foot aboard certain ships, sent them forth to ride thereabout, and fight with the diversity of weather, that they might be ready upon the first gale of a favorable wind, to get by some means or other into the Haven; but neither was this course any way beneficial; for the Ships long tossed, and driven into several places, could never get near the Haven, and if they had, they would certainly have been beaten back by the Risbane.

At the same time the King dispatched many Shallops to the English Fleet to hasten the coming of it, hoping if those men could be landed time enough, to make some gallant attempt, and force the Cardinal to raise his Camp from before that Town; but it was all in vain, for the English Fleet gathered together in the Haven at Dover, and ready to set sail, was yet detained by the Queens different intention. The French Ambassadors, and particularly *Monfieur de Sancy*
Sssssss
newly

1596 (newly gone thither for that purpose) treating closely of the conditions, upon which the men should land, about which the Parties being not able to agree, by reason of the variety of interests, the time ran on without coming to any conclusion.

But in the interim, the Spanish Artillery having plaid upon Easter Munday from break of day till evening, and the opportunity of low water hapning at that time, the Spanish Foot advanced on both sides to give a resolute Assault. Fortune was not altogether so favorable to *du Rosne's* intentions in this as she had been before: For though the wind had fate right all that day for his Artillery, a thing of no small advantage to free him from the smoke, that he might play the faster; yet in the evening, continuing, nay, blowing more stiffly every hour, it would not suffer the Tide to fall so low, as that the farther part of the Haven might be quite dry; wherefore his Foot were fain to go above the knees in water, and in some places to the girdle, which retarding the Assault, proved no small impediment; and yet having overcome that obstacle, and fought till nine of the clock at night (the Moon shining brightly in the Full) the French having lost above an hundred of their men, and among them one of the Holland Captains, resolved to retire, and having fired the Suburb in all places, got safely into the Town. Upon Tuesday, *du Rosne* drew his Artillery into the Suburb which they had quitted, and there being no Flanks on that side that could hinder the Battery, he without any difficulty planted two and twenty pieces upon the edge of the Moat, with no other defence but single Gabions, and those not very high, and the next day began to batter the Wall with so great fury, that not being lined with Earth, it in a few hours gave a large conveniency of assaulting it: But while the Infantry, being Spaniards, Walloons, and Italians mixt together, prepare themselves to fall on, the Defendants (terrified at the wideness of the breach, and the smallness of the number they were reduced to) send forth a Drum to Parley, and the same evening capitulated to leave the Town, and retire into the Castle, which they promised to surrender into the Cardinals hands, if they were not relieved within six days.

The Defendants being few, when they saw the Spaniards ready to give the Assault, sent forth a Drum, and agree to surrender, if not relieved within six days.

The King, who was at Boulogne, quickly had notice of the composition of Calais, and of the Earl of *Essex* his answer, who was General of the English Land-forces, with whom Monsieur

de

de Sancy having conferred, had entertained great hopes of getting the English to land, and that being re-inforced by them, the Castle might be relieved within the appointed time; but the Earl was not so forward as he desired; for the King having often promised to give some place upon the Coasts of his Kingdom, for the conveniency and security of the English, and afterward with divers excuses deferred to do so, and his Ambassadors to Queen Elizabeth having at last (to get the Fleet to move for his relief) condescended to promise that it should be performed; the Earl refused to put into any Haven, or land men, unless first the promise were effectually observed; and though Sancy urging the urgency of the need, and the shortness of the time, desired the Earl to consider of what importance the conservation of Calais was to their common interests, yet was it not possible to move him from his determination: wherefore he was necessitated to write to the King to know his pleasure; who highly incensed that his Confederates should make use of his adversity to constrain him to their own appetites, answered resolutely, that he would rather be robbed by his Enemies, than by his Friends; and being minded to try what he could do by himself, he saw the fury of the wind which had been so contrary all those days past not at all abated, and therefore he sent the Sieur de Mantelet Governour of Foix with three hundred Foot, backed with a good number of the Duke of Bouillon's Cavalry, to strive to pass thorow the Enemies Guards, and get in to relieve the Castle.

These coming by night close by the Quarter of the Italians, commanded by the Marquess of Treviso, found such slack and careless Guards, that without being perceived, they got all into the Castle, where the Sieur de Mantelet having encouraged the Governour no less then the Inhabitants and Soldiers that were in it, after the time of truce was expired, they not onely refused to surrender, but protested they would defend themselves to the last man; wherefore the Cardinal being assured that some relief was got in unknown to him, gave order to Monsieur du Rosney valiantly to prosecute the assault, who having planted his Cannon against the great Towers, or (as we may call them) Bulwarks of the Castle, battered them with so much diligence, that upon the six and twentieth day it was in a fit condition to be stormed. All the Italian

Monsieur de Mantelet with 300 Foot gets into the Castle of Calais: whereupon, the six days being expired, the Defendants refuse to surrender.

1596

The Spaniards storm the Castle of Calais, kill the Governour, and put all to the sword.

Foot fell on the next morning, who being desirous to cancel the reproach of having so carelessly suffered relief to pass in, fought desperately, and being seconded first by the Walloons, and then by the Spaniards, after a most bloody fight of six hours, the Governour *Bidassan* being slain, and above 400 soldiers cut in pieces, they at last entred the Castle, where the Italians put all the rest to the sword, except Monsieur de *Campagniole* and some few others, who having taken refuge in a Church, were received upon discretion. Above 1000 of the Spanish Army were killed, among which Count *Guidubaldo Paciotto* an Engineer of high esteem; and about 1000 wounded; a loss very inconsiderable for the taking of a place accounted impregnable, and one of the principall ones of all France, in so few dayes: but it had always been alike ill-defended by the carelesness of those within, the effects being no way correspondent to the fame of the place. But the so easie and so sudden loss of Calais did not onely much perplex the King, but also put him in a necessity of agreeing with the Queen of England and the States of Holland; for *la Fere* being not yet given up, he thought it very hard to rise from that siege, and lose the expences and labours of so many months, to the no small decrease of his reputation; and on the other side, if he did not speedily receive Supplies from both places, he was not able to draw another body of an Army together, wherewith he might resist the victorious force of the Enemy; so that all other places in the Province would be given over, with little hope that they should defend themselves more constantly then Calais had done, a place excellently fortified by art and nature. Being moved with this consideration, and judging that the authority of the Duke of *Bouillon* would be very prevalent to work upon the Queen; whose determination he was certain would be followed by the Hollanders, he dispatched him into England with resolute orders, to the end that concluding a reciprocal Confederacy, the Fleet might set sail with all speed, to land men in the Port of Boulogne.

But the difficulties were great, and the Queen had no inclination to it; partly, because she intended to make use of the Kings necessity, to get a Port in his Kingdom; for which end, before Calais was lost, she had been backward to relieve it; that she might constrain the French to put it into her hand; partly

partly, because seeing the King reconciled to the Catholick Religion, she thought it was in the King of Spain's power to conclude a Peace whensoever he would resolve no longer to molest the Kingdom of France: and therefore she difficultly inclined to put her self to new expences, which it was in the will of her enemies to frustrate and make ineffectuall; wherefore having stiffly denyed for many dayes to hearken to any treaty of new obligations, she onely proffered to give those assistances for the time to come, which she could without such great inconvenience to her self as she had done in times past; and because the French pressed very earnestly to have the Earl of Essex come to Picardy with the Fleet; the English answered, that it was for the most part composed of ships and men that were Voluntiers, who had put themselves together under the conduct of the Earl to make prize upon the Coasts of Spain, from which designe the Queen had not power to take them off, having granted them licence for that purpose; and that nevertheless they would be of great advantage to the King of France in his affairs; for the damage the Kingdom of Spain would receive thereby, would divert the Catholick Kings Forces from the War of Picardie. But these hopes and remedies were very far off, and the Duke of Bouillon offering to consideration the interests of their common Religion, if the prosperity of the Spaniards should still increase, excited both the principall Ministers, and the Queen her self to imploy her utmost Forces in so urgent and so heere an occurrence: and he moved much with his authority, eloquence, and reasons, but most of all by being of the same Religion; for he seemed to be principally zealous for the common interests, and for the conservation of the Hugonot party in France, to the end the King might not be constrained to come to such an Agreement with the Spaniards as might be prejudiciall to the States of Holland, to the quiet of England, and to the liberty of Conscience in his own Kingdom: and yet the business went on so slowly, and with such weighty difficulties, that though the Confederacy with England was at last concluded, differing little from the other contracted with King Charles the Ninth, and without obligation to consign any Place (for shame made the English to desist from that demand): and though the Duke of Bouillon went with an Ambassadour from the Queen into Holland, where the same Confederacy was established;

A League concluded between Henry IV and the Queen of England, little different from that which had been made by the English with Charles the IX.

yet

1596

yet the time was so far spent, that the affairs of Picardy were no way relieved by it, and the Earl of Essex his Fleet having scoured the Coasts of Spain, was dissolved without having done any thing considerable.

While this League was treated of in England, the Cardinal Arch-Duke not depending upon any body but himself, after he had spent ten dayes in make up the breaches at Calais; Guis and Hen having surrendered at the bare summons of a Trumpet, he determined to set upon Ardres, a place of a good circuit, excellently fortified, and standing but three leagues from Calais, by the taking whereof he thought he should absolutely secure what he had gotten: and though the situation of it seemed very difficult, because, standing on the top of an hilly it (as a Cavalier) commands all the Plain below it, which extends it self a little more then Cannon-shot, and from the Plain there are Mountains and Woods as unfit to encamp in, as opportune for the Ambushes of an Enemy; yet the Cardinal encouraged by his prosperous successes, sided with the opinion of Monsieur du Rosni, who hoped to carry it before the King could be disintangled from *la Fere*, and able to relieve it.

There were in Ardres the Marquis de Belin Lieutenant of the Province, Monsieur d'Annebourg Governour of the Town, and the Sieur de Montuc, who was come in to reinforce it, and they had with them little less then two thousand Foot, a hundred and fifty Horse, and convenient provisions of Artillery, Ammunition, and other things necessary for defence. And because the Siege had been foreseen by the Commanders, they had laboured with all possible diligence not onely to better the Fortification of the Town, but also to repair those of the Suburbs that stands towards *Boulogne*, for that being the side on which Batteries might most easily be raised, they determined by defending the Suburb to keep the Enemy as far as was possible from the Wall. The Authour of this counsel was the Governour of the Town, a Souldier not onely of much valour, but also of great experience, whose design was to defend the ground span by span, to give the King so much time, that *la Fere* falling, he might come to succour that place before the last extremities: but the Marquis de Belin was of another minde, and thought it a pernicious counsel to lose men in defending useless places, and such

such as were not tenable; wherefore he would have had them onely engage themselves in maintaining those Posts, which for their quality might be long made good; and yet all the other Commanders being of opinion, that the holding of the Suburb would be a benefit of great importance, the Governors advice carried it; and there was a convenient guard put in there to keep it: Another difference of opinion there was among the Commanders; for the Marquess would have had the enemy molested, and their works hindred by smart Counterbatteries, without sparing Ammunition; and on the other side, the Governor judging their store but small, in respect of so great waste, desired it might be husbanded to prolong the defence, that they might not want a thing so necessary in their greatest exigency; and because the Marquesses authority was above his, he kept part of the Ammunition hid, to the end they might make use of it opportunely when the other was spent.

With these discords (which to the great prejudice of mens own affairs, do commonly reign where more then one commands) they in the Town prepared themselves for the defence; but the Cardinal Archduke having left *Juan de Rivas* in the Government of Calais, upon the sixth of May moved with the whole Army, and made his first quarters at Guines; the next day he marched to the Walls of Ardres, so early, that in that day and the next, their quarters were perfected and fortified, which being made (as far as they could possibly) out of reach of the Cannon of the Town, were not yet very near to the Hills and Woods; but between the Hills and their Works, there remained so much space, that the Squadrons as well of Foot as Horse, might commodiously spread themselves in Battalia; and upon all the ways that through the Woods come down the Hills, strong Corps de Guards were placed with double Trenches, and double Works before them, or, to say better, behinde them, in those places that stood toward Boulogne, Montrueil, and the other of the King of France his Towns. The Army being encamped and secured with wondrous diligence, upon Thursday the ninth of May, *Agostino Messia's* Spanish Foot, and Colonel *la Berlotte's* Walloons advanced to make their approaches, that they might get under the Works of the Suburb; but the *Sieur de Monluc*, whose fierceness passed by no occasion of troubling the enemy, sallied out so briskly to skirmish, that their Works were

The Archduke marches with his Army to besiege Ardres.

1596

Monsieur de
Montluc killed
with a Canon
shot.

were foreflowed for a long time, and after that another Tertia of Infantry under *Jago Tessedá*, and Colonel *Coquels* Walloons came to reinforce the besiegers, and that *Monluc* was constrained to retire; the Marquess began such a furious Counterbattery, that they were necessitated to intermit their work, and stay till night; but it being very clear and light, the Artillery ceased not to play with great damage to the besiegers, who nevertheless constantly overcoming all obstacles, got to the Counterscarp of the Suburb, and the next morning planted some pieces of Cannon to facilitate their entry; but because *Monluc* ceased not to sally every hour, and to keep those that wrought in great perplexity, they made no great progress till he being taken with a Cannon shot, was miserably torn in pieces; for after his death, there being no Commanders so valiant, or so diligent, the besiegers began to batter the Works of the Suburb, which by reason of their weakness, being easily beaten down, they made an assault with so much violence, that the Defendants were constrained to quit it with the loss of above forty men; but while the Spaniards and Walloons enter pell-mell, Monsieur de *Montant*, a Colonel of French Infantry fell upon them so sharply, that after a bloody conflict of two hours he recovered the Suburb, having impetuously driven out the Enemy with the loss of 300 of the stoutest Soldiers of the Army; and yet the next day the Cannon having plaid from morning till noon, the Foot stormed it in four several places, in each of which, fighting gallantly, Colonel *la Berlotte* was fore wounded, *Agostino Messia* struck upon the head with a stone, and the Suburb was defended till the evening; but the assault being renewed on all sides, the next morning the Marquess considering the weakness of the place, gave the Defendants order to retire, that he might not lose so great a number of valiant Soldiers: And yet the Enemies pursuing closely, and they that were at the Town Gate, fearing lest they should get in pell-mell with their own men, let the Portcullis fall so soon, that above 200 of them were shut out and cut in pieces.

The Foot covered themselves diligently in the Suburb, and Monsieur du *Rosne* having determined to play upon that side, caused two batteries to be raised, one of which was plyed by the Spaniards with nineteen pieces of Cannon, and the other by the Walloons with seventeen pieces of several sizes, the works of which being not yet finished; the Counter-battery of

of the Town did a great deal of mischief on all sides; but after the Batteries were sufficiently covered, and that the Artillery began to thunder against the Flanks of the Bastions, the Marquess either out of meanness of courage, (as the general opinion of men would have it) or, because he thought it impossible to defend that place, and had a desire to save himself, and so many other valiant Defendants for a better occasion; called the Principal Officers to Council, and strove to persuade them to surrender: But the Governor opposing, and likewise *Charles Sieur de Rambours*, a man of great note in that Province, the Officers answered, that they would defend themselves to the utmost; and the Marquess replying, that all the Ammunition was already spent, and that he had no longer wherewithal to defend themselves; the Governor made known that he had hid and preserved so much, as being discreetly disposed of, would be sufficient for many days, and that in the mean time they might be relieved by the King, to whom he believed *la Fere* would yield at last. To which words the Marquess replied angrily, that he deserved to be punished for having concealed the true quantity of Ammunition from his superior Officer, and that two days more or two days less imported little, for he knew that the King would not take *la Fere* so easily; and going incensed from the Council, though many protested against it, he presently sent out a Captain, and articulated to march forth with their arms and baggage, their Colours flying, and Drums beating, and that the Townsmen might be free to stay or go as they pleased; but those that staid were to acknowledge the King of Spain to be their Supreme Lord. Thus to the wonder of all men, and the great murmuring of his Soldiers, the Marquess marched forth with all his men in Arms upon the twenty third of May towards *la Fere*; but Captain *Mainferme*, one of the Captains of the Garison, having the guard of a Bastion towards the Spanish quarters, would by no means consent to the agreement, and though the enemies were Masters of all the rest of the Town, he intrenched himself within the circuit of his Bastion, and defended himself undauntedly, till the Artillery being planted, and all his defences beaten down, he thought he might honorably march away.

The Marquess de Belin having called a Council of War, proposes to give up the place; the Governor with the other Officers opposes it; but he sending forth a Captain, capitulates with the enemy.

The day before this, the besieged in *la Fere* being reduced to extream necessity, and knowing by the effects the Cardinals intention, that being intent to divert and take new pla-

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1596 ces, he had no hope to relieve them any other way, atlast yielded to the Kings power, having by their constancy afforded time and conveniency to make so great and so important successes; the King desirous to disengage himself, that he might think of relieving Ardres, granted them the conditions they demanded; for it was agreed without contradiction, that the *Seneschal de Montelimar* avouched Count of la Fere, and *Alvaro Osorio* Governor of the Garison, should march forth with all their Soldiers, Foot and Horse, with their Arms, offensive and defensive; all their Baggage, Cornets, and Colours flying, Trumpets sounding, Drums beating, lighted Match, and Bullet in mouth, and should be convoyed safely as far as Castelet; that they might take along with them one piece of Cannon which had not the Arms of France upon it, and Ammunition for ten shots; that the *Seneschal* should be acquitted of all the Payments, Rents, and Contributions received, and that there might be no Inquest made for any past action, or crime either against him, or any others of the Garison, nor any of them molested for the debts they had contracted; that the Inhabitants taking an Oath of Allegiance, should be used as good Subjects, and pardoned all past offences, and whosoever would go forth with the Garison, might have liberty to depart.

La Fere yielded to the King, who desirous to relieve Ardres, grants the besieged very large Conditions.

With those Articles la Fere yielded it self unto the King upon the two and twentieth day, and the next morning he impatient of delay, moved with all his Cavalry, towards Ardres, leaving the Constable to follow him with all the rest of the Army, intending to draw near by the way of the Woods, and by all means to try his fortune; but he had not marched above two miles when the news came of the Marqueesses composition, which seemed so much the more bitter to him, by how much the more lively the hopes were he had entertained of relieving that place. Being struck with a most piercing grief, and no less kindled with a most just disdain, seeing the course of all his designs cut off, by the pusillanimity of one man, he would not suffer the Marquees to come into his presence, either judging him unworthy of his sight, or doubting he should not be able to contain his indignation: But having caused his process to be made by the *Mareschal la Chastre*, he was often times minded to take away his life ignominiously; yet *Madam Gabriele* interposing effectually, and begging for him, the sentence published after many days delay, contained nothing but that he should be deprived of all

all his Offices, and confined perpetually to his owne lands.

Ardres being taken on the one side, and *la Fere* on the other, the Common opinion was, that the Armies would meet, and that the King, desirous to make up his losses, and being grown strong by the concurrence of all the Nobility of his Kingdom, was resolved not to pass by any occasion which might opportunely invite him to a Battel; But the Cardinal Arch-Duke more intent to keep what he had gotten, then forward to adventure his Army to new dangers, and being re-called by the urgency of the affairs of *Flanders*, left *Villeverde* a Spanish Commander with a good Garrison in *Ardres*, and in three dayes march retired into the Territory of *S. Omer*, and from thence having had notice that the Cavalry left behind to guard the Provinces of *Flanders*, had been routed by the Garrisons of *Bergen* and *Breda*, which freely overrun all that Country, he marched further to oppose their incursions, and to turn the violence of his arms against the States, who during the Warre in France, got daily greater footing.

The Cardinal Arch-Duke leaving the Fortresses he had taken well provided, retires into *Flanders*.

The King stood long doubtful whether he should apply himself that year to the recovery of some of those places that were lost: but finding his Infantry (the principal instrument for the taking in of strong Towns) much out of case, by their long lying before *la Fere*: for, besides the continual watchings and toils of so many months, the illness of the air in low moorish places, had bred many diseases among his men; who having spent the Winter in much hardship, began now to feel the effects of their sufferings. Besides this, he wanted the most important sinew of War: for many Provinces being newly returned to his obedience, and the rest that had been for him before, being undone by the War, the whole revenue of the Kingdom was, by long troubles and infinite disorders, quite out of frame; insomuch that being utterly without money, he was not able to maintain his army in *Picardy*, which Province by the last two years wars, was in great part destroyed and desolate. To these two weighty difficulties, was added the ill success the King had had in managing the War by his Commanders: wherefore being constrained to return to *Paris*, to receive the Pope's Legat, who was come to confirm, and make those things be performed, which

1430

The History of the Civill Warres

1596

had been promised by his intercessours, in the act of the Benediction ; he thought he should reap but small fruit by his Army, in which he could not be present in person.

The Kings seeing his Army tired out with sufferings, divides it into Garrisons, and goes to Paris to receive the Popes Legat.

For all these reasons, after long doubtfulness in the Councel, he determined to dismiss the Nobility, that he might have them again more fresh for future occurrences, and to distribute the rest of his Forces into the Garrisons of the most important places, so that he might not fear the enemies unexpected return, and to go himself (as soon as he had received and satisfied the Legat) into some convenient City in the centre of his Kingdom, where having made an Assembly of the principal Magistrates from all the several Provinces, he might apply himself with diligence to set his revenues in order, and regulate the domestick affairs of his Court, and to make fitting provisions, that upon a solid foundation he might set himself the next yeer to recover the places he had lost in Picardy. In the mean time he hoped the League with the Queen of England and the States, would be concluded ; so that uniting all his Forces, he intended to march so strong into the field, that the enemy should not be able to forbid him the recovery of his own.

Having taken this resolution, he left the Marechal de Birón with three thousand Foot and six hundred Horse upon the banks of the *Somme*, to the end that coasting along the River side, he might be ready upon any occasion that should happen in the Country. He left *Peronne*, *Bologn*, *Montrueil*, *Abbeville*, and *S. Quentin*, well guarded ; and the Count de *S. Paul* in *Amiens*, though that City, great and populous, alledging its ancient priviledges, refused to receive a Garrison, being confident it should defend it self, as it had formerly done in the revolutions of so many Wars.

Cardinal Alessandro de Medici, who after was Pope Leo II, now Legat from the Pope, is received with great demonstrations of honour, by Monsieur de les Diguieres, though a Hugonot.

In this interim, *Alessandro de Medici*, Cardinal of Florence, and Legat from the Pope, was come into France, with mutual satisfaction as well of the King, who desired wholly to gain the Pope, as of the Pope himself, who could not perfectly quiet his minde, unless he established the ancient obedience and respect which was wont to be held by the Crown of France unto the Apostolick See. Wherefore being arrived upon the confines of Dauphine, he was received with great pomp, and with the Army drawn up in Battalia, by Monsieur de *Les Diguieres* ; who though averse from the Catholick Religion,

ligion, omitted not any terms of duty and honour, as well in receiving him, as in waiting upon him to *Lyons*, where having stayed a few dayes, he hastened his journey, and went to *Montlins*; from whence though, in regard of the Plague, which was very hot in many places, he took a much longer way, yet he came upon the nineteenth of July to *Montlhery*, ten leagues from the City of Paris. Thither the King (not with publick pomp, but as in a familiar visit) coming from *Picardy*, posted with a hundred in his train to meet him; shewing, by his impatience to be with him, and his familiarity in meeting him, his affection towards the Pope, and his particular confidence in his person, which, besides nobleness of birth, and maturity of years, had an exceeding great fame for wisdom, and ancient inclination to the affairs of the Crown. The principal Lords of the Court attended the King in this visit, but particularly the Duke of *Mayenne*, to let the Legat see the sincere reconciliation that was between them, and how much the Heads of the Catholick party were esteemed and honoured. As the King in this first Interview omitted not any exquisite demonstration of reverence toward the majesty of the Pope, and toward the person of the Legat; so did not the Cardinal fail to shew himself so moderate, and so well disposed toward the interests of the King and of the Crown, that the good expectation formerly conceived of him, was turned into a very great affection.

The King goes
post to *Montl-
bery* to meet
the Popes Le-
gat.

The Cardinal
de Medici's so-
lemn entry
into Paris.

The King returned the next morning to Paris; and the Cardinal going on his journey, was met first a league from the *Fauxbourg*s by the young Prince of *Condé*, to the end that he might know how diligently he had endeavoured the Pope's satisfaction, in getting him out of the Hugonots hands: and at the gate of the *Fauxbourg*s he was received by Cardinal *Gondi*, all the Princes, and all the Court, with such a throng of people, that if the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Espenon*, alighting from their horses, had not with swords drawn made room among the people, there was some danger that the vehemence of those who crowded inconsiderately to honour him, might have stifled him in the heat and tumult. Thus being brought into the City with great joy and contentment of every one, he performed the wonted Ceremonies in the Cathedral of *No-
stre-Dame*; and being conducted to his lodging furnished with the King's stuff he with infinite courtesie received the visits of
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the Parliament, the first President *Harlay* speaking for all; and then successively the other Magistrates of the City, and of many particular persons; every one rejoicing to see with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, the reconciliation as well of the King as Crown unto the Apostolick See.

In the Parliament they accepted and published the Commissions, or (as they call it) the power of the Legat: and though some of the Counsellors were of opinion that certain clauses should be added to the publication, which had been wont to be used in former times, to limit and circumscribe the authority of Legats within the priviledges of the *Gallique Church*; yet the King would have them freely published as they were, without making mention of any such thing, to take away all scruple that might be had of the sincerity of his minde: a thing which redounding to the full satisfaction of the Pope, and the glory of his Papacy, not to finde that opposition which the other Popes before wrote wont to meet, was exceedingly well recompended by the moderation of the Legat, whose dexterity well instructed by prudent Orders from Rome, still declined those occasions which might bring his authority, the priviledges of the Clergy, or the jurisdictions of the Crown into controversie; the true and onely way to avoid the so hateful contentions of Jurisdiction, and attemper very proper as well to establish the received obedience, as to serve the difficult condition of the times. This, besides the Pope's prudence, and the Legat's moderation, was the counsel of *Giovanni Delfino* the Venetian Ambassadour at Rome, and who afterward was also Cardinal; who well versed in the affairs of France, advertised both the Pope and the Legat, that they should not take particular notice of the excesses formerly committed in the Ecclesiastical affairs of France, while it was in a manner separate from the Church, before the Absolution; but that feigning not to see many things that were past, they should content themselves with great patience and dexterity to regulate the future: which counsel greedily received, as from a person that was well versed, and very prudent, gave a rule to govern themselves by, in many difficult businesses that happened afterward.

The K. gives the first public audience to the Legat at S. Maur, and ratifies all the Conditions accepted by his Procurators at Rome.

The Legat had his first public audience at *S. Maur*, without the City, upon the first of August, in which the King ratified all the Conditions accepted by his *Procurators* in the Absolution

solution at Rome : By which ready demonstration having satisfied the Pope in all points exactly, he afterward received those Dispensations which the present conjuncture perswaded. From these things, appertaining to the majesty of Religion, and of the Pope, the Cardinal Legat passed to treat of those which concerned the quiet of the Kingdom, and the peace of Christians : For the Pope knowing, how afflicted, and how bloodless the Kingdom of France was, having been tormented with the so long Civil Wars, and how much need it had of ease and tranquillity to recover its ancient vigor ; and on the other side, considering how exhausted the King of Spains coffers were, and how much oppressed and ruined his people, he saw the Crown of France, by continuing the War, was in great danger to be diminished, and the most Christian King necessitated still to keep near correspondencies and interested friendships with Princes that were averse from the Catholick Church : And he believed on the other side, that King *Philip* being ill able to supply two so potent Wars, though near, by keeping up the reputation of his Arms in Picardy, came to lose much of his own in Flanders, to the increase of the States of Holland, and the diminution of the Faith ; wherefore he was resolved to mediate Peace between those two Crowns, well perceiving that neither of them would ever incline to demand it, if he, as a common Father, and independent Mediator, should not interpose. To this was added, the consideration of the War with the Turk, which was extream fierce and hot in Hungary ; which the Pope desiring the Christian Princes should vigorously concur in, that the Forces of the common enemy might not increase any more, he thought it chiefly necessary to make an Agreement between those Crowns, to the end, that both together, or at least, the King of Spain, for the common interest of the House of Austria, might be able to lend his assistance. He therefore had given strict Commission to the Legat, that assoon as the Kings Absolution was ratified, he should presently begin to introduce this business, which he accounted not onely necessary for the security and repose of Christendom, but also highly glorious to the memory of his Papacy.

The point of Religion being settled, the Cardinal Legat begins to promote a Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns.

Neither was the Cardinal (being a man of a milde peaceable nature, and full of experience in the affairs of the world) less ready to procure the general good, and his own

1596
Emergents
that perswade
the King to
desire peace
with Spain.

own particular honor, then the Pope was careful to incite him to it, so that in the first meetings after the publick audience at St. Maur, he deferred not to sound the Kings inclination, who no less quick-sighted then others in discovering the wounds of his Kingdom, and agreeing with the general opinion of all men, that peace was the onely remedy to cure them, was enclined to embrace any kinde of peace wherein his reputation might not suffer. The difficulties which his Ambassadors found in treating the League with England, perswaded him the same; for he perceived very well, that the Queen aimed without regard to get some place in his Kingdom, that she might have means to keep him bound, and to procure greater matters as occasion should serve; and it was not unknown to him, that she by reason of the Irish commotions which were then in their height, was so much taken up, that though she had a desire to it, she was not able to spare many forces to his assistance. To this was added, the condition of the Hollanders, who though they endeavored to have the War continue in France, that the Spanish forces might be diverted and divided, yet had they not any ability to lend supplies unto their Neighbors, whilst the War was so hot in all places at their own home. Neither were the Protestant Princes of Germany (whose mindes were now bent upon the urgent necessity of the Turkish War) either able or willing to trouble themselves about the Kingdom of France; which they thought powerful enough of it self, to make head against the Arms of Spain: Infomuch, that the King being able to promise himself little of the Foreign Aids of his Confederates, was fain to make his whole foundation upon the forces of his own Kingdom.

But these were hindred and debilitated by many weighty accidents: For the Royal Revenues by the ruines of Civil Wars, and the multiplicity of abuses introduced, were subverted, and little less then brought to nothing, and the profit that was wont to rise from Imposts and Gabells in the Merchant Towns of the Mediterranean and Ocean Seas, was extremely diminished by interruption of the commerce with Spain, the West Indies and the Catholick Kings other Territories: Nor did the trading in English and Dutch-bottoms help much; for navigation being interrupted, the business was reduced rather to a kinde of Piracy then Traffick. To this want

want of money (the vital substance of the War) were added other perturbations. The Duke of Mercœur yet in arms; and potent in Bretagne, who with his forces overrunning and disquieting the Country, sometimes toward Normandy, sometimes towards Poictou and Xaintonge, kept those Provinces in continual commotion: Provence and Dauphine not yet well reduced to obedience, and fiercely molested by the Duke of Savoy, so that it was necessary to keep two Armies there continually employed; and, which imported most of all, the Hugonots, either incensed, or grown jealous at the so near conjunction between the King and the Pope, were in a manner up in Arms, and (asking liberty to meet together to take some course about their own affairs) shewed designs of new Insurrections: Whereupon there was great danger, that before the Peace was totally established with the Catholicks, it would be necessary to begin a War with the Hugonots.

The Hugonots
jealous of the
Kings conjunc-
tion with the
Pope, begin
to plot new
troubles.

These causes moved the King to wish for Peace; but the spur of reputation, which had ever been very sharp in his minde, did make him in appearance desire War: Wherefore in the first Treaties with the Legat, he told him resolutely, that he would not accept of any kinde of Peace, unless first all the places taken were restored, and all the losses of the Crown repaired; adding such lively ardent speeches, as shewed he would not lend an ear to a negotiation of Peace, till first by his Arms he had set his reputation up again in War; and yet the Legat gathering the Kings secret intention from the state of affairs, which were very well known to him, being upon the place; and judging it by all means necessary to break the ice first, though there appeared no glimpse of hope, he dispatched Father *Bonaventura Calatagirone*, General of the Order of St. Francis, to the Court of Spain, to sound how mens mindes corresponded on that side.

But the diligence the Legat shewed for peace, hindred not the King of France from being intent upon Provisions of Arms, and preparations for the year following; wherefore having called a Congregation of all the Officers of the Crown, principal Magistrates, and Treasurers of his Kingdom in the City of Rouen, where besides regulating many disorders and abuses, he intended to establish and settle his Revenues, and to perswade the Heads of the Provinces, and the chief of the Clergy and common people to

The King calls
a Congregation
of all the
Officers of his
Crown at
Rouen, to settle
the disorders of his
Kingdom, and
to demand
Supplies for
the War.

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1596

assist him in such manner, that he might be able to uphold the weight of the War by himself, which he accounted not difficult, as well by reason of the urgent necessity well known to them all, as of the good condition many rich and fertile Provinces were getting into, since Civil Wars had ceased in them, if necessary rule and order were added to the benefit of quiet; and he thought every one would run willingly to contribute to that expence, which was not made as in former times, either to satisfy the Kings appetites, or to move domestic Arms against those of the same Blood, but to maintain a War against strangers, and to defend the Crown, assaulted and invaded by its ancient emulators and inveterate enemies.

And because from the year before, there had been a Truce (though an uncertain one, and from time to time violated and interrupted) with the Duke of Mercœur to treat in the interim, and find some temper of Agreement with him, the King at this time deputed the Count of Schombergh, and President *de Thou*, who were to go to the Queen Dowager of France to treat in her presence with the Dukes Deputies: But this Treaty was not onely doubtful, but also various and unsettled; for the Duke, a subtil man, of a deep reach, and one not easie to be withdrawn from his designs, held several practices both in Spain and France, promising himself yet, that he should dismember the Duchy of Bretagne from the Crown (which had been united no longer then since the times of *Lewis* the Twelfth, and *Francis* the First) to establish it to his Posterity; or, if he could not do so much in favor of himself, at least, to keep up that State in the name of the *Infanta Isabella*, who pretended to succeed unto it, as next Heir of the House of Valois, since women were not excluded from the inheritance of Bretagne. For this purpose he had sent *Lorenzo Tornabuony* to the Court of Spain, and still held practices within the Province, to draw many of the principal men to be of his minde, hoping he should obtain much larger conditions from the Infanta, then he could do from the King of France. But because the adversity of the affairs of the League crossed his designs; and the agreement of the other Princes of his House, and particularly of the Duke of Mayenne, held his minde in suspense: He still kept the Treaty of Accommodation alive, and still

The *Infanta Isabella's* pretensions upon the Duchy of Bretagne.

still prorogued the Truce with short additions, making use sometimes of force, sometimes of art, to obtain some convenient place, and to keep the Provinces confining upon *Bretagne* in commotion.

Following this his designe, he about this time set on *Charles Gondi* Marquess of *Belisle*, Son to the *Maréchal de Retz*, to seize upon *Fougeres*, a Town of much importance upon the Confines of *Normandy*; and from that place he had held a Treaty, that the same Marquess might be let in to *Mont S. Michel*, a wonderful strong place upon the shore of the Ocean, to which one cannot go by land, except for the space of two short hours by day and by night when the tyde is low, which Treaty having gone on so far, that the Marquess was already certain to be let in, he departed secretly by night from *Fougeres* with an hundred Horse and four hundred Foot, and came to *S. Michel* just at low water; there having given and received the appointed signes, hee was invited by the Governour of the Castle to come in with half a dozen in his company to possess the first Gate, and bring in his men; at which invitation the Marquess, a young man, more fierce then circumspect, refused not to enter, but seeing the Gate that led in to the first Raveline was presently shut at his back, he turned about with an angry countenance to the Captain that shut it, and commanded him to keep it open; which command being no less haughtily answered, they of the Castle took occasion to fall to their arms, and having killed the Marquess with his six companions, they began to fire their Artillery against his party, which being already certain of their Commanders misfortune, retired unpursued to *Fougeres*.

This accident slackened not the designs of the Duke of *Merceur*, who having had the success to get the Forts of *Tifange* in *Poitou*, and to make other progresses in divers parts, continued to treat of peace ambiguously, being minded to govern himself according to the variety of affairs, sometimes moderating his demands in the King's prosperity, sometimes enlarging them in his adversity, being himself no less uncertain of the event then others. Nor did the King, to whom the cause of these alterations were known, withdraw himself from

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1596

* Schomberg
and de Thou.

The Hugonots absent-
ing them-
selves from
Court, retire
to places neer
Rochel, and
drawing soul-
diers toge-
ther, the King
sends to treat
with them,
and appease
them.

his purpose of treating, being disposed to grant him advantageous conditions, to exclude the Spaniards from Bretagne, and reunite unto himself so important a part of the Crown; wherefore to that effect he had newly destined the *Count and the President, whose wisdom he thought sufficient to deal with the Duke's arts and inconstancy.

He likewise sent the *Sieur d'Emery*, and *Godefroy Caignon* Chancellour of *Navarre* to the Hugonots, who absenting themselves from the Court, and being retired to the Towns neer *Rochell*, had drawn some number of armed men together, continuing to make their Conventicles and Assemblies to the great jealousy of the King, and great indignation of his Councell: But the Duke of *Mayenne*, though formerly an Enemy to that party, yet having moved the rest of the Councell to consider how pernicious it was to provoke a new Civil Warre at a time when the whole State was afflicted, and that the Arms of the Spaniards insulted with many successful proceedings, they determined to send those two persons of very great esteem to treat, to shew them that nothing prejudicial to conscience was intended nor thought of: for though the conditions imposed by the Pope were such as every one knew, yet that clause was added, that they should be executed without danger of Warre or perturbation; with which condition at the same time the Pope's obedience and the security of the Hugonots was preserved; since the conjuncture of the times was manifestly such, that the King could not constrain their Liberty, not onely without commotion of War, but also not without great danger of the Crown. These two Deputies being come to the places of the Hugonots, treated many times with the Heads of that party, and the rest that were come *Chastelrault*, and assuring them, that the Edicts made in favour of their Religion should be observed, stay'd the breaking out of new troubles which were already contriving; but they could not obtain that the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Duke de la *Tremouille* should (as the King desired) march with the Forces of that party into *Picardie*; for the coming of the Legate, and the neer correspondence that past, had made them so suspicious, that they would not stir from the places of their own security.

While

While they were negotiating on this side, Arms were not altogether quiet upon the Confines of *Picardie*: for the number of Garrisons on both sides did with frequent encounters keep matters in commotion, and the *Mareschal de Biron* not failing to molest the Enemy in all places, made incursions into the Catholick King's Provinces in such sort, that in the moneth of September being entered with his Horse into the County of Artois, he put the whole Country in a very great tumult: wherefore the Marquess of *Varambone* Governour thereof, having sent for Count *Giorvan Giacompo Belgiojoso*, and the Count *de Montecucoli*, resolved to meet him with eight hundred Horse to put a stop to those mischiefs which he did on all sides; but the *Mareschal* informed of his coming, having stay'd the whole day to rest himself at *S. André*, within the Jurisdiction of *S. Omer*, set forward in the dusk of the evening with his men fresh, and purposed to fall unexpectedly upon the Marquess, who thought him a great many miles from thence: nor did he fail of his designe; for having marched easily all the night, in the morning at Sun rise he light upon the Enemies Vanguard led by *Montecucoli*, and without much considering they charg'd courageously on both sides. In the beginning the French had the worst; for their first Troops were beaten back half in disorder to the main Body; but a while after the *Mareschal* advancing in person, charged *Montecucoli* so furiously, that he was forced to turn his back full speed; it not being possible to stay his men, who fell foul upon the Marquess his Battel and disordered it, so that he being forsaken, was taken prisoner with *Montecucoli*, still fighting valiantly. *Belgiojoso* advanced with the Rere, and for some time gallantly withstood the fury of the Conquerours; but the other Bodies being routed, and he himself wounded with two Pistol shots in the arm, was at last constrained to save himself by flight, leaving the field free to the *Mareschal de Biron*, and free power to go where he would: so that he would have done more harm to the Country, and perchance have made greater progerss, if the rains of Autumn, which that yeer fell much before the usual time, had not put a hindrance to his incursions.

1596
The *Mareschal de Biron* making great incursions into the County of Artois, the Spaniards attempt to oppose him; they fight, the Spaniards are routed, and the Marquess of *Varambone* their Commander in chief, and the Count *de Montecucoli* taken prisoners.

About this time there happened an accident at Court, which

1596 which as it gave private men an example of that moderation wherewith they ought to curb their passions; so did it advertise Princes how far they ought to bear those terms of necessity in their Subjects to which honour constrains them; for a controversie in words arising in the Kings Ante-chamber, between the *Sieur de Coqueinvillier* one of his Gentlemen waiters, but a man of approved valour, and *Monsieur de Bonivet*, a Cavalier of ancient Nobility and great note; *Coqueinvillier* forgetting the place where he was, struck *Bonivet* a box on the ear, who restraining his own fury, in respect of the place, they went both out of the Court, and being separated by their friends into several places, *Bonivet* sent to challenge his Eneny, that hee might be revenged of the affront hee had received: but he (acknowledging his errour, in having wronged him in a place where it was not lawful for him to draw his sword to right himself) refused to meet him in the field, and offered to ask him pardon, which all men knew was not for want of courage, whereof he had given proofs in other duels, but out of remorse of conscience; yet *Bonivet*, notwithstanding the common opinion, reiterated his challenge oftentimes, which not onely was answered with the same moderation, but *Coqueinvillier* kept within doors for some time to avoid the occasion of fighting, and yet the other urging him with injurious Letters and Messages, and not accepting the offer he made, to refer himself to his discretion, he was at last constrained to meet him in a private place hand to hand, where having made his former proffers, and protested that he acknowledged himself much to blame; he was constrained by *Bonivet's* fierceness to draw his sword, wherewith having wounded him with a thrust in the first bout, retiring back, he would have ended the business at the first blood; but *Bonivet* furiously insulting, and making many thrusts at him, he being so hard pressed, ran him thorow the body, and laid him dead upon the ground. The news being come to the Kings ear, who knew all that had passed very well, and bearing not onely with the necessity that had forced *Coqueinvillier* to fight, but for his valours sake forgiving also the offence he had committed in striking in the Court, said publickly, that since one of them was lost, it was not good to lose the other too, and granting him his pardon, he

There grows
a quarrel in
the Kings Ante-chamber
between the
Sieur de Coqueinvillier
and *Monsieur de Bonivet*, so
that the first
gives the other a box on
the ear.

Bonivet challenges *Coqueinvillier* to a
duel; they
fight, and he is
slain.

he commanded the Magistrates not to proceed against him.

1596

In the mean time the Deputies were met together at Rouen, whither the King came upon the eighteenth of October (accompanied with the Cardinal Legat, the Duke of Montpensier, Governor of that Province, the High Constable *Montmorancy*, the Dukes of Nemours and Espernon, the Prince of Jainville, the Marshals of Retz and Matignon, the Admiral *d'Anville*, the Cardinals of Giury and Gondy, and a select number of the Principal Lords of the Kingdom;) and being received with a very solemn pomp, he spoke to the Assembly the fourth day of November, showing them how much need the affairs of the Kingdom had of Reformation, and the urgency of Supplies to maintain the War upon the Confines: Which things after they were more at large unfolded by the High Chancellor, every one set himself with great desire to think upon those remedies which they judged might prove convenient. But the infirmities of that Body afflicted with so long distempers, were such as could not be so easily cured, and every one perceived how necessary a general Peace was to introduce and establish a wholesome permanent Reformation, since that, amidst the necessities of War, new disorders still spring up; nor can the strictness of Reformation be observed, where Military exigencies continually extort licentious dispensations. Nor was there any body who thought not, that the proper means to obtain peace was to have a great strength for the War, to the end, that recovering their reputation, and the places that were lost, the two Crowns might agree in peace with equal honor. But as the remedy was known, so was the means of attaining it very difficult; for the whole Kingdom was so exhausted and weakned, that the people could confer but little to the Kings assistance; who to maintain the Armies in Dauphine and Bretagne, and to raise a greater one in Picardy, was forced to think of great preparations of Men, Money, and Ammunition, which was gotten out of England and Holland at a very great charge; and though it was hoped, that some Provinces which had not been so much divided, might (with good order taken) afford some considerable supply, yet that required length of time, which the Exigency and the War would not allow. But nevertheless, not being to forbear doing all that

1596 that was possible, every one applied himself heartily, as well to reform, as to make preparations.

1597
A weak Re-
formation is
made, Provi-
sions are or-
dained for the
Kings wants,
and the Con-
gregation is
dismissed.

With the consultation of these affairs, ended the year 1596. And though the Assembly continued in the beginning of the year following, yet the Reformation was but very weak; for the matter was not disposed to receive it, and the times were unseasonable for the rigors of a resolute course; onely the expence of the Kings household was lessened, some supernumerary Offices were taken away, and the pensions of particular men were restrained, but not in such manner, that the Treasury was much eased by it. The provisions made for the King, were something more considerable; for the payment of the debts of the Crown were suspended for the two next years, but without prejudice to the Creditors; an increase was granted in the peoples name upon the Gabelle of Salt, one of the chief Revenues of the Crown; all usurpers of Confiscations were by a severe Edict constrained not onely to restore the Land, but the profits so usurped, from which business there resulted no small benefit: And finally, many of the Treasurers, and of the Clergy, voluntarily obliged themselves to contribute a certain sum of money, though no very great one.

But the King having ended the Assembly at Rouen, and being come into the quarters about Paris, to take Physick for some private indisposition, to the end, that being freed from it, he might more freely apply himself with the first season to the toyl of Arms, a new important accident gave beginning to actions of War before the time. *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, a man, who in a very small stature of body, contained a lively sprightly courage, was Governor of Dourlans: This man having in the whole course of the War, given great proof of no less sagacity then valor, stood watchful upon all occasions that offered themselves to atchieve something. He having begun to court a very rich Widow, who, according to the use of the French, dwelt in the Country, was fallen into a desire of getting her for his wife; but having often discovered his intent, she still answered him, that she being subject to the King of France, and he to the King of Spain, who made war against one another, it was not fit to satisfy him; but that she would dispose her self to do it, when either he had put Dourlans under the

Kings

Kings obedience, or drawn Amiens (in which City she was born) under the subjection of the King of Spain. These words moved the spirit of *Portocarrero*, who (besides his natural desire to serve his Prince, spurred on by love, and the hope of obtaining so rich a Dowry) began to think how he might make himself Master of the City of Amiens, and having had some discourse about it with one * *Dameline*, a man that was banished out of the Town, he heard that the City had refused to receive a Garison of Soldiers, and that the Townsmen kept their Guards diligently by night, but carelessly by day, whereupon he entred into good hopes of getting unexpectedly within the Walls, and by his sudden arrival, easily to make himself master of it; but having heard afterwards, that there were fifteen thousand men in the City, well provided with Arms, and ready to run together upon the stir of any accident, he stood long in suspence, and doubtful in himself, whether he should attempt the enterprize, notwithstanding that so great difficulty. He was much more out of hope, when he understood that three thousand Swissers sent to the King to convoy great store of Artillery and Ammunition into the City for the provisions of the future War, staid to take up quarters in the neighboring Villages. But he took up his design again, when he heard that the Count *de St. Paul*, to satisfy the obstinate importunities of the Citizens, had made them draw away; nay, he was excited so much the more out of a desire to get all the preparations that were brought into that City; wherefore he gave order to a Serjeant named *Francisco del Arco* (a man whom he had tried in many occurrences) to go into the City in disguise, and diligently to observe the quality of the Citizens, and the manner of their Guards. The relation was very favorable to his design; for the Citizens employed themselves by day, in following their businesses, and those few that remained to guard the Ports, (being invited to it by the season) shut themselves up in a room to enjoy the benefit of the fire, and the Gate was for the most part left alone, except one Sentinel that stood at the Turn-pike; whereupon being confirmed in his design, he dispatched the same Serjeant to the Cardinal Archduke to obtain leave and supplies of men, that he might set himself upon the enterprize. The Archduke consented, that he should venture upon a business of so great hopes; and gave order to the Garisons of Cambray, Calais,

1597
Hernando Tel-
les Portocarre-
ro, being by
the Cardinal
Archduke left
Governor of
Dourlans, con-
trives how to
surprise Ami-
ens.

* The French
says, *Du Mon-
lin*.

X x x x x x x

Bapaulme,

1597 Bapaulme, and Castelet, that upon the day appointed, they should send aid of men into the quarters of Dourlans, to obey and be commanded by *Portocarrero*.

* Or younger
Brother.

He having well fitted all things, called the help that was prepared, and gave order, that upon the tenth day of March, they should be toward the evening, at a Village called Orville, a League from Dourlans; whereupon there met from several parts six hundred Horse led by *Girolamo Caraffa*, Marquess of Montenegro, and two thousand Foot of divers Nations, commanded by old Spanish, Italian, and Walloon Officers; to whom *Portocarrero* communicating nothing else, but that they were to go upon Amiens, marched all night; the * *Cadet Pannre*, a Walloon, and *Inigo d' Ollava*, a Spaniard, who were privy to the whole design, leading the first Troops, who arriving in the morning before day, laid themselves in ambush behind certain bushes not far from the City, and after them the same did Captain *Fernando Dezza* with an hundred Spanish Foot, and Captain *Bostoc*, with as many Irish. *Portocarrero*, who had made a halt with the main body, near the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, above half a mile from the Town; after that the *Cadet* climbing to the Top of a Tree, had given him a sign, that the Gate was open, and that the stir of those that went in, and came out, was over, he sent forth *Giovan Battista Dugnano*, a Milanese, and the same Serjeant *del Arco*, to execute what had been agreed of between them.

They with twelve in their company, disguised like Country fellows, after the fashion of that Country, wore certain long Cassocks, some of Cloth, some of Canvas, under which each had a Case of short Pistols, and a Dagger. Four of them drove a Cart with three horses fastned to the Draught-tree in such manner, that by pulling out an Iron, they might be loosned from the Cart, which being laden with thick pieces of wood covered with straw, was sent before to stop under the Portcullis, and hinder it from shutting down. Behind the Cart followed other four, who upon their sholders had sacks full of Apples and Nuts, and after them came the other six stragling, and last of all Serjeant *Dugnano*, the Captains Brother, with a great pole. It was already Sermon time (for by reason it was *Lent*, there was Preaching in many Churches) and the people being gone several ways, had left few to guard the Ports; when the first entred with the Cart at the Turn-pike, and went on under the

the gate to do the effect already design'd, and one of the second company making shew to let his apples and nuts fall by chance scattered upon the ground, many of those that were upon the Guard ran to catch them up, and the rest laughing and mocking, took no heed to the cart, which being got under the Portcullis, the horses were presently loosen'd, lest being frighted with that stir they should have dra'gd it too far; and so that impediment remain'd in the midst of the passage, that it could not be shut down. The last came unto the Turn pike, and at the very first killed the sentinel, then presently the rest discovering their weapons, fell upon them that were catching up the apples, and fighting fiercely killed some of them, and drove the rest into a room where the fire was, shutting them up in such manner, that the first companies of Foot had time to come unto the gate. In this interim the sentinel that was above in the gate-house, having heard the noyse, speedily cut the ropes by which the Portcullis hung, which being made of several barrs and not all of a piece, two of the barrs broke through the bottom of the Cart, but the other three were kept up, leaving space enough open for two Souldiers to enter abreast. Through that passage the Commanders and Officers advanced compleatly armed, and after them above an hundred Souldiers, before any aid came from the City; and yet the people coming up on all sides, they would at last have defeated the assaylants, (among whom *Dugnano* was killed with a great wound on the head) if the barrs of the Portcullis being broken, and all inpediments taken away, the *Cadet* had not come in seasonably with the Walloons, and Capt. *Bostock* with the Irish; by which the people who ranne stragling thither without order or without Commander, being beaten back and put to flight, and above eighty of the Citizens killed, there was no body that made resistance any longer; for the Count *de S. Paul*, who was in the Town without any garrison, at the first notice of the business, got out of the *Forte de Beauvais* and sav'd himself by flight. *Fernando Dextza* entred presently after the first, and last of all *Portocarrero* with the main body, keeping the Souldiers from running about to plunder, aswell for fear of the people, (a very great number in respect of them) as because he doubted the Kings forces that were not farre off, might strive to recover the town in the first heat. But the people too bold before the urgency of the

1597
One of the gates of Amiens is possess'd by 12 Spanish souldiers disguised like country fellows who bringing a Cart under the Portcullis, and scattering fruit upon the ground, deceive the guards, who were very negligent.

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danger

1597 danger, and too fearfull in the act, dejected in so sudden an accident laid down their arms, and the Kings Cavalry advancing to the very wall, having met the Marquess *de Montenegro*, and seen that they could not effect any thing, returned without further attempt into their own Quarters.

The King for the loss of Amiens breaks off the course of physick he had begun, and goes into Picardy to assist the affairs of war in person.

The news of this loss struck the King so deeply, that despising his own health, and breaking off the course of physick he had begun, he posted speedily into *Picardy*, accompanied with none but those that were then about him, being confirmed more then ever in his old conceit, that where he was not himself in person, busineses went on either carelessly or unfortunately; and passing with great hazard in those places where the Enemy roved about victoriously, he came to *Corbie*, where the Marechal *de Biron* was, being resolved, or rather excited by despair, to begin the war again, happen what would; and to encounter any danger whatsoever to attempt some enterprize, though without hope to effect it. For he thought nothing more contraty to his success then ease, and nothing more beneficial then action.

They are much troubled in Paris for the loss of Amiens, and murmur against the King.

But this accident struck the adjacent Provinces no less then him, and particularly the City of *Paris*; between which and *Amiens* there not being above eight and twenty Leagues of open way, not hindred by any strong place, there entred a great terror into the People fearing lest the Spaniards now victorious should advance to spoile the Country, and interrupt the concourse of victuall, while the King had no Army wherewith he could withstand their progress; and the fresh sufferings which were lately passed, did by the yet bitter memory of them, make dangers seem more grievous, and more neer then was fitting; the whole people therefore was in an uproar; the Country frighted, the Nobility stirred up, and many murmured against the King, as one who accustomed only to conquer in Civill wars, yeelded in all places to the discipline, policy, valour, and diligence of forreigners; and others going yet farther, spoke against his manner of life, as if having given himself a prey to the love of Madame *Gabriele*, he had retired to pass his time idly with her, while the enemy solicitous and vigilant, insulted furiously against the principal Cities of the Kingdom: and that which these men said, was not without probable appearance; for the King

King having made great show of the love he bore this Lady, even to the having caused the Baptism of a Daughter born of her, to be celebrated with Royal pomp, in the face of the Assembly at *Ronen*, was afterwards retired in her company, to the solitariness of *S. Germans*, *S. Maure*, and the other places of pleasure neer the City, in so much that those who knew not the necessity he had to take physick, attributed all to the desire of ease, and to the appetite of womanish delights.

Nor was the King himself ignorant of the popular rumours; whereupon exceedingly vexed, he ceased not with words and letters to clear himself, attributing the loss of *Amiens* to the obstinacy of the Citizens, who never would receive a Garrison, to which he would not constrain them, because that City being newly come unto his devotion, he was unwilling the people should beleeve that he sought to violate the priviledges of their Corporation, and fail of his promises. He shewed likewise that not the pleasure of the Court, but his need of physick which would admit no delay, had constrained him to enter into a course, though the season were yet extremely cold, to the end that after the space of a few dayes he might be able with perfect strength to undergoe the burthen of the war himself in person. And to that which was said of his being only skilled in Civill Warrs: He objected the two severall times he had met the Duke of *Parma*, and what he had done the year before against the Constable of *Castiles* army; in which enterprizes (contrary to what his detractors said of him) He had shewn as much circumspection and discipline as the custome of the French Nobility, and the quality of times and occasions would allow.

The King excuses against the accusations and murmurings of the French.

To these words joyning actions sutable, though he had not above four thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, he determined to draw neer *Amiens* to begin the siege; for he was resolved to set his utmost endeavours to recover that City; considering that it was best to begin betimes to straighten it by what means soever he could; to the end that those within, might not have conveniency to provide themselves of things necessary to feed that abundance of people that dwelt continually in the Town. Wherefore being departed from *Corbie*, and past over to the far side of the River *Somme*, he caused his men to encamp in the midst between *Amiens* and *Douurlans*,

The King besieges *Amiens*, being desirous to recover it.

1597

Dowlans, to the end he might interrupt the commerce and mutual assistance of those two places, and having left charge with *Mareschal de Biron* to advance the siege according as new supplies of men came up daily to the Camp; He giving no rest unto himself, went up and down to convenient places, drawing Horse and Foot out of the Garrisons to increase his Army the most he could, and at last returned to *Paris*, to hasten such provisions as were necessary, and to raise a sum of money, sufficient to goe through with the siege, which at that time was the utmost scope of all his thoughts.

The City of *Amiens* stands upon the River *Somme* which being divided into many streams, runs through the midst of the Town, and encompasses, and washes the wall in many places. On the one side it hath the great Castle of *Pequigny* and *Corbie* on the other; the Castle four Leagues, and the Town seven Leagues distant from it. The City is environed with thick and well-contrived walls, flanked with their Bulwarks and Ravelines, in some places more, in some less according as it is washed more or less by the River; and though in all parts it be excellently fortified, yet it is much stronger, and built with greater industry on the side beyond the River towards *Flanders*. On this side the King had given order, that siege should be laid, not only to hinder the commerce of *Dowlans*, but also because he intended to fortifie the quarters of his Army in such manner, and to environ the Town so closely with Trenches and Forts, that the Cardinall Arch-Duke, though he came strong into the field, should not have power to relieve it, finding it wholly shut up on the right way. But the *Mareschal de Biron* not having strength enough to begin the trenches, had quartered himself with the Vanguard in the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, and spread himself with the rest of his Forces upon the rode to *Dowlans*, breaking the wayes with the Cavalry, and hindring victual or relief from getting into the City.

On the other side, *Portocarrero*, though besieged much sooner then he had at first imagined, having sent Serjeant *dell' Arco* to *Brussels*, as well to give notice of it, as to require new supplies, applied himself with his usual diligence to repair the fortifications, and to provide against all other wants, and after he saw the French encamp so near he resolved while they were weak, to trouble them so with sallies, that they should

should be fain to get further off; wherefore upon the thirtieth of March in the morning, he gave order, that the Marquess *de Montenegro*, should march forth to fall upon the quarter of the Vanguard, which was at the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, who having sent fifty Walloon horse before to assault the first Corps de Garde, kept by twenty Soldiers, he himself followed so furiously with two hundred other horse, that having beaten the Corps de Garde, and taken some prisoners, he advanced unexpectedly to the quarter of the French, and yet four hundred horse coming forth to receive the charge, they skirmished long without advantage, till the Marquess feigned to give back, that he might draw the Enemy into an Ambuscado, where Captain *Inigo d' Ollava* lay among certain bushes with two hundred Spanish Foot. But the *Sieur de Montigny*, who commanded the French, having pursued them gallantly at the heels as far as the Bushes, made a stop, out of a doubt, that some ambush might be laid in so fit a place; whereupon the skirmish ending, both parts retired without doing any thing of moment.

The Marquess sallied again the next day with three hundred Light-horse, followed by an hundred Lancers; but the skirmish growing hot on all sides by their mutual Fire-arms, neither would the French advance into the hollow places, which are near the Walls; nor durst the Spaniards draw near the Post of *Mary Magdalens* Abbey; both the Commanders doubting they might be caught in some trap. *Portocarrero* then took another course to free himself from being so nearly molested by the Vanguard of the French, and began to batter the Abbey with many Culverines, whereof he had found store in the City, and continued to play upon it so obstinately, that there was no staying in that post, and the Vanguard was fain to retire to a Village further back, from whence though they obstructed the ways with no less facility, yet they within had more means to provide themselves of Earth, Bavins, and other things necessary to raise new defences.

In this interim, the Cardinal Archduke had given careful order, that before the French Army grew stronger, new supplies might be put into the Town; wherefore *Juan de Gusman* going from the Territory of Cambray with four companies of Firelocks, but all mounted; and three hundred Light-horse,

Juan de Gusman goes to put relief into Amiens, but being discovered by the French, he hath much ado, to save himself, took

1597

took his way by night, that he might come betimes in the morning to the Gates of the City, which having prosperously done, as well because the air was cloudy and dark, as because the French advertised of his coming, expected him not till night; yet he destroying the benefit of Fortune by an unseasonable Vanity, as soon as he saw himself near the City, caused his Trumpets to sound, and a great volley of shot to be given in token of joy; at which noise the French who were prepared, ran so couragiously to charge them, that the Troops being instantly mingled pel-mel, the Artillery of the Town had no longer any means to defend their own men; who being constrained to yield to the greater number, had retreated still fighting to the covered way, and there would have been routed and defeated, if *Fernando Dexxa* who defended it with two hundred Spanish Foot, giving fire without distinction at them all, had not made the French retire: In the mean time, the Firelocks that came with the relief, leaping from their Horses, saved themselves almost all in the Moat, and the Marquess of Montenegro falling with his Horse, after the French were separated, valiantly beat them back as far as the Abbey. The relief got in with the loss of under forty men, yet was it great, because *Ruggiero Taccone* was wounded in the left Leg, and *Fernando Dexxa* slain with a Musket shot in the head. There entred together with the relief, *Federico Pacciotte* (Brother to *Guidobaldo*, who was killed at the assault of Calais) an Engineer of very great fame, of whom the Commanders had exceeding great need for the making of works, and together with divers sorts of necessary matters, there got in also a good sum of money.

The Marechal
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the Ladders
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ceeds not.

Whilst with frequent bloody skirmishes, and with mindes wholly intent upon the business, they fight thus under the Walls of Amiens, the Marechal *de Biron* watching all occasions of advantage, resolves to give a sudden Scalado to Dourlans, and having caused many Ladders to be prepared, he gave order that the *Sieur de Montigny* who commanded the Light-horse, should lead the Foot of the Reer-guard upon that enterprise, and he himself after having been forth in the evening, and made divers skirmishes under the Walls of the City, to the end, the enemy might not perceive the lessening of his Camp, marched with sixty Cuirassiers, and his own Lifeguard of Horse the same way, to give courage to his men. It was two hours before

before day, when the *Sieur de Flessan* on the one side, and the *Sieur de Fonqueroles* on the other, both Captains of the Regiment of Piccardy, seconded by two hundred Switzers, clapt the Scaling-Ladders to the Walls of Dourlans, which being found extreemly much too short, the attempt prov'd vain without any other danger, and the assailants returned the next day to lie before Amiens in their old quarters.

But the *Mareschal de Biron* exceedingly vexed at this unprosperous success, having received four thousand English (at last, after many delays, sent by *Queen Elizabeth* to the Kings assistance, in performance of the League lately made,) and many other Troops of Horse, and Companies of Foot, who made great haste from several parts, being come up, he resolved to encamp just under the City, and fortifying his quarters, to shut up all the Avenues of the Town on the far side of the River at the same time. His Army amounted to the number of Twelve thousand fighting men; but he with his diligence, courage, and vigilancy, made it appear much greater, gallant in fight, careful in action, unwearied in labor, rigorous in exacting that from others which he himself did in his own person: Which qualities being naturally his, were now redoubled by a Spur which he received from the Kings words, who could not contain himself from saying openly, that where he was not himself in person, things went on either with little fortune, or much negligence; wherefore, the *Mareschal* who attributed a great part of the past victories, to his own fortune and personal courage, seeing now that glory called in question, which he accounted to be certainly his, as a man of infinite pride and insupportable haughtiness was wholly kindled with an incredible indignation, and strove with his utmost spirits to do something that might plainly shew the effects of his valor without the Kings assistance or command; wherefore though the fierceness and number of the Defendants were such, that a great body of an Army was necessary to straighten and besiege them, yet was he resolved to attempt it with those forces he had.

The *Mareschal de Biron* stirred up by some words of the Kings, labors unweariedly in the siege of Amiens, that his actions might answer the Kings stinging words.

The first thing that was begun, was a Bridge over the Somme, in a Village called Longpre, about a League above the Town, and it was fortified with a Half-moon on each side the River, as well that they might have free passage, both above and below the City, as to hinder the Enemies from passing the

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River

1597

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before day, when the *Sieur de Fleſſan* on the one ſide, and the *Sieur de Fonquerolles* on the other, both Captains of the Regiment of Piccardy, ſeconded by two hundred Switzers, clapt the Scaling-Ladders to the Walls of Dourlans, which being found extreemly much too ſhort, the attempt prov'd vain without any other danger, and the aſſailants returned the next day to lie before Amiens in their old quarters.

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River

1597 River in that place, where the streams divide themselves, and relieving the City on that side that was not besieged. Besides this Fortification, a Trench was drawn, which beginning within a quarter of a League of the Town, near the Bank of the River came in the form of a Half-moon encompassing all the Plain, and ended at the other Bank of the River, about the same distance below the City; and this Trench was divided into seven parts, by seven Royal Forts, which furnished with small Artillery, scoured and flanked the Trench, utterly shutting up all the passage of the field. Such another Trench, though of much greater circuit, and as many Forts, closed up the outward part toward Dourlans, and the other ways that led into the Territory of Cambray, and into Flanders, and on that side the Trenches were much deeper, and the Works much higher to defend them on the back from the attempts of the Spanish Armies. The whole Army was employed about this work, and a very great number of Pioneers, who being drawn together from the Country round about, by *Biron's* imperious severity, wrought day and night at an exceeding cheap rate.

The Defendants of Amiens sally to skirmish, and *Portocarrero* himself being present, the fight is very hot and bloody.

The courage of the Defendants was no less fierce and resolute, who being careful not to pass by any opportunity of interrupting the Works, sallied every hour, sometimes on horse-back, sometimes on foot, and making the whole Camp stand to their Arms, did by very long skirmishes keep the Works at a stay, and do mischief sometimes in one place, sometimes in another. The skirmish was very sharp and bloody, which hapned upon the twenty fourth of May, which day the Marquess and *Portocarrero* sallied out several ways, each with three hundred Horse and as many Foot; and while *Portocarrero* gave a hot alarm on the lower side, the Marquess taking towards Longpre; and passing by the side of the Trench, not yet finished, put them that guarded it in a very great confusion, and would have destroyed the Half-moon, and nailed three pieces of Cannon that were in it, if the *Sieur de Montigny* had not hastened thither with the Light-horse, with which while he skirmished courageously, the *Mareschal de Biron* thought to possess the Pass between his Trench and the River, and so cut off the enemies retreat; but being advanced at a good round pace that way with many Troops of Horse, he found that *Diego Durando*, *Francesco del Arco*, and Captain *Falme*, an Irish-man, had taken that Pass to keep the retreat free

free and open for their own men; so that the fight began there again more furiously then before; for the Infantry making use of the hollow places and bushes which in that place were very many, did much harm to the French Cavalry, and the Marquess having faced about, charged the Marechal's Troop in the flank and in the rear, in such manner, that being caught as it were in the midst, it was in very great danger of being defeated, if the rest of the Cavalry led by the *Commendatory de Chattes* had not run speedily to disengage it, at whose arrival the Spanish Foot giving back on the one side, and the Marechal retiring on the other, each marched off free, it being already almost Sun-set, and there remained many as well French as Spaniards dead upon the place.

The King came to the Army upon the seventh of June to the Marechal de Biron's great displeasure, who desired to finish his line of circumvallation before his arrival; so that seeing Madam Gabriele was come with him to the Camp, he cried out publicly, that she was the prosperity and good fortune the King brought along with him; nor would he so easily have been quieted, if the King visiting the trenches had not highly commended his diligence and industry, and given order that he should command the Forces, and all military matters as he did before his coming. The King invironed with many Princes, took up his Post in the ruins of the Abby, among which there were yet some Arches standing entire, nor would he stir from thence, though the Spaniards ceased not to make many Cannon shot that way. The Constable, the Duke of Mayenne, the Duke of Espernon, and the Prince of Jainville quartered in the Forts, and the Marechal de Biron got into an Hermitage within musket-shot of the Counterscarpe, intending to begin his approaches on that side, as soon as the works of his Camp were brought to perfection, in which they made hutts of boards to shelter themselves from the raine, and other ill-weather, since the King in the Councell of warre had determined to approach by sapping, though it were the longest way, that he might not endanger the lives of his Souldiers in assaults, the warre having swallowed up so great a number of them that it was necessary to proceed very sparingly, the whole Kingdom being extreemly exhausted of men, and the Nobility more then moderately diminished.

The King comes to the Camp before Anicns, and leaves the command to the Marechal de Biron.

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The pay of the Army (many of the old Officers being removed) passed through the hands of Monsieur *d'Inquer-ville* Superintendent of the Finances, with the assiduous unwearied assistance of Secretary *Villeroy*, who having in great part layd other busineses aside applyed himself particularly to that, as well to the end the fraud of the Commanders might not by deceits increase the scarcity of money which was exceeding great, as that the decrease or increase of the Army might be known from day to day, and that the number might not differ in effect from what appeared in their muster-Books; nor ever was there so exact diligence used in times past; for formerly the souldiers maintained themselves more upon free quarter and plunder then upon their pay; but now the Country being every where destroyed and empty, and the Foot particularly being fain to work daily at the fortifications, and keep continually in the trenches, it was necessary they should be paid, in which and the other occasions of the siege, it is manifest there were spent above three millions of Ducates.

The Artillery was commanded by Monsieur *de S. Luc*, who excited by his own genius, and the emulation of Monsieur *de la Guiche* his predecessor, busied himself with infinite industry in all occasions, in which the Swissers and the English were alwayes more ready and more diligent then all the rest; for the French Infantry, except the Regiment of *Picardy* and that of *Navar*, was all made up of new men, and such as were not accustomed to toyles and labours, and to lie in the field; and yet the healthfullness of that year was so great, assisted by the excellent government of the Commanders, and by the conveniencies that were in the Camp, that almost none died, and but very few were sick. The light-Horse commanded by the *Sieur de Montigny* were quartered at the back of the Army, and making large excursions convoy'd in provisions, and infested all the Country to the very gates of *Dourlans*, into which Town *Cavalliere Lodovico Melzi* being entred with ten troops of Horse, there happened frequent skirmishes and bloody encounters between both parties.

Nor were the besieged lesse ready to interrupt the Fortifications and molest the Camp continually, though the French Army was increased to the number of eighteen thousand fighting men, and though in the Town, whatsoever the occasions

A Cannon-
shot lights in
the Kings
lodgings
whereby the
King himself
is all covered
with dust.

casions were, many diseases raigned, which as the weather grew hotter, became also contagious and pestilential; but the courage of the souldiers and the valour of the Commanders overcame all, insomuch that their sallies slackened not, and with their Artillery they did much harm; one shot having hit into the Arch under which the King himself lay, and filled the place with so much dust and rubbish, that if the building of the wall had not been very strong, he had been in great danger of being buried in the ruines with his attendants.

To the valour of Armies were added also treaties with some of the besieged; so that a Bourguignon Captain being got into the Town in the habit of an Augustine Frier, not onely induced those Fathers to receive some others with offensive arms into their Monastery, but also got certain Walloon souldiers to consent to open a gate that was furthest from the work, as soon as it should come to their turn to guard it: but while they still treated to draw many others into their company, notice of it came unto the Governour, who having caused nine of the accomplices to be hanged, made most part of the Friars be put in Prison; and set strict guards upon the Monastery. From this accident there arose another trouble to the besieged; for not confiding in the people among which they thought there were many partakers of the Intelligence discovered, they were fain when they made any sallies, to go round the streets of the City at the same time with strong guards, to the end that none might rise within; and when an alarm was given, they were necessitated to man the heart of the Town no less then the bulwarks. But notwithstanding all these difficulties, they omitted not any occasion of sallying; judging that the most powerful remedy to foreflow the Kings works, and give the Cardinal Arch-Duke time to draw an Army together and bring them relief.

A treaty of giving one of the gates of Amiens to the enemy is discovered, many of the accomplices are hanged, and many Augustine Friars imprisoned.

On the other side the Mareschal de Biron, whilest all were intent either to make, or hinder the works, thought to attempt some unexpected surprize; wherefore upon the one and twentieth day of June at night which proved dark and cloudy, he caused two Captains to advance silently with some Foot, and to get down secretly into the moat, where having cast many Saucissons into the skip-gates, and the hollow places of the Cassamattes, they gave fire to them without delay, and with

1597

with some affright to those within; but not having been able to aym them right, and they not taking fire equally, made more noise then they did harme, having only beaten down some of the facing of the wall, and some loop-holes for small shot, and kill'd only three sentinels, so that the Captaines not seeing any breach at which they could make an attempt, and great store of fire-works rayning on all sides into the moat, they retired, leaving many *Saucissons*, which in regard of the powder, were of great help to the besieged. *Saucissons* are long sackes of leather, which filled with powder and fired at a certain time, do a like effect (though much weaker) to a pettard or mine.

This danger excited the defendants to man the Counterscarp more carefully, so that they lodged two Companies of Spaniards there, and two others of Walloons, who after that stayd there day and night, and all the Cassamattes of the moat were with equal diligence plentifully guarded, inso-much that the Colonel of the Regiment of Navar going to make another trial of the attempt of the *Saucissons* neer the Raveline of the gate that looks toward Long-pre, was at the entry of the Counterscarpe forced to return back with some loss.

In the mean time Mareschal de Biron fortified the Hermitage, to begin two trenches of approach from thence; but the Marquess of Montenegro being resolved to hinder that as much as he could, sallied upon the nine and twentieth day of the Moneth with four hundred Horse back'd by two hundred Irish and Italian Foot, and advancing straight as far as the Hermitage, began so fierce a fight with those that were at work, that the Mareschal himself was faine to fall in with his troop; nor would that have been sufficient to repulse him, if the Count of *Auvergne* had not come up with a strong troop of Horse, at whose arrival the Marquess retyring still fighting, the Foot came in couragiously to the encounter, and being placed in the hollow of the field, did so much mischief to the French Cavalry, that they were faine to retire without much resistance. Above two hundred of the Camp were slain, and of the besieged not above Ten.

The night following the Mareschal layd an Ambush of two hundred French Foot in the ruines of *S. Johns Church*, which together with the Suburbs had been pull'd down by the defendants

Defendants from the beginning, and in the morning stood with his Horse in order, expecting their wonted sally, to which the Marquefs coming forth, with a number equal to that of the day before, and having fallen at unawares into the ambush, lost not courage for that, but rallying his Troop close, and wheeling would have turned back. But the Marechal coming out of his quarter, overtook him in the Rere, and made him face about again: Whereupon there was so close an encounter, that the Marquefs overpowered by the greater number, and charged in the Flank and Front, would have been cut off with all his men, if the Governor with the rest of the Horse had not sallied forth to disengage him; who having for that purpose sent on two Troops of Cuirassiers, and one of Lances to the skirmish, the service was so hot, that for a long space they fought desperately; but in the end, the English Tertia coming up, the Spaniards were repulsed, and driven full speed to the Counterscarp. There were slain that day seventy of the besieged, and among the rest *Juan de Gusman*, a Cavalier of great birth, who had lately brought the relief.

Yet did they not forbear for this to sally the next day, and charging the Foot that wrought at the Hermitage, killed many Soldiers and Pioneers; but seeing four Troops of Horse, and the Battalion of the English come toward them, they turned back without doing any thing else. The Sallies continued so frequent the following days, that the Works proceeded very slowly; but upon the fifth day of July the Marechal having laid two Ambushes in the field, caught those that sallied between in such manner, that *Diego Benavides* his company was quite defeated, and he himself having lost his *Alferes*, and his Serjeant, had much ado to save himself: And *Ruggiero Taccone* who followed him with the Cavalry, being furiously repulsed and pursued at the heels, could hardly retire safe under the shelter of the Covered-way.

By this misfortune, and the diseases which increased, the ardor of the Defendants was something cooled, insomuch that *Biron* had conveniency to plant eleven great Pieces of Battery in the Hermitage; which scouring the field, hindered them from sallying out of the Counterscarp, and sheltered those that began to work at the Trenches, which going on apace, the Defendants thought to disturb them by making so strong

1597

strong a Sally, that part of what was done might be thrown down, *Biron's* Artillery nailed, and that they might not be able to annoy them for some days. Wherefore the Governor gave order, that Captain *Diego Durando* and *Francesco del Arco* (who had also got a Company) should stand ready in the Covered-way; the first with two hundred Spanish Foot, the other with as many Italians and Walloons; and that after them, two Irish Captains should be ready to sally with three hundred Foot of that Nation; and for the Rere-guard, *Carlo de Sangro* with eighty Men at Arms, who marching on Foot should carry Halbards. He gave direction, that Captain *Rugiero Taccone*, and Captain *Francesco Fonte*, should sally out at the Gate that was approached to, each with an hundred Horse to back the Infantry, and that Captain *Simone Latro*, with other two hundred Horse sallying at the *Porte de Beauvais*, should give an alarm on the contrary side, and then crossing through the field, should come to re-inforce his own party. It was the seventeenth day of July upon the point of noon, when the Governor by a Cannon shot gave sign to fall on; at which, all sallying courageously, *Diego Durando* ran into the right hand Trench, and *Francesco del Arco* into that on the left, and fell in with so much violence, that having routed and beaten off the first Guards, they assailed the Regiment of Picardy that kept them, before it had time to get into order to receive the charge; so that having killed the first that advanced to fight, and having laid *Flessan*, *la Viette*, and *Fonqueroles*, all Captains dead upon the place, they routed and dissipated the whole Tertia, which they chased flying to the very Redouts of the Hermitage; in which place, both the Fugitives and the Enemies fell so impetuously into the Regiment of Champagne that was upon the guard, that it also being disordered, plainly took flight, running to get themselves in order in the Alarm-place that was at their back. In so great a tumult and flight, the Spanish Commanders valiantly followed by their men, having filled the Trenches with slaughter, came up to the mouth of the Redouts of the Hermitage, which would have been quitted, and by consequence lost, if the *Mareschal de Biron*, with four Gentlemen of his own, and with Captain *Francesco Benzi* a Florentine, with some few other Soldiers that followed him, taking up Pikes, had not exposed himself to the violence of the Enemy; but still

still fighting desperately, though the passage of the Redouts was narrow; those few could not hold out long, and withstand the fury of so many, neither did any relief come up, for Captain *Simone* scouring the field, and behinde him the Marquess of Montenegro and *Ruggiero Taccone*, and *Francesco Fonte* on the other side, put every one in a necessity of defending his own post: Wherefore the Battery of the Hermitage, and the Mareschals life were in desperate danger, if the Prince of Jainville who was in the neereft Fort, knowing in how great trouble they were, had not resolved to run with one hundred men into those Redouts; at whose arrival *Sangro's* men at Arms came valiantly into the fight, who better enduring the blows that were given them, because they were armed, gave the French such a shock, that they already were retired (though fighting) as far as the Artillery. The Mareschal *de Biron* all in sweat and blood, with the right side of his hair all burnt, still caused many signs to be given of his danger. Wherefore the King himself not having a more ready remedy, alighted from his horse, and taking a Pike in his hand, with those Gentlemen that were about him, ran desperately to defend his Cannon; after whom the Count *d' Auvergne*, and the Count *de St. Paul*, hastening up one after another, with a great number of the Nobility, who were come out of *Mary Magdalens Abby*; there grew so hot a conflict as had the appearance of a very great battel. They fought obstinately above two hours, the King himself being at the head of his men; but at last the number of the French encreasing, and the Spanish men at Arms finding their strength fail them, by reason of the weight of their arms in the greatest heat of the day, began (though softly) to retire, being still driven and charged home by the Prince of Jainville, who with a courage equal to his birth, fought very gallantly. At the coming out of the Trenches, the battle was reinforced, the Spanish Cavalry being come up to succor their party, which charging in upon the Flank, separated the Prince of Jainville and his company, from those of the King, and of the Mareschal *de Biron*; in such manner, that the conflict being divided into two parts, one not being able to know any thing of the other, they fought desperately with extream danger and wondrous great contention; but the Duke of Mayenne came up seasonably with five or six hundred Horse, who notwithstanding

The Mareschal *de Biron* being in very great danger by a fall which the Spaniards made out of Amiens, the King alighted from his horse, and taking a Pike, ran to help him.

The Duke of Mayenne coming in the heat of the fight with five hundred horse to help his own side, causes the Spaniards who were already weary, to retire into Amiens.

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1597 that the Cannon of the Town fired without intermission, had passed through the field between the Quarters and the Moat; whither the Spaniards, being tired and wearied out, took a resolution to retire, being pursued and followed at the heels to the very Counterscarp. It was a great while before the Prince of Jainville was seen, and the King staying at the mouth of the Trench, called out aloud, enquiring earnestly after him, and every one already suspected he was slain, when with some few in his company, he appeared all smeared with blood, and bruised with blows, which put joy into the sadness of the Army, of which there were killed that day above nine hundred men, and of the Spaniards there remained above ninety dead upon the place. The wounded were many, and those of the most remarkable of the French Army, besides many private Gentlemen, among which also *Henrico Davila*, who wrote this History, was hurt with a Partesian in the right knee.

From that day, both by reason of the number that had been slain in so many other sallies, and by diseases which still increased more and more, malignant Fevers being apparently turned into the Plague, their sallies slackned; and instead of them, Captain *Falme*, an Irish-man, and *Francesco del Arco*, set up Pallisadoes round about the Covered-way, to keep the enemies so much longer imployed, and at a distance, that they might not come to offend the Counterscarp, which was defended till the last day of July. But upon the first of August, the Trenches being already in a condition to be opened, the Defendants fastned two Petrards unto them, and breaking through them before the time, assaulted them, and did some harm; and yet the same day towards the evening, the French opened them, and got upon the Counterscarp, and the Spaniards at the same time springing a Fougade, which they had made there, sent above forty of them into the air. The mouths of the Trenches were fortified that night, and the second day they began to raise a great Cavalier, close by the right hand Trench, which should batter the Defences and Flanks of the Bulwarks, and the following days they strove with Fougades, Saucissons, Fireworks, and other instruments to take or destroy the Cassamats; in which action they fought no less by night then day with a continued assault; but so great was the industry, and constancy of the Defendants, that in many

many days they could scarce get a few spans of ground. But having gone as far as was possible by sapping, the Galleries were already brought just under the Walls; wherefore Monsieur de S. Luc raised a Battery of eight pieces of Canon, to gain the Raveline that stood to defend the Bridge and the Gate. The Artillery battered till the four and twentieth day, upon which the English and the French severally gave the assault, and took the Raveline; but not having covered themselves sufficiently by reason of their weariness, and of the shortness of the night, the next day at the beating of the Riveille, Captain *Durando* assaulted them so fiercely, that a great number of Fire-works being thrown from the Wall, and Captain *Ollava's* Musketeers playing upon their Flank, they were constrained to forsake that post, which nevertheless being all beaten in pieces by the Artillery, and the Cavalier (brought to a just height) already battering, it was recovered again the same night, and the Regiment of *Cumbray* entrencht it self in it.

But the Governour knowing the Wall was lost, caused a little half-Moon to be made upon the edge of the Rampart, for the raising whereof they carried the earth in scuttles and baskets; and at the same time, to anticipate the cutting off the retrenchments, the Marquess of *Montenegro* caused a great Trench to be made along the bank of an arm of the River, which runs on that side near the Walls, that the first works being lost, the Enemy might find opposition at the second.

In the mean time, they without endeavoured to make themselves Masters of the great Tower of the Gate, which being soundly battered, was stormed upon the eight and twentieth day, and at the same time a Mine was sprung that had been made between the Tower and the Wall, which having made a very great breach, filled the entrance of the Tower in such manner, that it was separated from the City, and deprived of relief; and yet Captain *Ollava* with one *Alferes* who had that Guard, made it good courageously; nor did the Marquess and the Governour labour less carefully to cause the rubbish to be taken away, that some relief might be given them, so that working on all sides, the business was drawn on till night, when the passage being already opened, fourscore Irish, and as many Italians entered to defend the great Tower,

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1597

those that had made it good before, retiring weary, and in an ill-condition; and yet the Sap overcame what men could not, and four days after, not only the Tower, but the adjoyning wall was taken by the French; nor was it long before they got also upon the Rampart; where, beside the first half-moon made by *Gagliego*, *Fedrico Pacciotto* had also in the mean time made two others, by which the assailants were hindered from getting farther in, and in the front of them new *Casamats*, and a new Trench were made.

In this interim the King having had intelligence that *Commissary Contrera*, with many other Commanders being departed from *Doway*, came to discover the ways and quarters of his Army, left the care of the Camp to the Duke of Mayenne, and upon the nine and twentieth of August in the evening went in person with the *Mareschal de Biron* and six hundred Horse to meet them, leaving the Count of *Anvergne* to follow the day after with eight hundred Horse more. He himself marched before with a hundred Gentlemen, and the *Sieur de Montigny* followed him with all the rest of the Horse; in which manner marching, upon the last day of the month in the morning about eight of the clock, and being come to the top of an hill, he found himself suddenly in the front of the Enemy, who came out of a wood. The space between them was but short, and there was no thought of retiring; wherefore it was necessary to shew a good heart in the inequality of Forces, and having suddenly shut down their beavers, the King trotted on to charge the Enemy.

Nor was this boldness without its due effect; for the Spaniards astonished at that unexpected assault, and judging that the courage of the French grew from having strong Squadrons behinde them, faced about without making resistance, and were pursued by the King fighting a great way, till being come to a little River, which running from *Mirau-mont*, falls into the *Somme* neer *Corbie*, they passed over it precipitately, and being dissipated several wayes, saved themselves with much adoe at *Bapaulme*. Yet there were but eleven souldiers killed with one Captain of Horse, and some few others remained prisoners: But the King obtained not all his intent; for on the other side Count *Giovan Giacopo Belgiojoso* and *Emanuello de Vega* not being met nor heeded, because they carried but few with them, got so neer unto the
Camp

Camp, that they had conveniency to discover all things, and red well informed to the Cardinal Arch-Duke.

1597

The King being returned to the Army, and believing that relief would presently come, caused the works to be so hastened, that upon the fourth of September his men attempted to gain the Half-Moons, which though it succeeded not, the besieged received a greater loss; for the Governour *Portocarrero*, while he advanced to succour the Raveline, being taken with a Musket-shot in the left side under his Arms, fell presently dead upon the ground; which accident, as most sad to the defendants, so was it by reason of his courage, no less deplored by the enemies.

Bernardo Telles Portocarrero killed with a Musket-shot, to the extreme loss of the besieged, his valour making his very enemies sorry for his death.

The Marquess of *Montenegro* succeeded him in the command, who with equal valour and constancy assumed the charge of the defence; for the continuance whereof *Alonso Ribera* and Captain *Durando* entered into the Half-Moons; and on the other side, *Monsieur de S. Luc* with the Regiment of Navar, and the Marechal *de Biron* with the English Tertia drew two Trenches in the midst of the Rampart to take away the defences on both sides, and to come to the Work that was before them, at which the Marquess and *Federico Pacciotto* were continually present; and because the Infantry was in a manner consumed by toil and hardship, and many of them lay sick, the Men-at-arms, Cuirassiers, and Light-Horse refused not to do the same duties, working with spades and shovels, and fighting with Pikes and Muskets. While these Trenches were making, *Monsieur de S. Luc* upon the eighth of September being entered to hasten the works, was hit with a Musket-bullet in the head, and was carried dead into the Camp, to the exceeding great grief of the King, who was very affectionate to his valour and dexterity; for being beside military experience, adorned with learning, and endowed by nature with a most noble aspect, he did in action, consultation, conversation and discourse accomplish all the degrees of perfection. The works that were before the Trenches were storm'd upon the twelfth day; but though the assault lasted from Sun-rising till two of the clock in the afternoon, yet did not the assailants get any advantage at all; and while in the following days they thought to redouble the assaults, and break the constancy of the Defendants, the arrival of the Spanish Camp diverted their minds from the siege to more dangerous thoughts.

Monsieur de S. Luc, a man of very great note, hastning the works, is killed with a Musket-shot, to the Kings great grief.

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The Cardinal Arch-Duke had found many difficulties in drawing an Army together; for the Spanish Ministers having overlooked the accounts of those who had lent money to the King, and having used much rigour unseasonably, the Merchants withheld their hands, and afterward money could not be provided time enough for the payment of his Forces; whereupon those that came out of Italy under the command of *Alfonso d' Avalos* moved late; and those that were raised in Germany had been slowly gathered together; and yet the Cardinall overcoming all impediments with industry and diligence, had made a generall Rendezvous of his Army in the end of August at *Doway*, being twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; and though the States of Holland insulted in many places, and made great progresses in *Friesland* and the County of *Brabant*, yet he either having such Commission from Spain, or being more inclined to defend and keep what had been gotten in the time of his command, resolved to lay aside all other interests, and advance to relieve *Amiens*; being desirous to preserve so many good soldiers as were besieged in it, and judging that he should obtain exceeding great glory, if he could make the King of France retire who was at that siege with all the Forces of his Kingdom united.

With this determination departing from *Doway* in the beginning of September with a great train of Artillery, and great preparations of bridges, carriages, and ammunition, he came to *Arras*, where having the informations of *Belgiojoso* and *Vega*, he propounded in the Council of War, what course was to be taken to put relief into *Amiens*, or to make the French Army rise. Some counselled to pass the River below *Corbie*, and bring his Army on that side, which standing toward France was not besieged by the King; for putting strong relief into the City without resistance, there would be no necessity of hazarding the danger of a battel, and the Kings attempts receiving a new and powerful opposition from new supplies, would with the help of winter which was coming on, prove vain of themselves. But the greater part of the Commanders considered, that to pass the River, and march into a Country quite destroy'd, desolate, & encompassed with so many of the enemies Towns, was a besieging of themselves, for if the King who had all the passes upon the River, should hinder them from going back, they

they would be constrained either to die for hunger, or to take many strange and dangerous resolutions; which difficulty was the principal cause, that it was determined to go the straight way by Dourlans to the French Camp, believing, that if the King moved to meet them, he should afford them some opportunity to put relief into the Town; wherefore the Arch-Duke went to Dourlans upon the twelfth of September, and there having made provision of victual, as well to feed his Army, as to put into the City, if he could make passage to it; upon the fourteenth day he marched betimes in the morning towards the enemy.

1597

The Cardinal Archduke marches with a great Army towards Aemans.

The first Troops of Horse were led by *Lodovico Melzi*, *Ambrogio Landriano*, between whom marched the flying Squadron of four thousand Foot, Spaniards and Italians, under the command of *Diego Pimentello*: And in the Front of it, were above two hundred Captains armed with Pikes and Corflets. Next followed three Squadrons of Infantry, two of Spaniards led by *Carlo Colombo* and *Lodovico Velasco*; and the third, which marched in the midst, was of Wallloons, led by the Count *de Boucquoy*. After these was the Battle in which were the Duke of Aumale, the Count *de Sore*, and the Prince of Orange; and the Squadron of *Alonso Mendoza*, in which were two Spanish Tertia's, brought up the Rere. The Artillery were guarded by the three first Squadrons, and on both sides of the Army were the carriages of baggage chained together, as the Duke of Parma's custom had taught them. The charge of Camp Master General was executed by Count *Peter Ernest* of Mansfelt, an old man of venerable gray hairs, who not being able to ride on horse back was carried in an open Litter, and had taken that weight upon him, because *Monfieur du Rosne*, besieging Hulst, a few moneths before, had been killed with a Cannon shot. The Archduke likewise was carried in a Litter, and had near him the Duke of Arescot, and the Almirante of Aragon for Counsellors.

Monfieur de Rosne killed with a Cannon shot at the siege of Hulst.

But the King, whose Army by the coming of the Dukes of Nevers and Montpensier, was so increased, that he had eighteen or twenty thousand Foot, and more then eight thousand Horse, having strongly garisoned Corbie and Pequigny, to make difficult the passage of the River, had an intention (being so advised by the Mareschal *de Biron*) to go and meet the enemy in the field with all his Cavalry; for judging him-
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self much superior in number and quality of Horfe, he thought it good to keep the enemy far from his Infantry, in which he had little confidence; but while he was getting ready to take horse, the Duke of Mayenne came in, who having asked and understood the Kings design, said so loud, that he was heard by many, *That those that gave His Majesty such counfel, did not well know the quality of the enemy; and that ventring himself with onely his horse, against a potent old Army, he put himself in certain danger of encountering some sinister accident; where- by afterward his Infantry remaining alone, the men would be lost, the quarters lost, and so many toils and labors undergone to fortifie them, all lost; and his Kingdom set upon one single point of a Dye.* To which the King replying, *What then was to be done?* The Duke answered, *That they were come to take Amiens, and that they ought to minde that end; wherefore keeping the Army in the security of their Forts, they ought to leave the thought of assaulting them, and driving from thence unto the Archduke:* And the King adding, *That the enemy would pass the River, and relieue the besieged.* The Duke answered again, *Let your Majesty set your heart at rest, for the enemy neither will pass the River, nor can force those Trenches.* So the Marechal de Biron fretting, who was always inclined to precipitate resolutions, the King concluded to stay, and let the Duke of Mayenne manage the business of the Camp, who having caused fifteen hundred Foot to pass on the far side of the River, under the command of Monsieur de Vic, presently made a Church to be taken and entrenched, which stood upon the further Bank, little more then a mile from the Town; and having set many Corps de Garde along the side of the River, went personally to Longpre to fortifie it better. The Foot were placed in the Forts and Trenches, and the Cavalry spread it self in Battalia under the defence of the works.

The Archduke lay with his whole Army that night at the Abby of Betricourt, and caused all his Cannon to be shot off, to give the City notice that relief was neer. Monsieur de Montigny, who with the French Light-horse had still scoured the ways within sight of the Enemy, came into the Camp about midnight, and having given the King notice where the Spaniards were, and that they would appear the next day, was sent to quarters, to refresh his Horfe, tired with the two last days duty. The next day, which was the fifteenth of September, the first
 Troops

Troops of the Archdukes Army appeared about one of the clock in the afternoon, which having passed a water that was fordable two Leagues above Amiens, and left Pequigny upon the right hand, bending their course toward the left, made shew as if they would march straight to Longpre, whereupon the rabble of Sutlers and Freebooters, with many other persons who lay there for greater conveniency, taking flight precipitately ran to save themselves in the Camp, by which hurry the Foot being affrighted (who believed it had been Monsieur de Montigny, that fled routed from the Enemy (for his return by night was known but to a few) forsook the Trenches so hastily, that neither the Constable, nor the Duke of Espernon could stop their flight, but with a full carriere they ran with their Ensigns (who fled more then the rest) toward the River, on that side that leads to Abbeville.

In the mean time the Spaniards Flying-squadron was come within sight of the Trenches, and the experienced Captains that were in the Front, knowing the disorder and flight of the Colours, cryed out aloud, *Victory, Victory, and Bataille, Bataille.* But the Archduke hearing the tumult, and their voices, though he inclined to give way that the Trenches should be stormed, yet being perswaded by the Almirante and the Duke of Arescot, not to credit the precipitancy of the Soldiers, who were still desirous to fight without consideration, but rather to proceed warily, and first to discover the condition of the French, resolved at last to make a halt.

A disorder among the French, gives the Spaniards an evident assurance of victory; but the Archduke being uncertain of the accident, making an Halt, loses so remarkable an occasion.

In this interim, The Dukes of Nevers and Montpensier spreading the Cavalry of the Vanguard in Battalia, hindred the Enemy from seeing the Trenches, and the Cannoneers gave fire without intermission, to the end, the smoak might hide the disorder that was there, giving them time to recover themselves; for the Marechal de Biron running full speed, made the Infantry know their error, and pointing with his finger to shew, that the enemy had made a halt in the midst of the field, perswaded them all within a while to return unto their Posts. In this manner, the Archduke by the too much wariness of his Counsellors, lost so certain an occasion of so glorious and so great a victory, which at the first arrival had been very well observed by the experience of private Captains.

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The Marquess of Montenegro knew the advantage no less then they, and would have sallied upon the Trenches of the French which were in the Moat, and upon the Rampart over against his Retrenchments; but he found, that the Regiment of Navar that guarded them was not moved, and that the Switzers who were encamped something lower, stood likewise firm in their Battalia.

The rest of the day was spent in divers skirmishes in the field, which the King caused purposely to be made hot and furious, to keep the enemy in play, the Archduke still having a thought to assault the Kings Fortifications; but the Commanders shewed, that it was necessary first to fight with so great a strength of Horse drawn up without the works, and defended by so many pieces of Artillery, that the conquering of them was not to be thought on; and shewed the Trenches and Forts so high, that a stronger quarter had not been seen of many years: Wherefore it being resolved at night to attempt some other way, upon the sixteenth day in the morning, the Count *de Buquoy* with his Squadron, and many Boats carried upon Carts, drew near the River to attempt to pass it; but the Guards the Duke of Mayenne had placed there, resisted stoutly, and though they fought with such wondrous fury in many places, and that sometimes it was likely the Walloons would obtain their intent, yet after having labored all day they retired without fruit.

In the mean time, they had skirmished fiercely on the other side, both with Horse and Cannon; for the King having caused seven Culverins to be drawn to a higher ground that was behind the Vanguard, made them play from thence, and so prosperously, that twice they light upon the Mules that carried the Cardinals Litter; whereupon he was constrained to get on horse-back, and the enemies Cavalry received much harm by them on all sides. The Spanish Cannon fired no less hotly; but because they were in a higher place, they shot so under mettle, that they did but little execution. But in the variety of the skirmishes that were continually made in the field, many observed, that while the business passed between Cuirassiers and Cuirassiers, or between Carabines and Carabines, the French for the most part had the better; but where the Flemish and Bourguignon Men at Arms came in, the French Cavalry were faine to yield to the violence of the Lances, to hinder which

which encounter, which happened to the loss and trouble of the Nobility, the King himself advanced to the head of his squadrons, gave order that as the Curassiers skirmished they should not joyn so close together, but leave a good space between one another, which having been often done, they found that the shock of the Lances not meeting a firm opposition proved for the most part vain; which was of very great advantage, aswell because they skirmished with small troops in the wide field, where it was easie to them to open, as because the Spanish Lanciers were very few in respect of the great number of French Cavalry.

Toward the evening a trench was finished with which the D. of Mayenne labouring all that day, had shut up the way to Longpré; wherefore the Count de Boucquoi's attempt being frustrated, and there being no more hope of getting the Pass over the River, since that neither Longpré had been attacked nor the Kings quarters assaulted the first day, the Commanders of the Spanish Army (according to whose opinion the Cardinal Arch-Duke governed himself) determined to retire the same way they came, and make their retreat, before the victual which they had brought with them being spent, the Army should begin to suffer; for, as for the Country, it was so wasted, that for fifteen Leagues round about, there was no thing to be found, that could be useful either to horse or man.

The Cardinal Arch-Duke retires with his Army for want of victual, the King follows him, but seeing their excellent order forbears.

The signe of their departure appeared the next morning by their baggage and the free booters that covered all the way towards Dourlans; whereupon the King desirous not to let the Enemy draw off without some trouble, commanded two squadrons of Horse flanked with two others of Carabines to fall upon them in the rear; but the Sun being many hours high when the Army departed, they saw them retreat in such a marvellous order, that their main proposition being chiefly to prosecute the siege of Amiens, the King himself thought best and all the rest of the Commanders concurred with him, not to attempt any thing. The Spanish Army had faced about, so that Alonso de Mendoza led the vanguard (if the first divisions that retire can be called a Vanguard) and the flying squadron now was left in the rear-guard to make the retreat. This, being pikes in the midst, with two great wings of Muskettiers on each side, make a crooked form, and an appearance some-

1598

The Kings
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do some harm
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thing like a half Moon, so that whosoever advanced to charge it, fell first into a thick storm of musket bullets, after which they found a firm Battalion before them which fiercely shaking their pikes made a terrible shew of a valiant opposition; and if any Body of horse made as if they would assail the Wings of the Squadron, presently *Melzi's* and *Landriano's* Squadrons advanced, which with two bodies of Lances flanked with Carabines withstood the shock, till the Muskettiers charging and setting themselves in order, came furiously up to give fire again. In this order the Pike-men with their Pikes upon the left shoulder, retired step by step, and facing instantly about at every little touch of the Drum retreated so quietly, and with so slow a pace, that in two long hours they were drawn off little more then half a mile; in which space the King's light-Horse ceased not to make many attempts, and to give many charges, but still with great loss; for they were too fiercely answered by the ranks of the flying Squadron; and at last *Monseigneur de Montigny* having obtained leave to skirmish in many several places, the Spanish Squadron made a halt, pouring out such an abundance of small-shot, that the light-Horse were forced to wheel about, and being at the same time furiously charg'd by the Carabines who came out of each Flank, they were driven back even to the Kings Squadrons, which advancing gently more for reputation then any thing else, followed on the way the Enemy retired. Above forty of the light-Horse were slain, and many more wounded, among which the *Sieur de Coquinwillier* received a Musket-shot in the left arm. But after this last charge of the light-Horse, the Kings Squadrons made a stand a while, and the Spaniards continued retiring a great deal faster; and after they were gotten off as far as Cannon-shot; shouldering their Pikes and Muskets, they marched on their way without troubling themselves any further. But being come to the water, which of necessity they were to pass, the King advanced with all his Cavalry to see if that impediment would give him any opportunity to disorder the Enemy; but the flying Squadron instantly facing about, made a stand in the midst of the way, till the rest of the Army was past over; and then observing the same Order, past thorow the water up to their knees without disordering their ranks at all, or making the least discernable stop: which
marvel-

The Kings
praise of the
Spanish Infan-
try.

marvellous form of retreating, while so great and so numerous Squadrons of the Enemies horse covered the field on all sides, drew from the Kings own mouth, *That no other Souldiers in the World could do so much; and that if he had had that Infantry joyned with his Cavalry, he would dare to undertake a War against all the World.* When they were past the Water, the French forbore to follow any further; for the King would needs send back part of his Horse to defend the Camp, and towards the evening he with the Duke of *Newers* and *Montpensier*, and with the *Mareschal de Biron*, followed the retreat of the Spaniards. The Arch-Duke lay that night in the Abby of *Betricourt* again, and the next day passing neer *Dourlans*, marched strait to *Arras*, with a design, since he had not been able to relieve the besieged, to apply himself to the affairs of *Flanders*.

The King being returned to the Camp, sent an Herald to tell the Marquess of *Montenegro*, that having seen the issue of the relief he expected, it was time now to think of yielding; and that, because he desired not the destruction of so many gallant Souldiers, he would grant him honourable conditions. The Marquess (who in a note brought him by a boy, had already had leave from the Arch-Duke to Capitulate, would yet hear the opinions of the Commanders, who having unanimously concluded, that by reason of the contagious mortality, of their want of Match, of the small number of men to which they were reduced, and because the Enemies were now Masters of the Rampart, there was no thought of holding out) answered the King, That he desired safe conduct to send a Captain to the Arch-Duke, that he might know the certainty of his Command, which being courteously granted, he sent *Federico Pacciotto*, who brought expresse leave to make Composition: Whereupon having treated a while, they agreed to surrender upon these Conditions;

After the Cardinals departure, the King sends an Herald to Caraffa Marquess of Montenegro, to persuade him to surrender.

The Marquess sends Captain Pacciotto with the Kings passport to the Cardinal for leave to surrender.

The Articles of Composition.

That the Monuments of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* and of all other Commanders slain in the siege, should not be stirred, nor their inscriptions cancelled, it being nevertheless lawful for the Spaniards to take away their bodies when they pleased. That all the Souldiers that were in the City should march out in Battalia, with their Arms and Baggage, Colours flying, Drums beating, and Trumpets sounding, and should

1472

The History of the Civill Warres

1597

should be furnished by the King with carts to carry away their goods and their sick as far as *Dowrlans*: That if any sick or wounded person should remain in the City, he should receive good usage, and have liberty to go away at his pleasure; That the Souldiers should be exempt from paying for any physick or Surgery they had had in the City, and likewise for two thousand pound weight of Musket-bullet which they had taken up from particular men and made use of; That Prisoners on both sides should be set free without Ransom; That the Townsmen might stay without being oppressed, and be used as good Subjects, renewing their oath of Allegiance to the King of France; but those that would march out with the souldiers might have free liberty so to do; That there should be a Truce for the six next ensuing dayes, within the term of which, if they were not relieved with at least two thousand men, they should deliver up the City; and that in the meantime they should give Hostages for security, a Spanish Commander, an Italian, and a Walloon.

Upon the 25
of September
1597 the Mar-
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forces out of
Amiens.

A saying of
the Marques
to the King of
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The Kings
Answer.

The Serjeant Major carried the Capitulations to the Arch-Duke, who having ratified it, the Defendants of *Amiens* marched forth upon the five and twentieth of September, being eighteen hundred Foot, and four hundred Horse; the Marques of *Montenegro* being at the head of them in a souldierlike gallantry, upon a brave horse, with a truncheon in his hand; and being come to the place where the King and the whole Army in battalia expected him, laying aside his truncheon, aighted and kissed the Kings knee, and said (so loud that he was heard by the by-standers) *That he delivered up that place into the hands of a Souldier-King since it had not pleased the King his Master to cause it to be relieved by Souldier-Commanders*; Which words moved every one to consider, that if the Spanish Army had either taken the way beyond the River, or laid hold of the occasion which fortune had presented them at the disorder in the trenches, the siege had certainly been raised. The King answered, *That it ought to satisfie him, that he had defended the place like a Souldier, and now restored it into the hand of the lawfull King with the honor of a Souldier*. To these words he added many other favorable demonstrations, as wel toward him as the other Commanders, whom he desired to know by name, one by one, and being dismissed with the praise of the whole Army, they wee convoyed safe to *Dowrlans*.

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There entred into Amiens, the Constable, who received the place, the Mareschal de Biron, and the Duke of Mombason, and after them the King himself, who having visited the Cathedral Church, gave the Government of the Town to Monsieur de Vic, and went forth without making any stay, as well out of a suspicion of the Plague, as out of a desire to march after the Archduke; who having staid onely two days upon the Banks of the River Auts, was in this interim gotten within the Walls of Arras.

Upon the six and twentieth day, there hapned an accident, which if it had fallen out before, would have discomposed all things, but at this time it proved rather a matter of sport then trouble; for there brake out suddenly so great a fire in the Kings quarters (the cause thereof not being at all known) that in a short space all the Huts were burned, which was no way harmful, either to Men or Baggage, because the Camp was already raised, and marching away. The whole Army rejoiced, calling it a Bonfire; and many from thence, took a good Omen of future quiet, which was confirmed by the event; for the General of the Cordeliers being returned from the Court of Spain, and come with Letters to the Archduke about the same time, caused an interview upon the Confines which divide Piccardy from the County of Artois, between Secretary Villeroy, on the Kings part, and President Riccardotto, for the Archduke, who determined that at Vervins, a place upon the same Confines, famous for the Peaces that had formerly been treated there; the Cardinal Legat, Father Francisco Conzaga, Bishop of Mantua, the Popes Nuncio, and the Deputies on both parts, should meet together to apply themselves to a Treaty of Peace.

The General of the Franciscans returns from Spain, and it is agreed, that the Deputies of both parties shall meet at Vervins to treat of Peace.

That which moved King Philip to an inclination to Peace, was the urgency of the affairs of Flanders, which by reason they had been abandoned for two years together, were extremely much gone down the wind; so that the necessity of his own affairs, constrained him not to think of getting that which was anothers. To this was added, the exceeding great scarcity of money, for which he had been fain thi very year, to suspend all payments, to the disreputation of his greatness, and the undoing of those Merchants that were wont to have dealings with the Crown. Nor was the respect of establishing the Succession upon his Son last in his consideration, for being

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The King of Spain being now grown old, sets his thoughts to establish the Succession of his young Son.

The Cardinal Archduke being to marry the Infanta Isabella, and to have the Dominion of the Low-Countries with her, desires also to settle himself in the peaceful possession of them.

being now far in years, and knowing that his death drew near, he desired that his Successor, who was very young, might not be engaged in a great and troublesome War, against a King of manly age and strength, full of experience, and upheld by the manifest favor of Fortune. His dependants added, that being in the latter end of his life careful to satisfy his conscience, he desired to end his days with the Peace of Christendom, and the restitution of that which was not his own; yet it is most clear, that the loss of Amiens gave great force to his first disposition, and persuaded even the Cardinal Archduke, who being to marry the Infanta Isabella, and with her to have the Dominion of the Low-Countries, endeavored not to have so powerful and so troublesome a War as that with the King of France.

Secretary Villeroy returned with the resolved appointment, and found that the King with his Army following the prosperity of Fortune, was incamped before Dourlans; for having made an incursion, even to the very Walls of Arras, filling the whole Country with terror, he perceived afterward that the places of Piccardy were left behind with very great danger, and therefore was come to besiege Dourlans as the nearest place, the taking whereof would be of wondrous advantage to his Country. But already the Rains of Autumn did very much incommod and annoy him; and his Army which had been healthful till then, began now to be troubled with the Bloody Flux, and the Plague; in such manner, that the Treasurers pitting him in mind, that all means of paying his Foot was utterly gone; the King resolved to disband his Army, and to apply himself heartily to the Treaty of Peace, which now, being high in reputation and honor, and having satisfied himself in the expectation of his people, he desired more boldly and cheerly then before.

This reciprocal desire of both Kings, facilitated the Treaty of Peace; but the Duke of Savoy's interests kept all things in difficulty: For though the War these two last years had been various, and with hot encounters, and bloody assaults, rather disadvantageous to his party, then otherwise; and though Monsieur de Lesdiguieres having taken St. Jehan de Morienne, and all that valley in the Alpes, was gone down into Piedmont, to the ruine and spoiling of the Country; yet he being resolved to retain the Marquessate of Saluz-

The Duke of Savoy desirous to keep the Marquessate of Saluzzo to himself, crosses the Treaty of Peace.

either crossed the Peace, or cared not to have it concluded.

But yet the meeting at Nervins held, whither Monsieur de Bellieure, and President Sillery, came from the King of France; and President Riccardotto, Juan Battista Tassis, and Ludovico Verichen, Auditor of Brabanza for the King of Spain. The French Deputies were brought by the Popes Nuncio, and the Spanish by the General of the Cordeliers; and the Cardinal Legat came to the same place, by whose authority all difficulties of precedency being removed, they entered upon the Treaty of the business; but not before the beginning of the moneth of February in the year 1598, a year destined by Divine Providence to close up the grievous wounds of forty years past.

Great was the desire of Peace on both sides, and great likewise the authority of the Legat with each party, nor were the demands very different: For the Spaniards proffered without difficulty to restore Ardres, Doullans, la Cappelle, Castelet, and Montaulin in Piccardy, and the Port of Blauet in Bretagne, and desired onely to retain Calais as long as the War with the Hollanders lasted, and to give the King of France an equivalent exchange in the mean time: And the French stood to have Calais restored freely; they likewise demanded Cambray, and renewed some old pretensions upon the Confines of Flanders. The Spaniards shewed, that all old pretensions were terminated in the Peace concluded between the two Crowns at Chasteau Cambresis in the year 1559, and that Cambray was not of the King of France his Jurisdiction but a City of the Archbishops, usurped a few years before by the Duke of Alançons Forces, and that therefore being a free Town, the King could not pretend any right unto it, but that the Master of the Low-Countreys had the ancient protection of it; and yet not a direct Dominion, but ore established by reason. Upon these Answers the French easily gave off their old pretensions, and the demand of Canbray; and with as much facility did the Spaniards lay asde the demand of retaining Calais: Whereupon all the difficulty was reduced to this point, That the King of France would have had Blauet in the condition it then was, with all the Artillery, Shot, and Ammunition of War; and the Spaniards stood totally to demolish the Fort they had built,

The pretensions of the French, and of the Spaniard, stood upon in the Treaty of Peace.

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and

1598

and to carry away the Artillery, and other things which they had brought thither of their own ; but this difficulty also was easily taken away ; for the Treaty being managed with great sincerity, the French satisfied themselves, knowing that the Spaniard had reason on their side.

All other matters were of small importance, so that nothing remained, save to treat about the interests of their adherents : for the King of France desired there might be an Agreement made with the Queen of England and the States of Holland ; and the King of Spain would have had the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of *Mercœur* comprehended in the Peace. About this there arose a sharp contention ; for the French having said that they would not include the Duke of *Mercœur*, as being the Kings Subject ; the Spaniards answered, that also the States of Holland were the King of Spains Subjects : and here mutually upbraiding one another that they fomented Rebels, they grew extremely angry, and broke forth into words of indignation ; and yet the Cardinal Legate interposing, they agreed to make their Princes acquainted with the business, and expect their resolute orders. But within a few days these difficulties were removed ; for the King having left the Constable with reasonable Forces in *Picardie*, was gone personally to *Angiers* to draw his Army together, and march with all his Forces into *Bretagne*. Wherefore the Duke of *Mercœur* seeing his designs ruined, and not being willing to hold out till the last necessities, which he was not able to resist, condescended to the Agreement ; by which, marrying his onely Daughter to *Cæsar* the Kings Bastard Son, and receiving other recompences of Pensions and moneys, he delivered up that part of *Bretagne* that was in his possession unto the Kings obedience ; whereupon the occasion ceased for which the Catholick King endeavoured to include him in the Peace.

The Duke of *Mercœur* Brother-in-law to *Hen.* the third, being reduced almost to extremity, agrees with the King giving his onely daughter to *Cæsar* of *Bourbon*, Bastard Son to *Henry* the Fourth, and gave up what he held in *Bretagne* unto the Kings obedience.

Nor was there any need to contend long for the Queen of England and the States of Holland ; for those Princes, after they had done all that was possible to hinder the Treaty of Peace, hewing themselves ill-satisfied with the King, because in the League of the year before he had promised not to agree without them, declared that they would not be comprehended as Adherents, and that they would have no Peace with the King of Spain.

There

There remained only the point concerning the D. of Savoy, which was like to have interrupted the whole agreement when it was brought to perfection : for the Marquess *de Lullin* the Dukes Ambassadour, being introduced into the Conference, said, that President *Sillery*, one of the Deputies there present, had from the year before treated an accommodation with the Duke, and that the King was then contented he should hold the Marquessate of *Saluzzo* in fee from the Crown. The President answered, that it was true, the King was so contented, but at a time when the state of his affaires perswaded him by all means to divide the Duke from the King of Spain, and that to that condition the Marquess knew well there were others joyned, which he would not mention, lest he should set discord among friends; by which words he meant to infer that the Duke to retain the Marquessate had proffered to make war against the State of Milan. Many contentions there were about it, and the whole treaty seemed to be discomposed; but the General of the Cordeliers going to the King, and *Juan Battista Tassis* to the Arch-Duke, they returned within a few days, and concluded, that the Duke and the King should retain what they possessed at that present, and that the difference about the Marquessate should be referred to the Pope, who was to give judgement within the space of one year, and then what each held of the others should mutually be restored. But the Marquess refused that the King should retain the valley of *Morienne*, and would not ratifie it without advertising the Duke, and this by reason of his nature, would have been a difficult impediment, if good fortune had not removed the obstacle; for the Duke about this time recovered *Morienne* with a great slaughter of *Les Diguieres* his forces; and on the other side, *Les Diguieres* took a Fort which the Duke had built neer *Grenoble*, and having put the Garrison to the sword demolished it to the very ground: wherefore there remaining nothing but *Berre* in *Provence* in the Dukes possession, they agreed that he should restore that Town in present, and that the business of the Marquessate should be decided by the Pope.

The Duke of Savoy's Ambassadour being present in the meeting at *Veroins* said, that he had a promise the Duke should retain the Marquessate of *Saluzzo* in fee.

The differences about the Marquessate are referred to the Pope, who is to give judgement within a year.

The Peace was concluded and subscribed by the Deputies upon the second day of May, with expresse condition that it should not be published till a moneth after; for the King of France

The Peace is
concluded
and publish-
ed.

France desired, that the English and Holland Ambassadors should first be gone from Court; that the Peace might not be published in their presence; and the Cardinal Archduke desired space to receive the Counter-sign of Blauet from Spain. The Peace was published upon the seventh day of June in Paris, and the same day at Amiens, in the presence of the Legat, and the Kings Deputies, as by agreement it was likewise done at Brussels; all men generally rejoicing, that after so long and so calamitous Wars, the Kingdom of France distracted into so many Factions, was at last reunited in the entire obedience of a Catholick French King, to enjoy the fruits and blessings of Peace for the future, in recompence of so many past miseries and afflictions.

FINIS.

